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*The Drawings of Michelangelo
and His Followers in the
Ashmolean Museum*

PAUL JOANNIDES

CAMBRIDGE

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THE DRAWINGS OF MICHELANGELO AND HIS FOLLOWERS IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM

This volume comprises a full and detailed catalogue of drawings by and after Michelangelo in the Ashmolean Museum. The Ashmolean possesses the third largest collection in the world of drawings by Michelangelo – after the Casa Buonarroti and the British Museum – and a rich group of drawings by Michelangelo's pupils and close associates, as well as a number of contemporary copies after drawings by the master that have subsequently been lost. It also houses a significant number of copies, the majority of the sixteenth century, after Michelangelo's works in all media, that shed light on his reputation and influence among his contemporaries and immediate successors.

The catalogue is preceded by two introductions. The first provides the fullest account yet published of the history and provenance of Michelangelo's drawings; the second surveys the various types of drawing that Michelangelo practised and gives a synoptic account of his stylistic development as a draughtsman.

All the Ashmolean's autograph drawings by Michelangelo, and most of the associated drawings and the copies, came from the collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence, the greatest collection of Old Master Drawings ever formed in Britain. This volume contains two detailed appendices that endeavour to trace as exactly as possible the histories of all the drawings by or after Michelangelo that Lawrence owned, both before he acquired them and after they were dispersed.

Paul Joannides, Professor of Art History at the University of Cambridge, has published widely on the painting, sculpture, architecture, and, in particular, the drawings of the Italian Renaissance. Among his major publications in this area are his standard account *The Drawings of Raphael* and his *Inventaire* of drawings by and after Michelangelo in the Louvre. He has also written on topics in French painting of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

*The Drawings of Michelangelo
and His Followers in the
Ashmolean Museum* ❧

PAUL JOANNIDES

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To
Catherine Whistler
Jon Whiteley
Timothy Wilson
and
above all
Marianne Joannides



CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	<i>page ix</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>xiii</i>
The Dispersal and Formation of Sir Thomas Lawrence's Collection of Drawings by Michelangelo	<i>I</i>
Michelangelo's Drawings	<i>45</i>
THE CATALOGUE	
Wholly or Partially Autograph Sheets (Cats. 1–57)	<i>59</i>
Copies of Lost and Partially Lost Drawings (Cats. 58–61)	<i>281</i>
Copies of Surviving Drawings (Cats. 62–67)	<i>293</i>
Studio Drawings and Drawings of Undetermined Status (Cats. 68–80)	<i>309</i>
Copies of Sculptures (Cats. 81–85)	<i>337</i>
Copies After Paintings (Cats. 86–104)	<i>347</i>
Copies of Architecture (Cats. 105–106)	<i>373</i>
Miscellaneous (Cats. 107–114)	<i>376</i>
APPENDICES	
Appendix 1. Drawings by or Attributed to Michelangelo in William Young Ottley's Sales	<i>397</i>
Texts	<i>397</i>
Commentary	<i>400</i>
Appendix 2. Sir Thomas Lawrence's Collection of Drawings by and After Michelangelo	<i>408</i>
Texts	<i>408</i>
Commentary	<i>431</i>
List of Former Owners	<i>451</i>
Concordance to the Major Catalogues of Michelangelo's Drawings	<i>453</i>
Concordance of Ashmolean Inventory Numbers with the Present Catalogue	<i>457</i>

<i>Bibliography</i>	459
<i>Index 1: Drawings by and after Michelangelo and his close associates in collections other than that of the Ashmolean Museum; other works of art and architecture by Michelangelo and works executed by other artists to his designs (excluding appendices)</i>	475
<i>Index 2: Works by artists other than Michelangelo and works not directly related to him (excluding appendices)</i>	488

PREFACE

The second volume of Sir Karl Parker's comprehensive catalogue of the drawings in the Ashmolean Museum, devoted to the Italian schools, was published in 1956. It remains an admirable and impressive work. Few scholars then, and fewer now, could have undertaken such a task single-handedly. But the treatment of the two most important artists examined in it, Raphael and Michelangelo, has certain limitations. Dealing with a collection of Italian drawings that then numbered more than eleven hundred sheets, Parker could not go into as much detail as the works of these artists merited. And his catalogue also came at a particular moment in art-historiography that both nourished it and restricted it.

The Ashmolean's collection of drawings by Michelangelo and Raphael had been the object of one of the most significant cataloguing efforts of the nineteenth century, Sir John Charles Robinson's *A Critical Account of the Drawings by Michel Angelo and Raffaello in the University Galleries Oxford*, published in 1870. Robinson's study of the drawings of both artists was informed by a practical consideration of their purpose, a vast acquaintance with drawings of all the European schools, and a profound knowledge of, and insight into, the painting, sculpture, and applied arts of the Italian Renaissance. In certain respects, his work has not been surpassed. But Robinson, although critical of many of the attributions under which the drawings had been acquired, and gifted with a fine sense of style and quality, tended to accept traditional views rather than question them. And, in the area of Michelangelo scholarship, he was a little unfortunate in that his book was published five years before the quatercentenary of Michelangelo's birth, in 1875, which intensified interest in the artist and produced a number of major monographs, including one still important for Michelangelo studies, the two-volume biography of the artist by Aurelio Gotti (1875). Knowledge of this book, and of those issued under its stimulus by Springer (1878, 1883, 1895), and Symonds (1893), would have enriched the factual and historical context of the works that he discussed.

From the point of view of drawings scholarship proper, Robinson's work evinces no very specific approach. This was to change, in the immediately succeeding period, under the impulse of Morelli's morphological method, in which the study of minute forms was shown to be an important indicator of authorship. Morelli's own work was only peripherally concerned with drawings, and his attributions of drawings – nearly always demotions – are among the weakest areas of his scholarship. But his rejection of all forms of evidence other than the visual was extremely influential and led to a concentration on purely visual taxonomy, which, directly or indirectly, stimulated a massive expansion in the classification of Renaissance painting and an intense effort to attain greater precision in attribution and dating. However, it is worth remarking that Morelli's "method," the most readily assimilable aspect of his work, functioned most effectively when dealing with repetitive and, generally, relatively minor artists. It was less equipped to deal with artists whose styles changed rapidly and radically and, in the study of drawings, insufficiently flexible to accommodate the fact that an artist might employ several media and make drawings of several different types in preparation for the same painting. It is interesting that perhaps the most effective employment of the Morellian method was by Sir John Beazley, in his groupings of Athenian vase painting, a species of artistic production that is inevitably repetitive.

Of course, scholarship of Michelangelo, Raphael, and their period had expanded enormously between 1870 and 1956, with the 1903 and 1938 editions of Berenson's *Drawings of the Florentine Painters* only the most obvious monuments to increased attention to Renaissance drawing. But Berenson, the single most important if not always the dominant figure in the scholarship of Italian drawings for the first half of the twentieth century, retained throughout his life a commitment to a type of study that, however qualified by his vast experience and penetrating intelligence, was guided by the method of Morelli, with its pretensions to scientific objectivity in distinguishing

one hand from another. Berenson and other writers discarded a good number of drawings in the Ashmolean's collection from Michelangelo's oeuvre, and even though many of Berenson's insights as to both authorship and dating were acute, his bent to the normative and to the rejection of works that did not conform to a relatively limited number of criteria was in some respects regressive. Despite Parker's sophistication, independence of thought, and clarity of judgement, his approach reflected these attitudes, although by no means in the extreme form found in the views of some scholars of the 1920s and 1930s, a period much preoccupied with what its proponents believed were scientific methods of attribution. Thus, even though Parker was remarkably clear-sighted, his catalogue registers, for example, some attributional insecurities with regard to Michelangelo drawings that had, in the view of most later scholars, already been put to rest by Johannes Wilde.

In the catalogue of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian drawings in the Royal Collection, undertaken in collaboration with A. E. Popham, in which Wilde was responsible for the drawings by Michelangelo and his followers, and still more so in his catalogue of drawings by Michelangelo in the British Museum of 1953, a work still unequalled, Wilde had changed the nature of cataloguing, and – for those alert enough to realise it – of drawing connoisseurship. Before the Second World War, Wilde's work on Michelangelo drawings had shown him to be a fairly orthodox follower of the "scientific" school, severe in his judgements, and all-too-willing to reject genuine drawings. Given the opportunity, during the War, to study the corpus of drawings by Michelangelo in Britain in a single location, he was compelled to change his views. Receiving, one would imagine, inspiration from Robinson's work, Wilde's approach was, initially, archaeological. Drawings were objects, physical things made for particular purposes – not that Parker did not appreciate that, but he did not make it the basis of his approach – and before judgement was to be passed upon them as works of art, they should be interrogated as to their purposes and the nature of the thought that they embody. In place of the "scientific" method, which all too often ignored medium, date, and purpose, and which made little effort to determine the function of a drawing within patterns establishable from the examination of other drawings and the ways in which paintings, sculptures, and buildings must be planned, Wilde concentrated on what the drawing could tell its interrogator. The deferral of aesthetic pronouncement in the interests of a neutral investigation of a drawing's purposes allows, once this is accomplished, for enhanced aesthetic appreciation.

The nature of the Ashmolean's collection of Michelangelo drawings makes it particularly appropriate for the exercise of Wilde's approach, for the majority of its autograph sheets are working ones, and there are relatively few drawings made by Michelangelo as independent works of art. To re-examine the work of Robinson and Parker in the light of Wilde makes it clear that the Ashmolean's Michelangelos still have more to teach us.

Furthermore, Michelangelo scholarship has developed substantially since 1956. For a body of illustrations of Michelangelo's drawings, critics had then to rely primarily on Frey's collection of plates, published in 1909. But soon after Parker's catalogue was published, the situation began to change. In 1959 appeared Luitpold Dussler's very comprehensive catalogue of Michelangelo drawings, a publication whose usefulness, even to those who did not agree with the views expressed in it, was qualified only by its limited number of illustrations. In 1962 came Paola Barocchi's comprehensive catalogue of drawings by Michelangelo and his school held in the Casa Buonarroti and the Uffizi, which had not previously been fully illustrated. This catalogue made it much easier than before to integrate drawings in the Ashmolean with those in Florentine collections. Barocchi's catalogue also prompted a review of fundamental importance by Michael Hirst, which, in addition to restoring to Michelangelo a number of drawings that Barocchi had allocated to Michelangelo's students and followers, provided a lapidary statement of the principle by which Wilde had operated: that the function of drawings tends to determine their form. The publication of Hartt's very extensive anthology of Michelangelo's drawings in 1975 continued the process, which culminated in the appearance, between 1975 and 1980, of the magnificent *Corpus dei Disegni di Michelangelo* undertaken by Charles de Tolnay, who had previously written a fundamental monograph on the artist and many articles. De Tolnay's *Corpus* again altered the general picture, and it is now the standard work of reference. Sheets of drawings are reproduced in colour in their original size and with rectos and versos orientated as in the originals, few sheets of real significance are omitted, and de Tolnay endeavoured to include even sheets that he himself felt unable to accept as autograph. This *Corpus* has further extended our knowledge and has made it easier to see Michelangelo's drawings en masse and to link works in the Ashmolean with ones elsewhere. De Tolnay's achievement deserves especial praise since, in preparing the *Corpus*, he was led to change many of his earlier negative views about the drawings he catalogued. For an aged scholar – de Tolnay's death followed by only a few weeks the publication of the final volume of the *Corpus* – such

willingness to reconsider views formed many years previously demonstrated an openness, an honesty, and an integrity that are wholly admirable.

In addition to these publications, and the clear and helpful discussion of Michelangelo's drawings by function and type published by Hirst in 1988, and his complementary exhibition catalogue of 1988–9, detailed work on Michelangelo has accelerated and expanded. Perhaps the most productive area of focus is Michelangelo's architecture, study of which, although it had not been ignored by earlier scholars, was given new impetus by James Ackerman's monograph and catalogue, first published in 1961. His lead has been followed by many others, notably in the volume edited by Paolo Portoghesi and Bruno Zevi of 1964, the monograph by Argan and Contardi of 1990, and the studies by Henry Millon and Craig Hugh Smyth (1976) of the façade of San Lorenzo and Saint Peter's, which have produced numerous articles as well as an important exhibition of 1988. These and other scholars have expanded and deepened awareness of Michelangelo's architectural work, particularly in his later period.

Thus, the reader will find here one or two novelties of attribution – although few that concern Michelangelo directly – but it is in the identification of certain functions, more closely delimited datings, and wider relation with drawings elsewhere that the present work may be found useful, even though much remains shadowy. In one area, however, hitherto less fully exploited than it might have been, that of copies of various kinds, this catalogue may claim some pioneering value. Copies of lost drawings can provide additional information about Michelangelo's projects and/or his thought processes, and copies of surviving ones can enlighten us about contemporary and later responses to the artist: The study of copies provides a royal road to our knowledge of the diffusion of artistic ideas, and an effort has been made here to examine such drawings in rather more detail than has been customary in the past, although much more work, inevitably, remains to be done. In relation to the Ashmolean's collections, much valuable material on the copies and on drawings around Michelangelo can be found in the late Hugh Macandrew's supplement to Parker's catalogue, published in 1980, which included a group of drawings transferred to the museum from the Taylor Institution in 1976.

The bibliographies of individual sheets are not intended to be exhaustive, although they are probably fuller than most readers will require. They are intended to perform several functions simultaneously: to provide a short critical history of the works treated, insight into the way that scholarship has developed, and a guide to those who may wish to examine these matters further. Summaries of others' views have been provided, but their accuracy obviously depends on the concentration, intelligence, and patience of the compiler and should not be taken as gospel. The compiler can report only that he has done his best and, before his undoubted omissions and errors of interpretation are pounced upon, would remind critics that this attempt at doing justice to his predecessors, however inadequately performed, is a task many other cataloguers avoid. An advantage of providing such summaries is that, particularly in cases where there is consensus, they permit briefer catalogue entries. The compiler is not sympathetic to entries that devote many pages to the discussion of the views of other scholars and a few lines only to the objects under consideration.

All old accumulations of drawings are arbitrary in their composition, and to focus on a particular collection is a way of re-shuffling the whole pack, forcing one to see drawings elsewhere in relation to these. This different angle of vision can sometimes reveal new alignments, or, to put it another way, to think in depth about an arbitrary selection can provide a means of escape from the normative and from the falsifying teleologies that frequently attend totalising discourses.

The present catalogue was undertaken as a sequel to one with similar objectives, dealing with the drawings by and after Michelangelo in the Musée du Louvre. The two collections do not much overlap, but in a few cases more or less the same points needed to be made. In these, the compiler has freely cannibalised passages of his *Inventaire* in the hope that self-plagiarism, however reprehensible, may escape the ultimate sanction rightly incurred by plagiarism of others. Parts of the account of the formation and dispersal of Sir Thomas Lawrence's collection of drawings by and after Michelangelo, dealing with what is known or can be surmised of the history of Michelangelo's drawings, also overlap with that in the Louvre catalogue, but the discussion begun there is here considerably extended and, in some instances, corrected.

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completed, the compiler can only offer his deepest thanks. From initial negotiations to final product, as deadlines expired and bibliographies became pythonesque – in both senses, as footnotes departed on forced marches and appendices expanded to bursting-point, they remained steadfast and stalwart. In preparing the volume for press, the compiler benefited greatly from the work of the production editor, Camilla Knapp, and the copy editor, Sara Black. For help with the proofs he is indebted

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The compiler never met Johannes Wilde, but whenever he returns to Wilde's work, his admiration increases. If, in a few instances, he has diverged from Wilde's judgments, it is in the confidence that a scholar who so enviably combined exhaustive knowledge, supreme analytical clarity, and profound empathy for his subject would be the last to desire slavish discipleship.

**THE DRAWINGS OF MICHELANGELO AND HIS FOLLOWERS IN THE
ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM**

THE DISPERSAL AND FORMATION OF SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE'S COLLECTION OF DRAWINGS BY MICHELANGELO

I. THE DISPERSAL

In 1846 the University of Oxford acquired, through the generosity of a number of benefactors but supremely that of Lord Eldon, a large number of drawings by, attributed to, or associated with Michelangelo and Raphael. Put on display in the University Galleries were fifty-three mountings of drawings associated with Michelangelo, and 137 by Raphael.¹ Some of these mountings comprised two or more drawings and the overall total of individual drawings was somewhat larger.² This exhibition and – consequently – its catalogue included most, but not the totality, of the drawings by these artists offered for sale by subscription to the University of Oxford in 1842. In the prospectus issued that year, the number of mountings of drawings classed under Michelangelo's name totalled eighty-seven and those under Raphael's 190.³ All the works listed in 1842 were in fact acquired by Oxford, but only a selection was exhibited four years later. To the Raphael series, later curators have added by purchase at least two autograph drawings and several copies and studio works; to the Michelangelo series, only one further drawing – an informative copy – has been added by purchase; but some other interesting copies came to the museum by transfer from the Bodleian Library in 1863 and a further group, from the Taylorian Institution, in 1976. Conversely, some drawings believed in 1846 to be by or associable with Michelangelo have been re-attributed to other hands. Nevertheless, with fifty-seven sheets, the Ashmolean houses the third largest collection – after Casa Buonarroti and the British Museum – of autograph drawings by one of the greatest of all draughtsmen, and Oxford's total is increased by four when the Michelangelo drawings included in the 1765 bequest to Christ Church by General Guise – at least one of which came from Casa Buonarroti via Filippo Baldinucci⁴ – are taken into account. The present catalogue, concerned with drawings by, and copies after, Michelangelo, therefore deals with a group of works that – certain subtractions

from Michelangelo apart – in its essentials has not changed since 1846, although one sheet of drawings hitherto placed in the Raphael school is here included as a copy after Michelangelo – an identification, indeed, made in 1830 but subsequently overlooked.⁵

The two series that came to Oxford were the remains of two much larger series of drawings, both owned by the man who has clear claim to be the greatest of all English collectors of Old Master Drawings: Sir Thomas Lawrence. It is Lawrence's collection that provided all the drawings by, and most of those after, Michelangelo now in the Ashmolean Museum. Lawrence, himself a fine draughtsman, whose precision and skill in this area is not always visible in the painted portraits from which he earned an income large enough to indulge his collector's passion, was a predatory and omnivorous – even obsessional – collector of drawings.⁶ He attempted to obtain every significant work that came within his reach, and he was particularly anxious to acquire drawings by or believed to be by Michelangelo. When Lawrence died in 1830, he left his collection of drawings to various representatives of the nation at a very advantageous price, £18,000, probably no more than half his expenditure.⁷ That offer was not accepted – a wounding rejection from which the representation of Old Master Drawings in Great Britain has never fully recovered – and the collection as a whole, comprising, according to the posthumous inventory of 1830, around 4,300 sheets of drawings and some seven albums – including the two precious volumes containing over 500 drawings by Fra Bartolommeo, now in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam – reverted in 1834 to Lawrence's executor, Archibald Keightley. He ceded the drawings the same year to the dealer Samuel Woodburn for £16,000. This price took into account the fact that Woodburn was Lawrence's principal creditor, and the source from whom he had acquired most of his drawings.⁸ It was at this time that the unobtrusive TL blind stamp was applied to the drawings, although it seems that, in a very few cases, this was omitted.⁹

Samuel Woodburn, who must be recognised as one of the greatest nineteenth-century experts on Old Master Drawings, divided the Lawrence drawings into sequences by author or presumed author and showed about a thousand of them in a series of ten exhibitions during 1835 and 1836 in his galleries in St. Martin's Lane. Each exhibition contained a selection of one hundred drawings by one or more masters, and each exhibition was accompanied by an unillustrated and, if by modern standards fairly rudimentary, nevertheless very informative, catalogue. It should be noted that the dimensions of the drawings shown and the descriptions of their media are, so far as can be judged, trustworthy. It seems, from press reports, that a few additional drawings were occasionally included ex-catalogue, and it may be that the selections were from time to time refreshed – but that is no more than hypothesis.

The tenth exhibition, in July 1836, was devoted to one hundred drawings by or attributed to Michelangelo – or rather one hundred mountings, for a few of the mounts contained more than one drawing. A transcription of this catalogue is given in Appendix 2; to this, the sums – all in guineas – asked by Woodburn for the drawings, which provide a rough indication of his judgement of their quality and value, have been added from a priced copy of the catalogue preserved in the National Gallery. As far as can be judged today, Woodburn's connoisseurship was reasonably accurate. Of the one hundred mountings in the exhibition, the contents of ninety-five can today be identified with reasonable security.¹⁰ Sixty-nine of these would generally be considered to be by Michelangelo as a whole or in part. However, it is worth noting that, knowledgeable though Woodburn and Lawrence were, one or other or both were capable of error. In at least one case, the mistake was glaring. A portrait drawing by Parmigianino of Valerio Belli, in a mount by Vasari, now in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam (Inv. 1392), had appeared in the Dezallier d'Argenville sale of 18–28 January 1779, as part of either lot 107 or lot 496, under its correct attribution. In 1836 it was shown by Woodburn among the Michelangelo drawings as no. 39, described as a portrait of Ariosto.¹¹ Whether this was a mistake by the collector Lawrence or the dealer Woodburn cannot be ascertained; it does demonstrate however that some misattributions of the drawings that passed from one to the other were not necessarily the product of erroneous tradition but were of recent introduction.

It is not fully clear how many drawings Sir Thomas Lawrence owned that he believed to be by or after Michelangelo, and it is likely that attributions – then as now – fluctuated. Some 145 mountings of drawings,

probably comprising around 170 individual sheets by Michelangelo, are listed in the posthumous inventory of 1830. But this inventory was evidently compiled in haste and no doubt under fraught circumstances by Woodburn – not by Ottley whom Lawrence had wished to undertake the task – and although it maintains a reasonable standard of accuracy, it certainly contains mistakes that Woodburn later corrected at leisure. Nor is it always possible to identify securely drawings listed in it with those described in greater detail in subsequent catalogues. Furthermore, it seems that at least a few Michelangelo drawings that Lawrence owned were either overlooked or not recorded for reasons about which we can only speculate. We cannot be certain either of Woodburn's estimate of the Michelangelo drawings he had acquired, although he was well aware that his run totalled considerably more than the hundred drawings that he exhibited in 1836. J. C. Robinson conjectured that Woodburn had acquired about 150 altogether, but this total, which more or less matches what can be inferred from Lawrence's inventory, certainly refers to mountings rather than individual drawings.¹² Of course, it included a number of copies.

Woodburn hoped to sell Lawrence's drawings in runs. As he explained in the prefaces to some of his catalogues, he believed in keeping the works of artists together. He achieved this aim in some cases: the Earl of Ellesmere acquired the Carracci and the Giulio Romano sequences complete, and both series remained together in his family – apart from a gift of a group of Carracci drawings to the Ashmolean in 1853 – until they were dispersed at auction by Sotheby's in 1972. But Woodburn was unsuccessful with regard to the Michelangelos. It was not until the beginning of 1838 that fifty-nine drawings from those exhibited in 1836 (plus a comparable number by Raphael) were acquired from him by King William II of Holland: A list of William II's purchases, taken from Woodburn's invoice, is given in Appendix 2. However, the invoice presented by Woodburn in February 1838 does not tell the full story, for William II returned to make further purchases. In August that year, he acquired from Woodburn another drawing by Michelangelo from the 1836 exhibition, one of supreme importance, the *Epifania* cartoon made for the abortive painting by Ascanio Condivi, plus a number of other drawings that had not been displayed in 1836. At his death, William II owned some nine further drawings by or after Michelangelo that must have been acquired from Woodburn in August 1838 – there is no evidence that the king acquired drawings from any other dealer.

According to Robinson,

the knowledge and experience of the Royal amateur were not on a par with his zeal. He evidently intended to select all the most important specimens; but his choice fell almost exclusively on the largest, most completely finished and showy drawings; and thus, in great measure, he defeated his own object; for although it must be admitted that the final selection did comprise some of the finest gems of the Lawrence series, the great majority of the specimens chosen were copies and drawings by scholars and followers of the two great artists.¹³

Overall, Robinson calculated, about half of these were genuine, but he was unduly critical: Of William's purchases from the 1836 exhibition that can now be traced and identified – at present fifty-four of the total of sixty – fourteen are certainly copies and derivations, and most were known to be such, since for these the king paid relatively low prices.¹⁴ Even if the six drawings that remain to be traced were all copies, the average is still respectable: Forty of the sixty drawings, that is two-thirds of William's purchases, were autograph.¹⁵ If the total of sixty-seven drawings in William's posthumous sale catalogue listed either under Michelangelo's name or misattributed to Sebastiano or Venusti is examined, of which a further seven drawings elude identification, it would seem that a total of twenty-seven drawings were not by Michelangelo, but most of these were minor works and were no doubt known to be such.¹⁶ On the evidence, William deserves to be rehabilitated as a judge of Michelangelo drawings – and Old Master Drawings in general – for he obtained a very significant number of major masterpieces. Robinson's depreciation of the king's choice – in which he was followed by many other scholars until a well-researched account of William's collecting was published in 1989 – is hard to explain.¹⁷ Indeed, Robinson himself acquired, directly or indirectly, a number of Michelangelo drawings that had been owned by William II and that he then sold to his own clients.

Either before or after the disposal to William II, Woodburn seems to have reconciled himself to selling at least one drawing as a single item to an individual purchaser. "*The Repose*," that is *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, no. 11, in Woodburn's 1836 exhibition, in which it was marked at the very high price of 250 guineas, emerged from a then undisclosed British source at Christie's on 6 July 1993, lot 120, and was acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.¹⁸ It is unclear whether it had remained in the same family collection since Woodburn sold it or whether it had

moved silently from owner to owner. The case of the *Annunciation*, a *modello* made for Marcello Venusti and now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, may be similar.¹⁹ Although this drawing was not included in the 1836 exhibition, Woodburn considered it sufficiently important to reproduce as Plate 2 in his *Lawrence Gallery*, published in 1853, the single drawing in that publication not displayed in 1836. It was not among the drawings sold to William II and re-purchased at his sale. What happened to it between 1830 (it cannot specifically be identified in Lawrence's inventory) and 1860, when it appeared in Woodburn's posthumous sale of the remainder of the Lawrence collection, can only be conjectured, but one possible explanation is that it was sold by Woodburn even before 1836 and was subsequently re-purchased by him.

Apart from these instances, which may or may not be isolated, following the disposal to William II, Woodburn returned to the public fray, campaigning to have the remainder of the Michelangelos and Raphaels bought for the Oxford University Galleries at preferential rates – in this he seems to have been prompted and sustained by the interest, enthusiasm, and protracted effort of the Reverend Henry Wellesley. In 1842 Woodburn produced the prospectus of the drawings on offer, which supplements the information provided in the 1836 catalogue. His efforts were rewarded in 1846, and it is worth reflecting that, but for the determination, persistence, and public-spiritedness of a dealer, whose sense of public responsibility outweighed his own desire for gain, and the informed energy of a clergyman and academic, the Ashmolean Museum would not now have one of the world's greatest gatherings of drawings by two of the greatest of High Renaissance masters. Of the one hundred mountings of drawings by or attributed to Michelangelo exhibited by Woodburn in London in 1836, forty (comprising forty-eight drawings) entered the ownership of Oxford University.²⁰ All these drawings are identifiable in the Ashmolean's collection. Forty-two further mountings, certainly from Lawrence's collection, but not exhibited in 1836, comprising fifty-three drawings also came to the Oxford University Galleries. To these were added five further mountings, comprising five drawings, acquired by Woodburn in the interim from the collection of Jeremiah Harman, which, according to Woodburn, Lawrence had coveted in vain. Together this made up a grand total of eighty-seven mountings comprising 104 drawings then believed with more or less conviction to be by Michelangelo, of which the present catalogue retains fifty-seven as substantially autograph and around

fifteen by followers so close that they can reasonably be considered as coming from Michelangelo's studio.

Disinterested though Woodburn's motives and achievements largely were, it is clear that this sale did not fully liquidate his holdings of Lawrence's Michelangelo drawings. We cannot be sure how many Woodburn retained: It is, after all, uncertain how many drawings by and attributed to Michelangelo Lawrence himself owned and whether some attributions might have changed between his death and Woodburn's exhibition. It would seem that most of the Michelangelo drawings that remained in Woodburn's hands were not deceitfully withheld from Oxford; they were either slight or scrappy drawings or architectural sketches that Woodburn probably considered to be of little interest – indeed, may simply have forgotten about – or obvious copies that he probably did not much value. He cannot be shown to have retained for himself any Michelangelo drawing that would then have been regarded as of real worth. It is unclear how many drawings by and after Michelangelo remained in his possession, and it is difficult to calculate this from Woodburn's posthumous sale of 1860 because some of the drawings in that – such as the Morgan Library *Annunciation* – may have been sold to clients other than William II of Holland and subsequently bought back by Woodburn.

The Michelangelo drawings purchased from Woodburn by King William II of Holland were enjoyed by their new owner for no more than a decade. With the King's death in 1850, they again came on the market. The sale held in The Hague in August 1850 to dispose of William II's collections contained some eighty-two lots of drawings by, associated with, or after Michelangelo. Many of the most important of these were, as has long been known, re-acquired by Woodburn. Robinson remarked that Woodburn's purchases at the William II sale "reunited the great bulk of them to the residue of the Lawrence collection still in his possession."²¹ According to Robinson, thirty-three of the Michelangelo drawings sold by Woodburn to the King were repurchased by Woodburn, but this was an underestimate for, from a marked copy of the sale catalogue preserved in the National Gallery, it appears that Woodburn in fact acquired thirty-seven. Three others were acquired by the Louvre – appropriately one of these had earlier been owned by Pierre-Jean Mariette and, no doubt, Pierre Crozat.²² A few more were reserved for the Duke of Sachsen-Weimar, William II's son-in-law, who acquired drawings both for the Museum in Weimar and for his family's own collection: Most of these were copies.

Woodburn's motives for buying back the drawings are uncertain. He may have acquired them for stock, hoping

to disperse them piecemeal over the years to come, and some he certainly sold. He may have wished to re-constitute a nucleus of Lawrence's best drawings, either for his own pleasure or to sell again as a small choice collection. The volume of thirty-one lithographic reproductions, comprising thirty drawings either by, or thought to be by Michelangelo, plus a page of his poems, published by Woodburn in 1853, just before his death, may have been part of an effort to re-awaken interest in Lawrence's Michelangelos.²³ The great allegorical drawing, the so-called *Dream of Human Life* (London, Courtauld Institute), the most expensive of the drawings Woodburn had sold to William in 1839 and re-acquired for 1,200 guilders at William's sale (lot 125), was soon sold on to the Duke of Sachsen-Weimar, who presumably regretted not having reserved it. Several other drawings by or attributed to Michelangelo went to the Reverend Henry Wellesley who – surprisingly – did not bequeath them to the Ashmolean. They were included in his posthumous sale of 1866.

Woodburn died in 1853, and it is unclear how many of the Michelangelo drawings repurchased by him at William II's sale had been sold between then and his death. Nor can it be considered certain, although it is probable, that none was sold by his legatees between 1853 and 1860. In 1854 that part of his collection of drawings that did not stem from Lawrence was offered at Christie's, but the sale was not a success. This may have discouraged another sale in the short term, and the drawings remained in the possession of his sister, Miss Woodburn, until June 1860, when, in an enormous sale running to 1,075 lots – many of them comprising several drawings – the remainder of the Lawrence collection was dispersed. The sale included sixty-one lots of drawings by and after Michelangelo, comprising 111 sheets, plus two letters, one by Michelangelo himself, the other by Sebastiano del Piombo. A number of these drawings were explicitly described as copies, and it is probable that those genuinely by Michelangelo – or at that time honestly believed to be by him – numbered some fifty-three. However, there were some errors: A double-sided sheet of *Figure Studies* certainly by Taddeo Zuccaro, now in the Art Institute of Chicago, is to be found as lot 1492 in William Young Ottley's sale of 1814, correctly given to Taddeo. In 1860 the sheet re-appeared as lot 108, now given to Michelangelo.²⁴ Of course, this reattribution may not have been the responsibility either of Lawrence or of Woodburn, but whether it was a mistake by the one or the other, or merely a later administrative error – quite understandable given such a mass of material – it demonstrates the introduction of at least one misattribution more recent than that of the Parmigianino

noted previously. From the 1860 sale, ten drawings by Michelangelo were purchased for the British Museum, all of which seem to have been owned by William II. Others were acquired by John Charles Robinson, the first cataloguer of the Michelangelos and Raphaels in the Ashmolean, both for his own collection and for that of John Malcolm of Poltalloch.

John Malcolm assembled an extraordinary collection of Old Master drawings in the years between 1860, when he acquired the collection formed by J. C. Robinson, and 1891, two years before his death, when he bought his last drawing, a fine pen-sketch by Raphael.²⁵ Malcolm was interested only in works of the highest quality and obtained some of the greatest drawings to come onto the market. He seems to have discarded even perfectly genuine drawings if he felt they were too scrappy. Some of these lesser drawings, including three by Michelangelo and an interesting sheet often attributed to Jacomo del Duca, who assisted Michelangelo in his late years, were given by Malcolm to the family of his son-in-law, A. E. Gathorne-Hardy; their holdings were liquidated at two sales by Sotheby's in London in 1976.²⁶ Happily, most of Malcolm's collection was purchased from his heir in 1894 for the British Museum. So by indirect paths, the greater part of Lawrence's collection of Michelangelos was reunited in British public collections. All told, the British Museum now owns thirty-one of the drawings acquired from Woodburn by the King of Holland.

Another purchaser at the 1860 sale was the obsessive bibliophile, Sir Thomas Phillipps, who acquired several group lots of lesser drawings, among them some fine early copies after Michelangelo. These descended to the Phillipps-Fenwick family, whose collection of drawings was catalogued by A. E. Popham in 1935 – Popham noting that some of the parcels had remained unopened since the sale of 1860. The Phillipps-Fenwick drawings, minus a few sheets kept for his own collection, were acquired and given to the British Museum in 1946 by an anonymous benefactor, revealed, after his death, to be Count Antoine Seilern. It was Seilern, the most significant collector of Michelangelo drawings in the twentieth century, who acquired the *Dream of Human Life* from the Sachsen-Weimar family in 1950. This and four other drawings by Michelangelo, including an important *Christ on the Cross* also owned by Lawrence and lithographed for the Lawrence Gallery in 1853, were, on the Count's death in 1978, bequeathed by him to the Courtauld Institute of London University, where they form part of the Prince's Gate Collection.

At the sale of William II's collection, there were of course other purchasers beside Woodburn. The majority,

probably, were dealers rather than collectors, and none of them seems to have acquired drawings by Michelangelo in large quantities. These drawings gradually filtered back onto the market, where a number were acquired for his own collection by Robinson; most of these eventually migrated to public collections in the United States, although Robinson also owned other drawings by or attributed to the master, which have yet to reappear. Apart from the purchase by the Louvre, France benefited further.²⁷ In the great religious painter, portraitist, and collector Léon Bonnat, France found an equivalent of both Lawrence and Robinson. Bonnat's exceptional discernment and large income allowed him to form a collection of drawings of the highest quality, including seven by Michelangelo, two of which had certainly passed through the collections of Lawrence and William II. With the exception of one sheet, given to the Louvre in 1912, these were bequeathed to the museum of his native town, Bayonne, in 1922.²⁸

II. THE FORMATION OF SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE'S COLLECTION OF MICHELANGELO DRAWINGS

It is not fully clear when Lawrence began collecting drawings seriously. By his own testimony, he always had great enthusiasm for Old Master drawings and, in his youth, copied prints after them with avidity. Having attained great success by the early 1790s, he could have purchased drawings in that decade, when, for example, Sir Joshua Reynolds' enormous collection came on to the market, but he does not appear to have done so. The available evidence suggests that Lawrence began collecting drawings on a large scale only shortly before 1820.²⁹

It is impossible to be certain of the provenance of all of Lawrence's drawings, but Woodburn's exhibition catalogue of 1836 and his 1842 prospectus listing the drawings on offer to the University Galleries provide useful leads. A list of what the compiler has been able to ascertain or conjecture is provided in Appendix 2. Within the approximately 145 mountings of Michelangelo and Michelangesque drawings owned by Lawrence, certain currents can be distinguished.

A limited number of Lawrence's Michelangelo drawings came to him from British collections, mostly those of artists. In general, it seems that throughout Europe, royal and aristocratic collectors attempted to obtain drawings that were highly finished and of display quality, and it was left to artists to collect more sketchy and less obviously elegant drawings.³⁰ It is likely that many of the more

wealthy artists who formed collections owned one or two slight drawings, or scraps, by Michelangelo, although this can rarely be proved because provenances are usually difficult to trace and rarely go back further than the eighteenth century. The great collection of Sir Peter Lely seems to have contained very few autograph drawings by Michelangelo – or, at least, very few genuine Michelangelo drawings bear his stamp.³¹ Thus, the Devonshire collection, formed with virtually unlimited resources in the early eighteenth century, and including many drawings once owned by Lely, contained and contains no single autograph sheet by Michelangelo. Whether Nicholas Lanier owned any Michelangelos is conjectural: So far his marks have been found only on copies. The painter and collector Jonathan Richardson the Elder, however, certainly owned several genuine drawings by Michelangelo including Cats. 33 and 43, W2/Corpus 16 and probably W11/Corpus 134 in the British Museum, and the recently re-discovered *Draped Woman*, whose passages of ownership after Richardson's death are unknown.³² His son, Jonathan Richardson the Younger, possessed at least some scraps by Michelangelo, but it is unclear whether he inherited these from his father or acquired them independently.³³ Whence Richardson the Elder obtained his Michelangelo drawings is not known.

A few drawings by Michelangelo had been owned by Sir Joshua Reynolds including Cats. 20 and 26. In the 1794 exhibition of drawings from Reynolds' collection, it was claimed that forty-four drawings among the 2,253 on sale were by Michelangelo.³⁴ There is no way of determining how many of these were genuine, but it is a fair presumption that the majority were drawings from Michelangelo's circle or copies after him, rather than originals. The sale of the remainder of the drawings in Reynolds' collection, which took place over eighteen days from 5 March 1798, comprised 4,034 drawings, divided into 836 lots, mostly undescribed. Drawings unsold in 1794 may have been re-offered. Whether any Michelangelos were among these is conjectural. Interestingly, what was probably the most important Michelangelo that Reynolds owned – if, indeed, he did own it – the study for Adam in the *Creation of Adam* on the Sistine ceiling, now in the British Museum, does not bear his collection stamp, was not engraved or described when in his collection, and was claimed to be from it only by Ottley, who later owned it, in his *Italian School of Design*.³⁵ If Ottley was correct, then two possible explanations occur for the absence of Reynolds' stamp. Either it was applied to a now-lost mount, not to the sheet, or else the sheet has been trimmed in such a way as to excise the stamp. Some support for the first option is

offered by the fact that Ottley lists Jonathan Richardson the Elder, whose stamp is also absent, as its owner before Reynolds. When Richardson had a double-sided sheet, he generally placed his stamp on the mount rather than the sheet, and Reynolds' executors may have followed suit. Reynolds also owned a second drawing, believed to be a study for the *Adam* by Michelangelo and included as such in Woodburn's 1836 exhibition, as no. 44, but this beautiful drawing is by Jacopo Pontormo.³⁶ The drawing that Reynolds may have valued most highly, the *Count of Canossa*, was accepted even by the most sceptical connoisseurs until the twentieth century and was shown to be a copy only by Wilde in 1953.³⁷

It is clear from this listing that relatively few Michelangelo drawings were available in England in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries and that, of these, Lawrence was the main beneficiary. However, some of the drawings mentioned previously were probably acquired via intermediaries or other collectors rather than directly at sales. And a few items, which had been in earlier British collections, escaped him – at least four fragmentary drawings by Michelangelo once owned by the younger Richardson went to Lawrence's contemporary and predecessor as President of the Royal Academy, Benjamin West, and the track of another drawing, once in Lely's possession and now at Princeton, is lost during this period.³⁸ But, finally, when Lawrence's autograph Michelangelos are totalled, it is evident that not more than three or four came from seventeenth- or eighteenth-century British sources, although the number could probably be increased threefold if drawings that Lawrence believed to be by Michelangelo but that are no longer considered autograph are taken into account.³⁹

Lawrence's collection also contained several drawings from French sources. The greatest connoisseur of Old Master Drawings of the eighteenth century – the French dealer, print-maker, and art-historian, Pierre-Jean Mariette – had been a friend of the banker and collector Pierre Crozat, “le roi des collectionneurs,” and had catalogued his vast collection for the posthumous sale of 1741.⁴⁰ Mariette himself benefited greatly from this sale, and when he died, in 1774, his collection, sold in 1775–6, included some forty sheets of drawings by or believed to be by Michelangelo, divided into eight lots. The single most significant beneficiary from the Michelangelos in the Mariette sale was the Prince de Ligne.⁴¹ Employing as an intermediary the painter and dealer Julien de Parme, he acquired several superb sheets, as well as others from French collections.⁴² The Prince was killed in 1792, and, at an auction held in 1794, most of his drawings passed to Duke Albert Casimir August von Saxe-Teschen.

Saxe-Teschen's holding, the nucleus of the Albertina, named after him, eventually became the property of the Austrian State in 1920. The group of Michelangelos purchased by the Prince de Ligne forms virtually the whole of the run of eight magnificent sheets of drawings by Michelangelo now in the Albertina.⁴³

Lawrence's ex-Mariette drawings seem to have come to him via the banker, Thomas Dimsdale – his greatest rival – and the Marquis de Lagoy, who had sold his collection of 138 drawings to Woodburn in 1821; Woodburn in turn sold it to Dimsdale.⁴⁴ Before Mariette, most of these sheets had been owned by Pierre Crozat and Everard Jabach, and at least two of them, Cat. 19 and 1836-13 (BM W4/Corpus 48), would have been among those given by Michelangelo to his pupil Antonio Mini and brought by him to France, for figures on both were copied by Primaticcio.⁴⁵ Lawrence also possessed at least one Michelangelo drawing that had been owned by J.-D. Lempereur, a purchaser at Mariette's sale, but it is unlikely that this drawing (1836-3/BM W1) had been owned by Mariette.⁴⁶

Probably in 1826, Lawrence acquired two and perhaps more drawings by Michelangelo that had been in the collection of Baron Dominique-Vivant Denon, who died on 28 April 1825, but it is uncertain whether the earlier provenance of these is French or Italian.⁴⁷ Lawrence had mentioned Denon's collection in a letter of 14 April 1825 to Woodburn, who was in Paris to attend the posthumous sale of Anne-Louis Girodet de Roussy Trioson.⁴⁸ In an undated letter to Woodburn, written a few weeks later, he remarked

I am sincerely sorry for the death of M. Denon; he is a great loss to the arts, and I promised myself much pleasure from an intercourse with him in my next visit to Paris. Mr. Ford tells me he had six Raphaels, two of them very fine. He says his nephew had no love for art, and would readily have parted with drawings, separate from the rest, in his uncle's life-time could he have been permitted to do so; he thinks an effort from you might be successful. It is most probable that he had some Michael Angelos.⁴⁹

During Lawrence's own visit to Paris later in the year, he was unable to see more than a few of Denon's drawings.⁵⁰ Obviously with Lawrence's encouragement, Woodburn returned to Paris in later 1825 or early 1826, and it was no doubt on this visit to Paris that he also purchased two of the Presentation Drawings that Michelangelo had made for Vittoria Colonna, and that re-appeared in his 1836 exhibition with the provenance given as Brunet and the King of Naples.⁵¹ Woodburn may well not have known that these had appeared in 1794 at the sale of

the painter-dealer Julien de Parme.⁵² It was presumably directly at this sale, or via some intermediary, that they were acquired by Brunet, who is plausibly to be identified with Louis-Charles Brunet (1746-1825), the brother-in-law of Dominique-Vivant Denon, by whom he was presumably advised. Louis-Charles Brunet died in the same year as Vivant Denon, and Woodburn no doubt acquired the more important items from both Denon's and Brunet's collections at the same time, from one of Brunet's two sons, Baron Dominique-Vivant Denon's nephews, and final beneficiaries of his estate, as well – presumably – as that of their own father. These brothers were Vivant-Jean Brunet (1778-1866), a General of the Empire, and Dominique-Vivant Brunet (1779-1846), who later took the name Brunet-Denon in honour of his uncle.⁵³

But these acquisitions were on a relatively small scale. Lawrence's Michelangelo drawings came primarily in two groups. One was acquired directly from the collector and writer William Young Ottley, the author of one of the earliest and most important books on Italian drawing, *The Italian School of Design*, arranged historically, and published in instalments between 1808 and 1823. Ottley's book contains a large number of illustrations of drawings, including many from his own collection, which he too had acquired from different sources. Lawrence admired Ottley's expertise and, in an undated note, of which a copy is preserved among his papers, planned to bequeath Ottley the large sum of £500 to compile a catalogue of the collection.⁵⁴ Woodburn stated that Lawrence acquired Ottley's collection en bloc for the enormous sum of £10,000, and there is no good reason to query this.⁵⁵

Between 1803 and 1814, Ottley held four sales – the last much the most important – which included a good number of Michelangelo drawings, many of which were later found in Lawrence's collection. It might seem reasonable to suppose that Lawrence acquired drawings piecemeal in those sales, but if so, it would be difficult to explain the apparently massive purchase. It is probable, therefore, that many – indeed most – of the drawings by Michelangelo and others in Ottley's sales were bought in, subsequently to be sold to Lawrence. But this was not true of all. William Roscoe certainly purchased a number of drawings from Ottley's 1814 sale, some of which re-appeared in his own forced sale of 1816. Roscoe's purchases included at least one drawing catalogued as by Michelangelo in 1814, lot 1677, for on 15 October 1824 Roscoe wrote about it to Lawrence, who replied that he did not believe it to be by Michelangelo,⁵⁶ which was a correct evaluation. It is now in the British Museum firmly identified as by Dosio.⁵⁷ Such exceptions notwithstanding, there is no good reason to doubt that Lawrence's bulk purchase

took place in 1822 or 1823. Some support for this date is provided by a note made by the executors of Lawrence's estate. Lawrence had painted a portrait of Ottley's wife in 1822, which, for unknown reasons, was still in his studio at his death.⁵⁸ In listing it, his executors noted that it had been "paid for in drawings."

As for Michelangelo drawings acquired from other collections, Lawrence's major purchases were made between 1823 and 1825. In 1824 he bought for £500 one hundred sheets, which may have included some by Michelangelo, from a collection of 688 owned by the Viennese Count von Fries. A year later, in 1825, he bought some sheets from his old friend and colleague Conrad Metz, who claimed to have at least three by Michelangelo. In a letter to Metz, resident in Rome, of 24 April 1825, Lawrence wrote: "I am now, from having the first collection of these two great Masters [i.e., Raphael and Michelangelo] in Europe (this seems an arrogant assumption) so thoroughly acquainted with their hand, whether Pen or Wash, at their different periods that at a glance I know them and at a glance, reject all imitations of them."⁵⁹

The "first collection" of which Lawrence was so proud had been enriched magnificently in 1823 when he purchased another major group of Michelangelo drawings. These had been acquired by Samuel Woodburn from the French painter, former advisor to Napoleon's art commissariat in Italy, and collector Jean-Baptiste Wicar, resident in Rome. Wicar wished to build a villa and decided to sell part of his collection. It was this purchase that formed the second main source of Lawrence's Michelangelo drawings. Lawrence was already in part acquainted with Wicar's collection for Wicar had shown him some of it during his Roman sojourn of 1819. Indeed, Lawrence asked Woodburn in a letter of 17 December 1822 to "Give my compliments to Mr. Wicar, and my present thanks for his past liberality in showing me his collections and his work."⁶⁰

Woodburn's negotiations with Wicar were evidently not easy, but they were not protracted. In a letter to Lawrence of 14 January 1823, Woodburn claimed that Wicar had at first tried to pass off some copies as originals, but that he had made quite clear what he thought of them. He obviously believed himself – no doubt rightly – to be an effective and tough negotiator, for he added that had he been in Rome earlier, he could have saved Sir George Beaumont more than half the price of Michelangelo's *Taddei Tondo*.⁶¹ Woodburn prevailed, at a cost, according to a later account, of 11,000 Roman scudi.⁶² Just over a fortnight later, on 1 February 1823, Woodburn announced that he had acquired Wicar's Michelangelo drawings; not only that, he adds that Wicar had then

decided he wanted them back and had offered Woodburn a profit on the deal.⁶³ Woodburn specified two of the Michelangelo drawings: "Mr Lock has looked them also over and is quite satisfied . . . one in red chalk a study for the figure suspended of Haman in the Capell Sistine he esteemed above all price . . . there is also a Drawing for the Leda, which Mr Lock very handsomely gave the Cartoon to the Academy, a Magnificent Drawing."⁶⁴ Although Lawrence was well aware that he was likely to be outdone by Dimsdale, he replied to Woodburn on March 8, saying "I thank you, however, seriously and most sincerely, for particularising those two drawings, the Haman and the Leda."⁶⁵ On March 13, Woodburn provided further details: "For M. Angelo I have various studies for his Crucifixion, the Leda, studies for the Pietà in St. Peters, a Sibyl not finished, the head of the celebrated Faun, the figures of the small M. Venusti I sold to Mr Lock and several others . . . the Leda also is valuable since it is doubtful what became of the picture."⁶⁶

The *Haman*, of course, is the drawing now in the British Museum (W13); the study for the *Leda*, which cannot certainly be traced, may be the fine copy after the *Night*, here Cat. 83; at least one of the drawings then connected with the St. Peter's *Pietà* is probably that now in the Louvre (Inv. 716/J38/Corpus 92), made by Michelangelo not in preparation for his famous early sculptural group but for Sebastiano's *Ubeda Pietà*; the head of the *Faun* is, with virtual certainty, Cat. 8 verso, and the drawings connected with the *Venusti* may be those now in the British Museum (W76–8/Corpus 385–7) made for the *Cleansing of the Temple*, painted by Marcello Venusti to Michelangelo's design and now in the National Gallery.⁶⁷ Although Woodburn was corresponding with Lawrence, he was acting mainly as an agent for Lawrence's not altogether friendly rival Thomas Dimsdale, who had "a much heavier purse than Sir Thomas."⁶⁸ On Woodburn's return, Dimsdale, who had earlier bought from him the entire Lagoy collection, purchased the Raphaels and Michelangelos acquired in Rome for 3,000 guineas.⁶⁹ However, it seems that Dimsdale was not a monopolist and that Lawrence "occasionally bought single selected specimens": Fisher remarks that eight of Dimsdale's Raphaels and Michelangelos passed to Lawrence in Dimsdale's lifetime. Dimsdale can have enjoyed the ex-Wicar drawings only for a few days. He died on 18 April 1823, and his collection was bought from his heirs by Woodburn, who had, after all, supplied most of it. And "Very shortly after his [Dimsdale's] death the entire Series of his Italian drawings were purchased by Sir Thomas Lawrence for the sum of five thousand, five hundred pounds."⁷⁰ Lawrence no doubt paid Woodburn in instalments.

Wicar, feeling that he had parted with his Michelangelo drawings too cheaply, seems to have decided not to sell further drawings: Woodburn told Lawrence that it was useless to pursue his series of drawings by Raphael. Wicar certainly acquired further drawings before his death, including many of the group, among them a number by Raphael, which had been stolen from him in 1799, and which he re-possessed by subterfuge from the painter-collector Antonio Fedi (1771–1843), who had master-minded the theft.⁷¹ Lawrence, in the letter to Metz quoted previously, wrote: “The Chevalier Wiens [this must be a mis-transcription of Wicar] has lately I understand been again collecting from these two great men [i.e., Michelangelo and Raphael] but he will not separate from his collection and the distance is too great, and the value of it too uncertain, to justify my attempting to possess it.” He continues: “Can you not in a letter send me drawings from them?” In any case, whatever drawings Wicar purchased between 1823 and 1830, few Michelangelos were among them. His bequest to his home town of Lille contained one of the greatest runs of drawings by Raphael to be found anywhere. But it includes no more than one authentic drawing by Michelangelo: a study of around 1559 for the drum and dome of St. Peter’s, which is very important historically but far from glamorous visually. A book of architectural sketches that Wicar believed to be authentic and valued highly was long ago subtracted from Michelangelo: It has recently been shown that it is very largely by Raffaello da Montelupo.⁷²

Lawrence continued to acquire drawings, both by purchase and exchange, but little information has so far been unearthed about his acquisitions in the later 1820s. However, some light is thrown upon his methods and his interests by a correspondence conducted with Lavinia Forster, the daughter of the eminent sculptor Thomas Banks. Banks had built up a sizeable and varied collection of drawings, which she had inherited on his death in 1805. Lawrence did not make a direct offer to purchase drawings, and he was not overwhelmed with the collection as a whole, but he did express strong interest in certain sheets. He asked her to send over packages of drawings from Paris, where she lived, so that he could examine them and have some of them reproduced in tracings. Mrs. Forster does not seem to have wished to sell her drawings, and ignored Lawrence’s hints, but she did respond to his enthusiasm by giving him some sheets attributed to Dürer, and he responded by making a portrait drawing of her daughter – Lawrence’s own drawings were very much valued at the period and were praised by, for example, François Gérard, even above his paintings. And Lawrence was also generous to her in raising

money to pay for the posthumous publication of her husband’s writings. It is likely that numerous works of art came to Lawrence through his combination of charm, enthusiasm, and generosity. This correspondence – like the letter to Metz – also alerts us to the fact that when he could not acquire autograph drawings, Lawrence tried to obtain copies or tracings of them – his interests were not confined to pursuit of originals: He behaved as a serious scholar, eager to acquire the maximum information about his favoured artists.⁷³

III. THE MICHELANGELO COLLECTIONS OF JEAN-BAPTISTE WICAR AND WILLIAM YOUNG OTTLEY

The run of drawings by Michelangelo – and other artists – acquired from Wicar by Woodburn in 1823 was very substantial, but it did not comprise all the drawings by Michelangelo that Wicar had once owned. A pupil of Jacques-Louis David, admired by his master as an excellent draughtsman, Jean-Baptiste Wicar travelled to Rome with David in 1784. He returned to Italy in 1787 and between then and 1793 lived in Florence, executing drawings for the series of engravings of paintings in the galleries of the city, of which the first volume was published in 1789. Although previously fairly penurious, Wicar seems to have been well paid for this work, and he was no doubt active as a portraitist. In any case, he seems to have acquired a reasonable disposable income for in 1792 he sent via David the large sum of six hundred livres towards the reconstruction of his home town of Lille.

If Eugène Piot is to be believed, it would have been well before the French invasion of Italy that Wicar “s’était lié d’amitié avec Philippe Buonarroti, et put alors acheter et choisir un nombre de dessins assez considerable parmi ceux qui avaient été conservé par la famille.”⁷⁴ If this is correct, then it would seem that Wicar’s collection of drawings – and of Michelangelo drawings in particular – was begun in the late 1780s because Filippo Buonarroti spent very little time in Florence after c. 1789, and lived in virtually permanent exile. A friendship with Wicar could well have been formed in the late 1780s, but there would have been fewer opportunities for it to have occurred later.

It was this still-mysterious dispersal from the Buonarroti family collection in Casa Buonarroti, the fountain-head of Michelangelo’s work, that radically changed the availability of Michelangelo drawings. Piot’s account would suggest that Wicar acquired his group of Michelangelo drawings at a single moment, but whether or not this

is so is conjectural. Nevertheless, although Casa Buonarroti was certainly the main source of Wicar's Michelangelo drawings, it was not the only one and the fact that Wicar once possessed a Michelangelo drawing does not automatically prove that it came from Casa Buonarroti. Wicar bought drawings from a range of collectors and dealers, including the sculptor, restorer, and large-scale art collector (and dealer) Bartolommeo Cavaceppi, who certainly had drawings by Michelangelo in his stock.⁷⁵

During the Italian wars of the mid-late 1790s, Wicar became a commissioner for Napoleon, advising on the sequestration of Italian works of art for the Musée Napoléon. The commission concentrated on paintings and sculptures, and few collections of drawings were seized. But Wicar was believed to have used his powers as a commissioner to persuade owners to sell their possessions to him and to have taken the opportunity to form a large and important collection of drawings on his own account. According to his lights, Wicar probably behaved honestly, but, whatever the specific details, he certainly profited from the revolutionary situation and no doubt paid low prices and obtained remarkable bargains. It seems unlikely, on the whole, that Wicar stole or sequestered drawings for himself – as Vivant Denon sometimes did – and he cannot be proved to have done so. Thus, although Wicar has been held responsible by some scholars for part of the depredation of the collections of the Duke of Modena, seized by a commission under the instructions of Napoleon in 1796, and handed to the Louvre, he was officially appointed to the Commission des Arts only in February 1797, and there is no firm evidence linking him with Modena.⁷⁶ The Modena Collection of drawings, formed largely in the mid-seventeenth century, was not rich in sixteenth-century work. But two drawings were recorded, in 1771, then on display, as attributed to Michelangelo.⁷⁷ The Louvre's part of the Modena booty included no drawings by Michelangelo and it seems that these two sheets escaped the general seizure. They are, with virtual certainty, identical with two drawings, one by Michelangelo, and the other then stated to be by him, but probably by an associate, both exhibited by Woodburn in 1836 with a provenance given as from the Duke of Modena, as no. 18, now unlocated and 33, here Cat. 32. But Wicar's name was not attached to their provenance, and it is uncertain whether he ever owned either. The disruptions and uncertainties of this period led to the breakup or partial dispersal of many great Italian collections of paintings, and the same was true of collections of drawings. These, of course, inevitably, attracted less attention and are less documented. It is also worth noting that dispersals from the Modena Collection

may well have occurred earlier and that one cannot be certain that the two drawings attributed to Michelangelo were not alienated before 1796.

By the end of the 1790s, Wicar had built up a very significant collection of Italian drawings. The most important section of it was a run of drawings by Raphael, whose exact number is unknown but which may have comprised as many as eighty sheets.⁷⁸ According to Robinson, this collection – Wicar's first – was purloined from him (by Antonio Fedi, who seems to have served with Wicar on the Napoleonic commission): "He had . . . entrusted a large and very valuable portion [N.B. but not all] of them to a Friend in Florence who stole them and sold them to William Young Ottley, a dealer and writer on art, especially old master drawings, and his collection in turn was eventually purchased in its entirety by Lawrence."⁷⁹

Wicar was soon informed by his friend the painter Louis Gauffier of the fraud perpetrated upon him and learned – it is unclear how – that a number of his drawings had been acquired by Ottley. On 24 March 1801, he wrote a letter of protest to his friend Humbert de Superville, also a friend and associate of Ottley, whom he asked to intervene with Ottley on his behalf. In it he described the affair. On September 19, he sent to Humbert an *État* listing some of the drawings he had lost.⁸⁰ Ottley is reported to have replied that he had acquired about twenty of the stolen drawings – although he might have underestimated – and would be prepared to return them to Wicar, but required reimbursement. What finally transpired is unknown for no further correspondence about the matter has come to light, but an hypothesis is advanced later.⁸¹

Over the twenty years following 1800, Wicar continued to collect drawings. He had certainly succeeded in re-acquiring some of the drawings stolen from him even before the coup of 1824 in which he bought some seventeen of his Raphaels back from Fedi through an intermediary, plus an unknown number of other Renaissance and baroque drawings. Some minor Michelangelo drawings may have been among these earlier retrievals. It is unknown whether he could have continued to acquire drawings by Michelangelo from Filippo Buonarroti; Filippo may well not have disposed immediately of all the drawings that he had taken from Casa Buonarroti, but he could have sold them in small groups over the years as he required funds. Only future documentary finds are likely to clarify this. Wicar no doubt bought further Michelangelo drawings from sources other than Filippo – thus, he attempted to acquire Michelangelo's *Epifania* cartoon before that came formally onto the market in Rome in 1809. His collection was not inaccessible: J. D. Passavant,

in 1832, mentions drawings – then in the possession of Lawrence's executors – made by Michelangelo for Sebastiano's *Raising of Lazarus* (National Gallery), that he had previously seen in Wicar's house in Rome; the drawings in question are no doubt those now divided between the British Museum and the Musée Bonnat.⁸² Sadly, Passavant provides no further information. Whether the run of Michelangelos that Wicar sold to Woodburn in 1823 represented acquisitions made after 1800, whether it comprised drawings that he had not lost to theft in 1799, or whether it was a combination of both – the most likely possibility – is not known. The question of how many drawings by or attributed to Michelangelo Woodburn acquired directly from Wicar is also addressed later.

As the passage quoted earlier from Robinson's account makes clear, it has generally been accepted that a good number – if not all – of the Michelangelo drawings in Lawrence's collection with a provenance from Casa Buonarroti and from Ottley had also come from Wicar via his treacherous friends.⁸³ It must therefore be asked how many drawings by Michelangelo were stolen from Wicar in 1799, and how many of them passed through the hands of Ottley? To attempt to answer these questions, it is necessary to say a few words about William Young Ottley.

Ottley was in Italy from 1791 to 1799, overlapping with Wicar. As a comfortably-off young man with artistic ambitions and a reputation as a radical, Ottley curiously parallels the convinced and committed French republican. Ottley had access to at least some of the same sources as Wicar, and he too certainly acquired drawings, including some by Michelangelo, from Bartolommeo Cavaceppi. Ottley spent time in Florence, as well as Rome, and, in principle, might have bought drawings by Michelangelo if not directly from Filippo Buonarroti, at least from some intermediary to whom Filippo had sold them. It is by no means to be assumed, therefore, that all the Michelangelo drawings that came into Ottley's hands from Casa Buonarroti had necessarily passed through Wicar's. It may be added that, naturally for a young English artist at this moment, deeply under the influence of Fuseli, Ottley was fascinated by Michelangelo and copied his work. Several of Ottley's copy drawings are signed and dated: One, now in the Vatican, after Duke Giuliano, is inscribed "Drawn and finished from the original Florence. Feb 21, 1792"; another, after a section of the *Last Judgement*, signed and dated 1793 is inscribed "ab orig."⁸⁴ Ottley would have needed no incentive to pursue drawings by Michelangelo. It is not fully certain that Ottley acquired all his drawings in Italy – one writer claimed that he purchased the ex-Casa Buonarroti Michelangelos only in London

on his return – but it is probable that the bulk of what he owned was obtained in Florence or Rome.⁸⁵

For Wicar's losses in 1799, the *État* that he sent to Humbert de Superville is a vital source and apparently reliable about the drawings that had been stolen from him. Of the thirty-nine items included in it – comprising both single sheets and groups of drawings – Wicar specified thirty-three groups of drawings by Raphael and a few by other artists. Some of the Raphaels are described so precisely – if briefly – that they can readily be identified, and it is very clear that a proportion of these – at least twenty and perhaps as many as thirty-six sheets⁸⁶ – was acquired by Ottley as, indeed, he admitted. But in the present context, that of Michelangelo, the *État* is extremely puzzling. By Michelangelo was specified only the book of architectural sketches believed by Wicar to be autograph but now known to be predominantly by Michelangelo's associate Raffaello da Montelupo.⁸⁷ This did not pass to Ottley and was among the items re-possessed from Fedi by Wicar in 1824. It appears, therefore, that although stolen drawings by Raphael, the artist Wicar seems to have valued above all others, had entered Ottley's possession, Wicar did not believe – or was not aware – that Ottley had acquired stolen drawings by Michelangelo.

Nevertheless, this conclusion is hard to reconcile with other evidence. Although Wicar did not include in his *État* any Michelangelo drawings among those works that had been stolen from him and that he believed Ottley had acquired, Ottley did own a number of drawings by Michelangelo that later cataloguers have stated were previously owned by Wicar. Thus, Woodburn's 1836 catalogue lists two drawings with the provenance Wicar and Ottley: nos. 77 (the *Dream of Human Life*, now in the Prince's Gate Collection) and 80 (Cat. 29 here). His 1842 prospectus and Robinson's catalogue list both the latter (the former had been sold to William II in 1839) and one other drawing not exhibited in 1836 with the provenance Wicar and Ottley (respectively nos. 4 and 72). Combining the information in the catalogues of 1836 and 1842, one would therefore conclude that only three drawings in total passed in some manner from Wicar to Ottley, and that all other drawings for which Wicar's ownership is listed were acquired directly from Wicar by Woodburn in 1823. This would modify the conclusion reached from examination of the *État* that no Michelangelo drawings were among those stolen, but only to the extent that three drawings by Michelangelo were purloined from Wicar and passed to Ottley. It might be possible, in principle, to accept that Wicar had simply forgotten about them when he wrote to Humbert de Superville. It would, however, be difficult to believe that had Wicar lost to theft the

Dream of Human Life, one of Michelangelo's most famous and spectacular drawings, he would have failed to mention it. One might therefore be tempted to suggest that Ottley had purchased these drawings from Wicar at some date subsequent to 1800. Although there is no record that Wicar ever visited England, and although Ottley is not known to have returned to Italy – although he did go to France – purchase by correspondence is quite possible, as Lawrence's example amply demonstrates.

However, the situation is complicated further by another body of evidence, the drawings attributed to Michelangelo that appeared in William Young Ottley's sales. Four auctions have been identified, taking place in 1803, 1804, 1807, and 1814.⁸⁸ The information their catalogues provide is patchy: Descriptions are perfunctory, many lots contained more than one drawing, and it is often unclear whether references to medium, provenance, and even authorship apply to all the items in multiple lots or only to one or two of them. Nevertheless, despite such limitations, the catalogues are an invaluable source, especially if what they say can be correlated with information from other sources, including Ottley's *Italian School of Design*.

Ottley's first sale, beginning on 14 April 1803, contained ten lots under the name of Michelangelo, comprising twenty-one drawings in total. Of these, one single-drawing lot (no. 26) was stated to be after Michelangelo; another drawing – or possibly all three – in a three-drawing lot (no. 19) was given to Marcello Venusti; and a further two items in a four-drawing lot (no. 27) were attributed to Kent, presumably William Kent, the British painter-architect who trained in Rome for several years at the beginning of the eighteenth century, rather than the dealer of the same name, active later in the century. These last two drawings are the only ones listed under Michelangelo's name in this sale that can today be identified with some confidence.⁸⁹ One single-drawing lot (no. 22) is specifically stated to have come from Sir Peter Lely's collection; another (lot 23), from that of Thomas Hudson. It seems likely that the whole of lot 27, in which William Kent's two drawings were included, with now-lost inscriptions on their versos taken from Richardson and Wright, also came from English collections. One other, lot 26 – if it is correctly identified as the copy once in the Koenigs collection and now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, by Carlo Dolci, after Michelangelo's portrait drawing of Andrea Quaratesi – was probably acquired by Ottley on the London market; it bears Reynolds' stamp, and no doubt appeared in one of his posthumous sales, probably that of 1798. It is unlikely that any one of the drawings offered in 1803 had a recent

Italian provenance or was an autograph work by Michelangelo. Indeed, Gere suggested that Ottley did not own the contents of this sale, but only acted as the expert.⁹⁰

Ottley's second sale, beginning on 11 April 1804, was larger and richer. Sixteen lots were included under Michelangelo's name, comprising sixty-two drawings in total. Six lots comprising twenty-five drawings are listed either as coming "from the family of the artist, still resident in Florence" or "from the Buonarroti collection." One of these, lot 275, containing two drawings, reappeared in Ottley's 1814 sale as lot 1504, and this time the provenance was given as Ciciaporci, which is more likely to be correct. It is not fully clear how many drawings contained in the remaining five ex-Buonarroti lots in 1804 really came from Michelangelo's family. This is because the reference to the Buonarroti Collection in lot 268, which contained ten drawings, may have applied not to the entire contents of that lot but only to two drawings – one described as "a monstrous animal, black chalk" and probably identifiable with W50/Corpus 305 in the British Museum (with a provenance from the Wellesley Collection) and the other with a sheet in the British Library bearing a chalk sketch on one side and a poem on the other, acquired at the sale of Samuel Rogers in 1856 (Corpus 217). The reason for doubting a Buonarroti provenance for the remaining eight drawings in lot 268 is because their description dovetails neatly with the descriptions of four other lots, all of which are stated to have come "from the Martelli collection, in Florence." It is uncertain therefore whether the Michelangelo drawings with a Buonarroti provenance in this sale numbered twenty-five or seventeen. The lots originating with Martelli would, correspondingly, have provided either twenty-seven or – assuming that eight of the ten drawings in lot 268 also came from the Martelli – thirty-six studies of heads or body parts. The Martelli were a venerable and famous Florentine family, with extensive holdings of painting and sculpture of the highest quality, but nothing seems to be known about their drawings.⁹¹ However, given that large numbers of their drawings were sold in single lot "bundles," individual sheets cannot have been highly prized.

Two further lots, each comprising a single drawing, were stated to have come "from Count Geloso's cabinet" (lot 276) and "from the Spada collection at Rome" (lot 278). Only one lot (lot 272), containing a single drawing, had an English provenance, from Sir Peter Lely. This re-appeared as lot 1588 in the 1814 sale at which it was no doubt acquired directly or indirectly by William Esdaile: It can be identified with the autograph drawing by Michelangelo now in Hamburg (21094/Corpus 35).

It is difficult to be sure how many lots from the 1804 sale re-appeared in Ottley's 1814 sale. Two have already been mentioned: the ex-Lely drawing, lot 272 in 1804 which became lot 1588 in 1814, and 1804-275, containing two drawings, whose Buonarroti provenance given in 1804 was changed to Ciciaporci in 1814, lot 1504 (this is no doubt identifiable with Cats. 45 and 48). A third was 1804-274, containing two drawings stated as coming from the Buonarroti Collection, which probably became lot 1587 in 1814 (and whose contents are identifiable with Cats. 50 and 36). The fourth drawing, 1804-278, claimed as a study by Michelangelo for Sebastiano's Viterbo *Pietà* coming from the Spada Collection, was lot 826 in 1814; it cannot now be traced. Two further drawings from the 1804 sale, which do not seem to have re-appeared in 1814, may nevertheless be identifiable. One of these – "a sheet with two torsos – free pen" in lot 279, which comprised three drawings (the other two were described as after Michelangelo by Salviati) – might have been autograph and, if so, may be identical with no. 2 in Woodburn's 1842 prospectus, and with Cat. 2 here. In 1842 its provenance was given solely as Wicar, without mention either of Buonarroti or Ottley. A further lot (lot 264) for which no provenance is indicated, is not traceable in 1814 but is probably to be identified with Cat. 107, whose provenance was given solely as Ottley in 1842. It has no claim to be by Michelangelo.

Of the seventeen or twenty-five drawings given a Buonarroti provenance in the sale of 1804, therefore, only four drawings, the contents of lots 274 and 275, can be identified with reasonable security. However, because lot 275 probably came from Ciciaporci rather than Casa Buonarroti, this means that only two of the ex-Casa Buonarroti drawings offered in 1804 can now be identified. Nevertheless, there is no reason to doubt the autograph status of the remainder: In three cases it is noted that the sheets contain inscriptions by Michelangelo, "an account of money," "some verses autograph," and "some of his writings" – and it is simply the skimpiness of the descriptions that do not allow them to be connected with drawings known either from Ottley's subsequent sale catalogues or the exhibition and sale catalogues of Woodburn. Most of them were probably relatively slight.

How many of the Michelangelos in the 1804 sale might have been stolen from Wicar? Among the five putatively identifiable drawings by Michelangelo (the contents of lots 274 and 275, each containing two drawings, and one of the three in lot 279), only one (lot 274 i) was given a provenance including Wicar in Woodburn's prospectus of 1842 (no. 28) followed by later catalogues, although it

is probably safe to assume that this provenance was shared by its companion then on the same mount (lot 274 ii) but later separated. On the face of it, therefore, the total of stolen drawings would seem to be three or four. Additional or changed information about provenances provided in 1836 and 1842 by Woodburn, whose accounts are generally repeated verbatim by Robinson and Parker, may modify this total. But, as we shall see, the later information is not invariably more accurate than that to be gleaned from Ottley's sale catalogues, and the assumption that a provenance revealed later was one concealed earlier is not one that can be made with confidence. Notwithstanding this caveat, because it is certain that some of the series of drawings by Raphael purloined from Wicar were offered for sale by Ottley in 1804, it is obviously possible that some of the Michelangelos had come the same way.

Ottley's third sale, beginning on 6 July 1807, contained only four lots ascribed to Michelangelo totalling five drawings. Two lots were listed with English provenances: one "from K. Cha. I cabinet" (i.e., the collection of King Charles I; it probably bore one of the marks associated with Nicholas or Jerome Lanier, then believed to be those of the Collector-monarch⁹²) and the other, lot 374, "a study of three hands – masterly fine pen" from Sir Peter Lely. The latter may be identifiable with Bartolommeo Passerotti's drawing, Cat. 114. If so, then the provenance given for this drawing in 1836-10 and 1842-85 as Buonarroti (in any case suspicious for a drawing by Passerotti) and Wicar, with no mention of Lely or Ottley, was an error. A third, a "Descent from the Cross, many figures" in black chalk came from "Count Geloso's cabinet" – it re-appeared in 1814 as lot 1764. None of these drawings is particularly plausible as an autograph Michelangelo, and only the two drawings in lot 376, for which no provenance is provided – a "fight of cavaliers" in black chalk and pen, described as "CAPITAL," and "a group of five figures, half length" in pen – sound possible candidates. Neither can now be identified with certainty, but the "fight of cavaliers" might be that included in the 1814 sale as lot 1681, with the provenance given as Buonarroti; in which case, it would probably be the same drawing (Cat. 6) that appears in 1842 as no. 67; in that and subsequent catalogues its provenance given solely as Wicar and Lawrence, with both Buonarroti and Ottley omitted. If this identification is correct, the total of ex-Wicar drawings possessed by Ottley would rise to four or five (adding the drawings offered in 1807 to those offered in 1804).

The most important of Ottley's sales, and that with the most informative catalogue, began on 6 June 1814 and continued for fifteen days. The drawings by or attributed to Michelangelo were divided into six groups, each group

being sold on a different day. These groups comprised forty-eight lots of drawings; a forty-ninth lot, 1762, was an unbound first edition of Michelangelo's poems, coming from the Buonarroti family. The forty-eight lots of drawings contained a total of seventy sheets. From them must be subtracted lot 1500, comprising two drawings that are specifically stated to be copies. The forty-seven remaining lots comprised sixty-eight drawings by or claimed to be by Michelangelo. Even though this sale probably included most of the drawings that Ottley considered to be by Michelangelo, there is no reason to believe that it exhausted his holdings completely. In total twenty-six of the forty-eight lots are provided with provenances. Nine lots (253, 254, 256, 260, 264, 265, 1679, 1681, 1758) and part of a tenth (1587), comprising nineteen drawings in total, were specifically listed as coming from the Buonarroti collection, but it seems that – more probably through oversight than deliberate concealment – other lots originating from the Buonarroti collection were not specifically indicated, and this total can be raised with some confidence by four lots: 257 (claimed to come from Casa Buonarroti in Woodburn's exhibition of 1836, no. 7), 261 (probably 1842-72, claimed to come from Casa Buonarroti, Wicar, and Ottley), 1759 (recognised as from Casa Buonarroti by Parker, II, 294), and 1760 (1842-9, claimed to come from Casa Buonarroti and Wicar). These four lots contained five drawings in all. Thus, it might be reasonable to conclude that some twenty-four drawings, comprising the whole or part of fourteen lots in the 1814 sale, came from Casa Buonarroti.

Several other collections are listed in 1814 as providing drawings by Michelangelo. From the Cicciaporci-Cavaceppi collection came seven lots (263, 823, 824, 825, 828, 1504, 1768), and part of an eighth (1587) in which an ex-Cicciaporci drawing was placed with a drawing from the Buonarroti collection. These seven and a half lots comprised eleven drawings. It is likely that all save one of these lots, no. 263 (Cat. 102), were autograph. From the collection of Lamberto Gori came six other single-drawing lots: 1501, 1502, 1503, 1590, 1761, 1765; none of these was original.⁹³ Count Geloso's *Descent from the Cross* (lot 1764) re-appeared from 1807, but nothing from the Martelli Collection surfaced. The only other sources listed – both English – were Lely, for lot 1588, “a leaf of pen studies, head of a warrior etc, very fine in his early manner,” probably, as noted earlier, identical with 1804 lot 272, and with the drawing by Michelangelo now in Hamburg, and lot 1766, the *Three Figures in Conversation* (Cat. 33), whose provenance from the collection of Jonathan Richardson the Elder was noted, but not from that of Lord Spencer.

There are some minor discrepancies in the information in Ottley's sales, but none that might not be explained by haste or lack of attention. Thus, as noted previously, lot 1504 in 1814 was said in 1804, when it was lot 275, to have come from the Buonarroti Collection, and whether or not this is correct, it is probable that the change to Cicciaporci in 1814 was a genuine correction, not an attempt at a subterfuge. According to Ottley's own writings, lot 262 (W29/Corpus 97) also came from the Cicciaporci-Cavaceppi Collection, and the omission of this provenance in 1814 was no doubt accidental: There can have been no reason to conceal it. The same must be true of lot 1680, now given to Raffaello da Montelupo (Cat. 77), which, like lot 1766, came from Richardson, but whose name is not mentioned by Ottley.

In none of Ottley's sales is Wicar's name included in the provenance of a drawing. It is only in Woodburn's 1836 exhibition catalogue and 1842 prospectus that Wicar, who had, of course, died in 1834, is named. In 1836 Woodburn acknowledged forty-nine of the one hundred mountings of drawings on display to have come from Buonarroti and Wicar.⁹⁴ In only two of these cases did he include the name of Ottley after that of Wicar in these provenances. The first of these, 1836-80 (Cat. 29), a red chalk study of a man's head “expressive of malevolence,” cannot be identified in any of Ottley's sales, and if he did own it – which there is no particular reason to doubt – it either was never offered at auction or was described so minimally as to elude identification. The second, 1836-77, is the magnificent *Dream of Human Life*, lot 1767 in 1814 (The Prince's Gate Collection of the Courtauld Institute). The obvious presumption would be that Woodburn did not mention Ottley's ownership of a number of other drawings that can be identified with items appearing in Ottley's 1814 sale because he wished to conceal that these had been stolen from Wicar. It would be natural to conclude that, save in the two cases in which Ottley's name was mentioned, Woodburn wished to convey the impression that the drawings were among those that he himself had bought directly from Wicar in 1823. For those drawings shown in the 1836 exhibition that re-appeared in the 1842 prospectus, the provenance information is unchanged in all save one case, of which more later. From the descriptions of those drawings included in the 1842 prospectus that had not been shown in 1836, a little more information can be gleaned.

In 1842 Woodburn listed twenty-four mountings of drawings with a Buonarroti-Wicar provenance.⁹⁵ For two of these, he extended the sequence of ownership to Ottley. One of these, 1842-4, was the *Head of a Man* “strongly expressive of malevolence” for which Ottley's

name had already been given in 1836, no. 80; the other was 1842-72 ("Three small studies on one mount"), not shown in 1836. The *Dream of Human Life*, 1836-77, had been sold on to the King of Holland in the interim and so did not appear in the 1842 prospectus. The implication would seem to be, once again, that the remainder had been acquired by Woodburn directly from Wicar. When the works given a Buonarroti-Wicar provenance in 1836 and 1842 that are common to both catalogues are added to those that appear only in one or the other, it would seem that Woodburn possessed a total of fifty-four mountings with a Buonarroti-Wicar provenance, of which three (combining the information provided in the 1836 and 1842 catalogues) were acknowledged also to have been owned by Ottley.

In addition, Woodburn in 1842 listed a further nine mountings with Wicar as sole owner, presumably implying that they did not come from Casa Buonarroti.⁹⁶ Thus, combining the figures of 1836 and 1842, a total of sixty-three mountings would have come from Wicar. Woodburn also listed fourteen mountings with Ottley as sole owner.⁹⁷ A further mounting was given the unique (and probably erroneous) provenance Buonarroti-Ottley.⁹⁸ Finally the drawing on panel, Cat. 21, is stated to have passed to Ottley from the King of Naples, and two other drawings are said to have come to Ottley from English collections.⁹⁹ If these references are taken at face value, it would imply that fifty-five of the mountings offered by Woodburn had come from Casa Buonarroti, fifty-four via Wicar, and one via Ottley. Which ones and how many of the group of nine mountings of which Wicar is listed as sole source, or the group of fourteen of which Ottley is listed as sole source, might also have come from Casa Buonarroti is a question that can be answered in part. Of the nine "Wicar alone" drawings, five are not by Michelangelo, and it is unlikely that any of them came from Casa Buonarroti.¹⁰⁰ It is probable that all four of the autograph sheets came from Casa Buonarroti, but only one can be proved to have done so.¹⁰¹ Of the fifteen "Ottley alone" mountings, seven-and-a-half are neither by Michelangelo nor from his studio, and it is unlikely that any of them came from Casa Buonarroti.¹⁰² Of the remaining seven-and-a-half, it seems probable that one (1842-32/Cat. 24), although autograph, had a non-Buonarroti provenance (Cicciaporci is most likely), but that the remainder, including one drawing by Antonio Mini (1842-60/Cat. 74) and another given here to Pietro d'Argenta (1842-63/Cat. 58), did indeed come from Casa Buonarroti.¹⁰³ If the four Wicar mountings and the seven-and-a-half Ottley mountings are added to the fifty-five, we reach a total of sixty-six-and-a-half mountings by

Michelangelo and his immediate followers with a direct provenance from Casa Buonarroti.

One example of which the provenance in 1842 is given solely as Ottley is particularly instructive: This is 1842-47, one of the two mountings of four sheets from Michelangelo's Sistine sketchbook (Cats. 9-16). Its pair, the other gathering of four sheets, 1842-66, is specifically given the provenance Casa Buonarroti and Wicar. However, six years previously, in 1836, both mountings (1836-2 and 1836-50) had been listed as coming solely from Ottley's collection. Thus, the provenance of one had been revised in the interim – the single change of provenance information given for the same drawings between 1836 and 1842. One of these two mountings of four leaves each can be traced further back: It had previously appeared in Ottley's 1814 sale, and then it was divided into two mountings of two sheets apiece (1814-264 and 1814-265), both described as coming from the Buonarroti Collection. One of these two mountings must have included Cat. 11, of which Ottley had reproduced the recto in his *Italian School of Design*. The other four sketchbook sheets, however, cannot be found in the 1814 sale. How is this to be interpreted? Did Ottley own the second group of four or did he not? In his *Italian School of Design*, he mentions possessing only four sheets, and there would have been no good reason to conceal it had he owned eight. It is probable, therefore, that Ottley did not possess the second group. If so, and if the second group of four really was acquired by Woodburn directly from Wicar, it would imply that the provenance of both groups from Ottley given by Woodburn in the 1836 catalogue was no more than a typographical error, and that in 1842 Woodburn corrected this for the group that Ottley had not owned. What possible reason could Woodburn have had for ignoring the Casa Buonarroti provenance for at least one of the groups in 1836 while in 1842 retaining the provenance of one as Ottley, and giving the provenance of the second as Buonarroti and Wicar, and excluding Ottley? It is not as if in 1836 Woodburn was trying to conceal *any* transfer Buonarroti-Wicar-Ottley, since he had acknowledged this for two other drawings (1836-77 and 1836-80). And since a Buonarroti provenance had been published for at least one of the two groups in Ottley's 1814 sale, what profit was there in attempting to hide it in 1836 and 1842? It is difficult to elucidate any consistent pattern in this, whether of openness or concealment, and it is probably more reasonable – as well as more charitable – to conclude that the discrepancies are the result of confusion rather than conspiracy. Confusion would also explain why the Cicciaporci-Cavaceppi provenance given for two drawings in 1836 – nos. 63 and 84,

both sold by Woodburn to the King of Holland in 1839 – was entirely ignored for the remaining drawings springing from this collection listed in the prospectus of 1842, in which Cicciaporci and Cavaceppi are nowhere cited. There was no reason whatsoever to have concealed this provenance, which had, of course, been acknowledged in Ottley's 1814 sale catalogue, and presumably the origin of this group of mostly late drawings by Michelangelo was simply forgotten.

Correlating the provenances given in the listings of 1836 and 1842 with drawings offered at auction by Ottley in 1814, it would seem on the face of the statements made in the later catalogues that fifteen lots and two part-lots offered in 1814 – comprising seventeen drawings – were among those abstracted from Casa Buonarroti by Filippo Buonarroti, passed to Wicar and then stolen from Wicar by Fedi.¹⁰⁴ But, in fact, this correlation demonstrates that the information provided in the 1836 and 1842 catalogues – and repeated subsequently – is not fully trustworthy. It is unlikely that lot 259 in 1814 ("a man's head, profile") ever came from Casa Buonarroti; Cicciaporci-Cavaceppi is a much more likely provenance, and in the same sale of 1814 Cicciaporci was the stated and entirely plausible previous owner of lots 263, 823, 824, and 825 and the part-lot 1587a. Lot 1502 is stated in 1814 to have come from Gori's collection. It is also unlikely that lot 1767 in 1814, one of Michelangelo's most important and highly valued Presentation Drawings, had either been owned by Wicar or come from Casa Buonarroti. Thus, of the fifteen lots and two part-lots in Ottley's sale of 1814 that were stated in the 1836 and 1842 listings to have come from Casa Buonarroti, five lots certainly and probably seven, plus a part-lot, did not do so. This means that between six and eight of the seventeen drawings did not have a Buonarroti provenance. This is a high rate of error, which also reduces the sixty-five mountings with a Buonarroti provenance – obtained by adding the information provided in 1836 and 1842, calculated previously – to between fifty-seven and fifty-nine. Even though it cannot positively be proved that these lots did not at some time pass through Wicar's hands – he, like Ottley, had bought directly from Cavaceppi and might also have done so from Gori and others – it is unlikely that they did so. It is more probable that in 1836 Woodburn, who includes a Cicciaporci-Cavaceppi provenance for only two drawings (1836-63, the *Isaiah* [BM W29/Corpus 97] which is 1814 lot 262, and the study for the *Last Judgement* [BM W60/Corpus 350], 1836-84, which is 1814 lot 1768), was confused about the provenances of a number of drawings and opted for what seemed to him the most likely. He made other errors:

Thus, a *Study of Hands* 1842-86, by Passerotti, is given a provenance from Wicar whereas this drawing (P. II, 453) bears the stamp of Benjamin West and is unlikely ever to have been owned by Wicar. Lot 1590 in 1814, is stated as coming from Gori, but it becomes simply Ottley in 1842-1 (Cat. 99). As Pouncey and Gere noted, lot 828 in 1814, stated as coming from Cicciaporci, is given a provenance from Richardson in 1836-51 – a glaring mistake. And at least one error was made in the opposite sense: A drawing given a Buonarroti provenance in 1814, lot 1758, is given a provenance solely as Ottley in 1836, no. 55. Furthermore, the famous *Epifania* cartoon, now in the British Museum (W75/Corpus 389), was stated in the 1836 catalogue (no. 30) to have come from Casa Buonarroti. It had not. Recorded in 1600 in the inventory of Fulvio Orsini, who bequeathed his collection to the Farnese, it had remained in their possession until, on the extinction of the family, their collections passed to Charles of Bourbon, King of the Two Sicilies. The cartoon was given by Charles, in 1753, to Cardinal Silvio Valenti.¹⁰⁵ This mistake was not repeated in the Woodburn sale of 1860, in which at least part of the true provenance was given.

Nevertheless, even once Woodburn's errors are taken into account, it would still appear that in 1814 Ottley sold eight lots and one half-lot – comprising nine sheets of drawings – by Michelangelo that had previously been owned by Wicar and had come from Casa Buonarroti. These drawings, like a number of the Raphaels offered in the same sale, would therefore have been part of the booty of Fedi. But, once again, we return to the question of how this assumption can be squared with Wicar's *État* of 1801, in which, to recall, he had included details of well over thirty drawings or groups of drawings by Raphael but *none* by Michelangelo. If, to return to an obvious example, Wicar had lost by theft a drawing of such outstanding importance as Michelangelo's *Dream of Human Life*, lot 1767 in Ottley's sale of 1814 without any provenance, but with the provenance given as Casa Buonarroti and Wicar in 1836, it is inconceivable that he would not have specified it. How should this situation be explained? It may be significant that, after the exchange between Wicar and Ottley via Humbert de Superville in 1801, no more is heard of the matter, and, as far as we know, Wicar seems to have made no further attempt to recover the drawings stolen from him that had been fenced to Ottley, an inaction out of character for a man of his persistence, nor does it seem that Ottley felt he was dealing in stolen goods when he included drawings by Raphael that had certainly been purloined from Wicar in his own sale of 1804. Perhaps Wicar and Ottley reached some kind of accommodation, which involved sales made directly by

Wicar to Ottley – including Michelangelo drawings – at a price that would, on the one hand, allow Ottley to feel he had not paid excessively over the odds and, on the other, enable Wicar to make up some of his losses. This would also account for the fact that Ottley seems to have felt no disquiet about reproducing some of the drawings that had probably been owned by Wicar in the *Italian School of Design*. To keep or even to sell stolen drawings, objects inherently difficult to trace, is one thing. But to reproduce them in same-scale prints with Ottley's own address in the letter-press is entirely another and does not suggest concealment. But, finally, it must be stressed that the accommodation hypothesis is no more than that, a provisional suggestion to be confirmed or denied by future research.

How many drawings or mountings of drawings by Michelangelo came from Casa Buonarroti? It is impossible to be precise. The family does not seem to have placed any mark on the drawings, although a stamp was applied later – if inconsistently – probably before Casa Buonarroti was given to the City of Florence, so for information about the losses we are largely reliant upon the various catalogues produced by Ottley and Woodburn with their lacunae and errors. A very rough guess would be that shortly before 1790 some seventy-five pages or mountings left Casa Buonarroti, comprising over one hundred sheets of drawings, with Wicar the main, if not necessarily the sole, beneficiary.

IV. THE COLLECTIONS OF CASA BUONARROTI: FORMATION AND DISPERSAL

From the time of Michelangelo's death until the later eighteenth century, the collection of Michelangelo's drawings far outnumbering all others was that of Casa Buonarroti. What was in Casa Buonarroti and how was its collection formed? For the most part, the collection consisted of relatively sketchy drawings. The most significant exceptions are the carefully elaborated architectural *modelli* – the authenticity of which was often denied during the twentieth century – and some of the late *Crucifixion* drawings, which, although unresolved, are in effect fully satisfying and self-sufficient statements. The majority of the drawings in – or once in – Casa Buonarroti date from before 1534 when Michelangelo transferred permanently from Florence to Rome, and it is a reasonable assumption that the predominant source was material abandoned or overlooked in Michelangelo's various workshops when he left Florence for good. The family's archive of letters, contracts, and *ricordi*, together with drawings by

Michelangelo of no immediate aesthetic interest, such as his sketches of blocks of marble ordered for the façade of San Lorenzo and other projects, remained largely intact. This was material that would never have passed out of the family's possession, and it is likely that this mass of paper – it is one of the largest surviving archives of a non-princely family – was accompanied by many sheets of drawings. Among them would also have been drawings by his students, occasional drawings by other artists acquired by Michelangelo for one reason or another, and strictly utilitarian drawings – such as ground plans – by others that Michelangelo required for some purpose.

The Archivio Buonarroti contains letters both to and from Michelangelo throughout his life, and it is evident that, on the master's death in 1564, part of his archive that must have been housed in Rome – although it is not recorded in Michelangelo's posthumous inventory – was returned to Florence by his nephew. This body of paper too is likely to have contained numerous drawings made on the same pages as poems or accounts. And there are and were a sufficient number of drawings in Casa Buonarroti made by Michelangelo after 1534 to make it clear that the family also took possession of drawings made by Michelangelo in Rome during the last thirty years of his life. Some of these, one presumes, were recovered from his Roman house after his death. It is otherwise difficult to explain why, for example, drawings made for Saint Peter's found their way to Casa Buonarroti in Florence.

When Michelangelo died, his nephew Leonardo was placed in a difficult position. Throughout the last quarter century of his life, Michelangelo, paying lip-service to Cosimo's regime, but at heart unreconciled with it, trod a precarious line. He had a profound sense of family and, with immensely valuable properties in the Florentine hinterland, could not risk their being sequestered, inevitable had he opposed Cosimo's regime openly and been declared a rebel. But he wished to distance himself from the regime as far as possible and evaded all its more pressing overtures. He never, for example, offered Cosimo I a finished drawing of the type that he made for so many of his friends, and indeed, in 1561, presumably realising he would never get anything directly from Michelangelo, Cosimo had to exert great pressure on Tommaso dei Cavalieri to extract from him one of these trophies. Tommaso gave Cosimo the *Cleopatra*, made for him by Michelangelo nearly thirty years earlier. Furthermore, Michelangelo's action in destroying, at the very end of his life, many drawings (including ones made for various Florentine architectural projects) that Cosimo might legitimately have considered should be made over to him, since

they concerned Medici projects, was an act of defiance that angered Cosimo – rarely given to open admission of emotion – sufficiently for him to say so in a letter to his representative in Rome.¹⁰⁶

Leonardo Buonarroti had to find ways of placating the ruler, evidence of whose irrational behaviour and mental decline was becoming apparent. He presented to Cosimo five statues that had been left in Michelangelo's Florentine workshop and that Cosimo had wished to purchase as early as 1544: The *Victory*, nearly finished, which Cosimo placed in the Salone of Palazzo Vecchio, and the relatively unfinished four large *prigioni*, which, at Cosimo's command, were installed by Bernardo Buontalenti in the grotto he constructed in the gardens of Palazzo Pitti. All these figures, of course, had been made for the tomb of Julius II and had no connection with the Medici. In addition, Leonardo made an effort to find further finished drawings for Cosimo: He recovered – no doubt with pressure – from Michelangelo's pupil Jacomo del Duca, to whom the master had presumably given them, Michelangelo's *cartonetti* of the *Annunciation* and the *Agony in the Garden*, which Marcello Venusti had executed as paintings but which he did not himself own. Leonardo gave them to Cosimo, who seems to have put them on display, no doubt framed and glazed. Both are now in the Uffizi, sadly damaged by over-exposure.¹⁰⁷ Also in 1564, died the earliest recipient of Michelangelo's Presentation Drawings, Gherardo Perini. He had owned at least three finished drawings by the master, and these too were acquired by Cosimo, also to be displayed and, consequently, degraded.¹⁰⁸ Ironically, these drawings, all of which have a continuous provenance and the best possible claims to authenticity, were doubted in the twentieth century by adherents of "scientific" criticism.

It seems likely, under such circumstances, that Leonardo would not have risked retaining Presentation Drawings by Michelangelo, but sketches, perhaps even quite developed sketches, were another matter, and, as far as is known, Cosimo evinced no interest in these. It cannot be ruled out that such drawings, or some of them, were presented to Cosimo and subsequently returned to Casa Buonarroti by his grandson, but, on balance, it seems more likely that they remained in Leonardo's house: Whether he attempted to supplement them is unknown. Leonardo died in 1593, and Casa Buonarroti was then taken over by his son, Michelangelo the Younger, Michelangelo's great nephew and namesake. Michelangelo the Younger was the man most responsible for turning Casa Buonarroti into a museum and shrine of his ancestor. He commissioned a series of paintings on the biography of Michelangelo from some of the leading

contemporary Florentine painters and installed them in a gallery. Michelangelo the Younger was a significant poet and litterateur, and he was also concerned to vaunt the literary achievements of his ancestor, of whose poems he published the first edition in 1623.

Probably in connection with the planning of this edition, Michelangelo the Younger acquired either directly from the architect Bernardo Buontalenti (1536–1608), perhaps Michelangelo's most intelligent and inventive interpreter in architecture and decoration in the later sixteenth century, or from Buontalenti's heirs, an unknown number of sheets of drawings by Michelangelo including five that also contained poems, which he described with sufficient clarity to be identifiable.¹⁰⁹ How and where Buontalenti had obtained these sheets is unknown, but at least one had belonged to the Irregular Numbering Collector (to be discussed later), and it is likely that some of the scappier sketches had simply strayed in one manner or another from Michelangelo's studio and had been acquired by Buontalenti piecemeal.

It is also worth noting that drawings arrived in Casa Buonarroti from other sources. At least three drawings seem to have come from the Irregular Numbering series and another, smaller, group is also identifiable by the roman numerals in red chalk to be found on some sheets – mostly but not entirely containing architectural drawings – most of which are still in Casa Buonarroti but of which at least one – with a provenance from Bernardo Buontalenti and Casa Buonarroti – is now in the Ashmolean (Cat. 56). Because these roman numerals are found on drawings made by Michelangelo at very different periods, it is probable that they were applied only after his death in 1564. They were presumably due neither to Buontalenti nor to a member of the Buonarroti family because they were not applied uniformly to other drawings known to have been owned by Buontalenti or the Buonarroti. Perhaps they represent a group of drawings, initially in possession of another owner, who might be dubbed the Roman Numeral Collector, that entered the collection of Bernardo Buontalenti and/or Casa Buonarroti during the lifetime of Michelangelo the Younger. If that is so, then all sheets so numbered must have been acquired from the Roman Numeral Collector by Buontalenti and/or the Buonarroti, since none are known for which any other provenance can be demonstrated. The fact that the numbers are now discontinuous may indicate no more than that other sheets have been trimmed.

In addition to his efforts to put Michelangelo's literary reputation on a firm footing, Michelangelo the Younger was concerned to expand the family collection

of Michelangelo's works. No doubt he also acquired from Buontalenti drawings that contained no writing. And it is tempting to suggest that it was Michelangelo the Younger who was responsible for making a division between pieces of paper whose primary interest was historical, records of the most famous member of the family and of Michelangelo's transactions, and those whose primary interest was artistic. In a few cases, pages on which the two kinds of interest were separable were divided, and the drawings collections of Casa Buonarroti and the Archivio Buonarroti proper contain several part-pages that match each other.¹¹⁰ Although this division is not certainly attributable to him, Michelangelo the Younger would certainly have had the interest, acumen, and intellectual confidence to undertake such surgery.

Contributions came from other sources. In 1616–17 and perhaps again in the early 1620s, the current Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo II, returned to Casa Buonarroti some works by Michelangelo, including the low relief of the *Madonna of the Stairs*, which had been given to Cosimo I by Leonardo Buonarroti,¹¹¹ and the Presentation Drawing of *Cleopatra*, which Cosimo I had extorted from Cavalieri. The donation of the *Cleopatra* is significant, for this drawing was, of course, a gift to Tommaso Cavalieri, and had never been in Buonarroti possession. This may be relevant to the fact that Woodburn both in 1836 and 1860 recorded two other very highly finished Presentation Drawings by Michelangelo as coming from Casa Buonarroti: the *Dream of Human Life* of c. 1530 and the *Madonna del Silenzio* of c. 1540. Both were certainly given by Michelangelo to friends and would not have remained in his family. If Woodburn's statement is correct, it must be presumed that they were at some date either donated to Casa Buonarroti by the heirs of the original recipients or purchased in order to build up the museum consecrated to the Buonarrotis' great ancestor. It is hard to divine how systematically he bought, but it was, after all, Michelangelo the Younger who acquired in Rome Condivi's large panel of the *Epifania*, painted from Michelangelo's cartoon, under the mistaken impression that it was by Michelangelo himself, and he considered purchasing, though in the event did not do so, the unfinished first version of the *Minerva Risen Christ*, offered for sale in Rome in 1607.¹¹²

The fact that some of the drawings in Casa Buonarroti's collection were not inherited but were acquired by purchase, as they appeared on the market, or as gifts from artists or collectors persuaded that the rightful home for their treasures was Michelangelo's family house and shrine means that one cannot be sure that all Michelangelo drawings with a Casa Buonarroti provenance had come to the

Casa directly from Michelangelo himself. It is possible, for example, that even great and entirely authentic drawings acquired from the Casa may not always have been there.¹¹³ It also raises a more delicate issue. It would be a fair presumption that the great majority of drawings abandoned by Michelangelo in Florence in 1534, or recovered from his Roman house in 1564, were authentic, although even this group is likely to have included some drawings by pupils and associates. This would be much less sure in the case of drawings acquired for Casa Buonarroti forty or fifty years after his death. Thus, the possibility is opened that some of the drawings acquired later might have been misattributed.

In the absence of written record, it is difficult to be sure how many drawings by Michelangelo were in Casa Buonarroti and what they comprised, quite apart from how and when they arrived there. However, two late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century visual sources have not been fully exploited. These comprise two series of copies after Michelangelo drawings; they are complementary: one focuses on architectural drawings; the other, on figure drawings. The first, brought to scholarly attention by Sebgondi Fiorentini in 1986 and Morogh in 1992, is the more straightforward.¹¹⁴ Leonardo Buonarroti's youngest son, Francesco (1574–1630) was, among his other activities, a competent amateur architect, who made a speciality of designing decorative forms such as doors, tabernacles, and funeral plaques. Resident for much of his life in Malta, he periodically returned to Florence, where his architectural activity took place, mainly, it seems, in the years 1600–1615. He left a sizable body of graphic work, now in the Uffizi, among which are ten sheets of generally sketchy copies after surviving architectural drawings by Michelangelo that, in all except one case, noted later, are either in, or have direct provenance from, Casa Buonarroti. This group also includes some sketches for which no Michelangelesque source is known, but which can reasonably be assumed to be after drawings by Michelangelo now lost.¹¹⁵ It is an assumption, but an assumption verging on certainty, that all the drawings copied by Francesco were in Buonarroti possession when he copied them.¹¹⁶

For figurative drawings, the situation is less clear-cut. The evidence consists of a number of copies of drawings by Michelangelo by the Florentine artist Andrea Comodi (1560–1638).¹¹⁷ Comodi's copies divide, broadly, into two groups. Some of them are more or less exact replicas of known originals by Michelangelo, generally, but not always, in the same medium. Comodi had a considerable reputation as a copyist of paintings, and it is evident that when he wished to reproduce accurately a

drawing by Michelangelo, he could do so. Most of those he chose to copy precisely are relatively broad sketches of figures or studies of details such as hands and legs. But in addition to these, Commodi also made, in a sketchbook with a page size of approximately 290 × 215 mm, a series of quick and rough sketch copies, witty, vigorous, and generally in media different from those of the originals, after individual drawings.¹¹⁸ He frequently juxtaposed on the same pages copies of drawings from different sheets or different sides of the same sheets and included several copies of drawings made not by Michelangelo himself but by his students, notably Antonio Mini. The impression these copies convey is of a deep, but self-confident interest in Michelangelo, of a wish to acquire motifs, not to absorb a figure style. The sketchbook has been disassembled and its components survive as half-pages, individual pages, or as “double spreads” (approximately 290 × 430 mm), which, in every case, were used as two pages, a further indication that they were once bound. From the layout of these sheets and the rough and ready nature of the drawings upon them, it is a reasonable assumption that the originals upon which Commodi focused were together when he copied them. These sketches do not give the impression of being made at different times and in different places.

Andrea Commodi was a friend of Michelangelo the Younger, and although he did not contribute to the series of paintings devoted to Michelangelo's biography installed in the famous Galleria constructed in Casa Buonarroti, he did present to his friend his *Self-Portrait*. It would seem that Commodi had access to Casa Buonarroti and that he copied the drawings there. Support for this conclusion is provided by the fact that he also knew three models by Michelangelo, all in Casa Buonarroti, including the clay group of a *Mature Man Overcoming a Young One*, often mistakenly connected with Michelangelo's project for a *Hercules* group to accompany his *David* in the Piazza della Signoria but, in fact, made in preparation for a counterpart to the marble *Victory* on the front of the Julius Tomb. Commodi copied this model from different angles, in three large and impressive drawings, and must have had access to it for at least an hour.¹¹⁹ Still more significant evidence for Commodi's access to the Buonarroti property is that he also made a copy of the large charcoal drawing of a *Triton*, of controversial attribution, preserved in the Buonarroti house in Settignano: This suggests that he was a family intimate, for the drawing remained on the wall on which it was made until 1979.¹²⁰

It is conjectural when Commodi's copies were made. His closest acquaintance with Michelangelo the Younger seems to have come after 1600, but one cannot be sure

that they were not friends earlier. In any case, Commodi certainly knew Ludovico Buonarroti, Michelangelo the Younger's brother, who died in 1600; his series of drawings in the Uffizi includes the drafts of three letters to Ludovico.¹²¹ This suggests an alternative avenue of access to the Casa Buonarroti drawings, and it would coincide with the opinion of the only scholar to discuss these copies at length – and with that of the compiler – that they date from the first part of Commodi's career, before 1592.¹²² Commodi's copies are the earliest records of nearly sixty surviving sheets of drawings by Michelangelo and his pupils and no doubt of several others who cannot now be traced. There is, however, a caveat. It cannot finally be proved that *all* the originals copied accurately by Commodi – or even all the originals copied in his “sketchbook” – were in Casa Buonarroti when the copies were made.¹²³ None of the drawings copied by Commodi was also copied by Francesco Buonarroti, so the two series do not corroborate each other. And because Commodi's drawing after the Settignano *Triton* is not part of the sketchbook and is rather different from all his other copies after Michelangelo, it cannot be used to certify absolutely Buonarroti possession of the drawings. But because most of the surviving drawings that Commodi copied either remained in or have a clearly established provenance from Casa Buonarroti, the presumption must be that they were together there when Commodi copied them. There are a few exceptions, but most present no serious difficulties. Thus, Commodi copied twice a study for the *Last Judgement*, now in the British Museum, which was acquired in Italy in the 1820s by the Reverend Robert Sandford from the Florentine sculptor Aristodemo Costoli (1803–71), who would then have been quite a young man.¹²⁴ Costoli may have acquired it from – or acted as an intermediary for – Fedi or Wicar, or another of the Buonarroti heirs, for it is unlikely that the disposals of the late eighteenth century and of 1859 were the only ones. Sandford's drawing, therefore, is not a major obstacle. Similarly, Commodi seems to have known a drawing now in Besançon (D3117/Corpus 319), which, while not by Michelangelo himself, must be an exact facsimile of a lost drawing. The Besançon sheet – or its original – might well have been in Buonarroti possession in the 1580s, and because it has no known provenance prior to its appearance in Jean Gigoux's bequest of 1894 to the Museum of his home town, it too – or its original – could well have been part of the dispersals of the 1790s.

The obstacles that stand in the way of our accepting that Commodi's copies record *only* drawings in Buonarroti possession are three. The first is that he made copies after six sheets of rather scrappy drawings by Michelangelo that

are now in the Uffizi. These cannot be shown to have a Buonarroti provenance and might already have been in Grand Ducal possession when Commodi copied them.¹²⁵ But if Commodi had access to the Grand Ducal Collection, then it is strange that he should have chosen only these slight sketches and ignored the famous *Ideal Heads*, which were certainly in Medici possession by this time. Another possibility is that they could have been part of a different collection to which Commodi had access – perhaps that of an artist friend – and only subsequently found their way to the Uffizi. However, in the compiler's opinion, the most likely explanation is that these six sheets of drawings too were in Buonarroti possession when Commodi copied them, but that they were part of a batch that at some point left the collection: They may, for example, have been gifts to friends of the Buonarroti family, and thence have entered the Uffizi. Whatever the answer, it is worth noting that the Uffizi sheets after which Commodi's copies were made were ones that did not retain their identity and were restored to Michelangelo only around 1900 by Ferri and Jacobsen.

Two other observations are relevant to this issue. On one of the pages of his sketchbook, Commodi made a slight copy of a mouth and a little dragon, which could have come only from a drawing by Michelangelo now in Hamburg. This drawing bears the stamp of Sir Peter Lely and, therefore, if it was in Casa Buonarroti when Commodi copied it, it must have left there before Lely's death in 1680. But if it was in another collection, it too would undermine the locational homogeneity of the sketchbook copies. Second, on Uffizi 18632F, Commodi copied, in red chalk, Michelangelo's black chalk sketch for the head of the *ignudo* left above *Isaiah* on the Sistine ceiling, a drawing now in the Louvre, which entered French Royal possession with Jabach's collection in 1671.¹²⁶ Commodi's copy is approximately the same size as the original and is careful in its handling. It does seem – although it is impossible to be certain – to have been made directly from the original and not from an intermediate copy. But because Commodi's copy was not part of his sketchbook, even could it be proved that the original was in a collection other than that of the Buonarroti, it would not, unlike the copy of the ex-Lely drawing or the Uffizi sketches, affect our estimate of the source of the remainder of the sketchbook copies. However, if the assumption that the sheets now in the Uffizi, Hamburg, and the Louvre were all in Casa Buonarroti when Commodi copied them is correct, it would open a different avenue of investigation, for it would argue that they left Casa Buonarroti at some time between, at the outside, c. 1590 and c. 1670, more probably between 1620 and 1670, and that at least some

disposals were made during the seventeenth century from the family collection.

In fact, it is not an unreasonable assumption that a few drawings were exchanged for others or given to friends or as diplomatic presents; others could have been sold, or even stolen. There is, indeed, one certain instance of a sheet of drawings that was in Buonarroti possession in the early 1620s subsequently passing out of it. This double-sided sheet, which also bears a burlesque poem, was referred to by Michelangelo the Younger, who printed the poem, as having been acquired for Casa Buonarroti from Buontalenti. By the 1750s, this sheet was owned by the Baron Philipp von Stosch, a great collector of, primarily, engraved gems, in whose collection it was catalogued in 1758 by Winckelmann, a year after Stosch's death. It is now in the Louvre, RF.4112/J17/Corpus 25, donated in 1912 by Léon Bonnat. Even though the possibility of theft cannot be ruled out, it seems more likely that it was sold or gifted by a Buonarroti descendent, and if this is so, it is unlikely to be an isolated case. Indeed, some of the other drawings by or attributed to Michelangelo described by Winckelmann in the Stosch Collection were clearly working studies with “conti di cassa” on their versos, which again strongly suggests – although does not prove – a provenance from Casa Buonarroti. Further support for the hypothesis of leakage from Casa Buonarroti is provided by the single-copy drawing by Francesco Buonarroti (5406A [c]), which does not depend on a known sheet by Michelangelo either still in, or with direct recorded provenance from, Casa Buonarroti. This is his copy after one of the sketches on the verso, preparing the *modello* of a monumental altar on the recto, on a sheet from the collection of Filippo Baldinucci bequeathed by General John Guise to Christ Church in 1765. The obvious inference is that this sheet too left Casa Buonarroti at some time between the date of Francesco's sketch and Guise's acquisition; it was probably given by a member of the Buonarroti family to Baldinucci.¹²⁷

Commodi's series of copies seems to be unique. Although it might seem reasonable to suppose that access to Casa Buonarroti was granted to artists and students who wished to study the drawings, no groups of copies by Florentine artists of the seventeenth or eighteenth century have so far been identified. Rubens made a pair of copies of the *Battle of the Centaurs*, probably during his sojourn in Florence in late 1600, and as these show the relief lit from opposite directions, he was presumably permitted to manoeuvre an oil lamp before it.¹²⁸ But Rubens was an artist with the highest and most powerful social connections, an accomplished diplomat, and an extraordinarily forceful and resourceful personality, and no copies even

by Rubens after Michelangelo drawings in Casa Buonarroti are known.¹²⁹ And where Rubens might have gone, not all could follow. The next recorded copy of the *Centaurs*, by David's pupil Jean-Germain Drouais, was made in 1786.¹³⁰

If Michelangelo's relief of the *Battle of the Centaurs*, which must always have been on display in the house, was not well known, then access to the drawings may not have been easy – although a black chalk drawing on seventeenth-century paper by an unidentified artist in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh (RSA970), made after Michelangelo's anatomical pen sketch still in Casa Buonarroti (CB11F/B73/Corpus 209; 172 × 196 mm), demonstrates that they were not entirely concealed from view. It must also be borne in mind that Michelangelo was not generally a reference-point for artists for most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and that there may not have been much demand for access to his drawings. What there was may have come more from tourists and connoisseurs than artists: Edward Wright was shown them in the 1720s, but others may have been less fortunate. Pierre-Jean Mariette, in his letter to Gori reproduced in the latter's 1746 edition of *Condivi's* life of Michelangelo, remarked:

Je ne doute point que vous ne fassiez tout ce que depend de vous pour avoir communication des Desseins que Monsieur le Senateur Buonarroti avoit recueilli. Il y en avoit, à ce qu'on assure, de fort singuliers, et je crois avoir ouy dire a M. le Senateur Buonarroti lui-même, qu'il avoit recueilli quelques lettres et autres écrits de son habile Ancêtre. L'histoire de toutes ces curiosités doit necessairement avoir sa place dans vôtre ouvrage.¹³¹

It would seem that Mariette had heard about the drawings rather than seen them. Gori himself did see them. In his introduction, he remarked that

Nella Galleria e Casa propria del medesimo Michelagnolo Buonarroti si conservano due grossi Volume di Disegni, par la maggior parte di Architettura, di Chiese, di Porte, di Palazzi, di Scale, e di vari studi di Anatomia, e di altre opere, da me con sommo piacere più e più volte veduti, ora posseduti dal Sig. Leonardo Buonarroti, figliuolo del dottissimo e mio ottimo maestro Signor Filippo.¹³²

It is notable that the drawings that Gori particularly remembered, or was particularly impressed by, were those of architecture. For it is in drawings of this class, and particularly of finished type, that Casa Buonarroti remains supremely rich, and few of these seem to have left the collection. This is another irony; it was finished architectural drawings that twentieth-century scholarship was

most reluctant to accept into Michelangelo's graphic oeuvre.

Casa Buonarroti certainly housed other drawings by Michelangelo not placed in albums, his large *modello* for the façade of San Lorenzo among them.¹³³ Gori stated further that he planned to produce a catalogue of all Michelangelo's authentic works, including the drawings, but nothing seems to have come of the project. However, reading between the lines, it appears that Casa Buonarroti's collections were not perceived as being entirely stable: Mariette, for example, had further enquired of Gori:

Le fameux bas relief du combat de centaures, est il toujours dans la maison de Messieurs Buonarroti, c'est de quoy je vous exhorte de vous informer, et d'en donner une description plus exacte que celles qui se trouve dans les auteurs qui ont ecrit sa vie. C'est le premier morceau de reputation qu'il ait fait et par consequent celuy qui merite davantage qu'on conserve la memoire.¹³⁴

This sounds as though he might have been aware of possible dispersals.

However, nothing substantial seems to have left Casa Buonarroti at that time. In 1760 Bottari noted that housed there were "due grossi tomi ben legati" of drawings by Michelangelo, although whether he himself knew them or was merely quoting Gori is uncertain.¹³⁵ Interestingly, in the edition of Vasari published in 1770–2, the editor, Tommaso Gentili, as well as repeating this information – "Il Senator Filippo Buonarroti lasciò due grandi tomi ben legati, avuti da' suoi antenati, ma per lo più erano studi e pensieri indigesti" – added, apparently from his own knowledge, "Lo stesso aveva due gran cartoni ridotti in due quadri, che rappresentano due figure nude, credi per eseguire nella volta della Sistina, ed erano più grandi del naturale," but nothing further seems to be recorded about these. Again, there is no evidence of losses on a serious scale until the dispersals by Filippo Buonarroti of the late 1780s or early 1790s. But the circumstances of Filippo's disposals remain obscure, and no detailed account of what happened has been published.

In an inventory of the collection of Casa Buonarroti made after the death of Leonardo Buonarroti, in 1799, it was noted of the two large albums of drawings by Michelangelo, which had been recorded in an inventory of c. 1684¹³⁶ and had been mentioned in several eighteenth-century accounts, that many pages of one of them were missing. It is presumed that these were removed by Filippo Buonarroti who, in disposing of drawings from Casa Buonarroti, would seem to have been in violation of the entail imposed upon the collections

and, on the face of it, to have been a thief. Whether Filippo raided the family collection surreptitiously or with the connivance of his father – but that would be difficult to explain – it may be that he felt he was doing no more than realising his legitimate inheritance. It seems unlikely, given Filippo's life-long history of lofty idealism and commitment to the ideals of the French Revolution, that his action was merely mercenary: Perhaps the sale was to help finance revolutionary causes; it may have been encouraged by friendship for Wicar and shared political ideals.

How many drawings or mountings of drawings by Michelangelo Filippo Buonarroti abstracted is unknown, and it is impossible to be precise about the dispersals. As noted previously, a very rough guess would be that some seventy-five mountings of drawings left Casa Buonarroti, comprising something over one hundred sheets of drawings, with Wicar being the main, if not necessarily the sole, beneficiary. As also remarked previously, it is impossible to say whether Filippo sold the drawings in a single batch or released them gradually over the years, as he required funds. Given what can be inferred of the pattern of Wicar's collecting, the latter seems more likely, but further information would be necessary to establish whether or not this is so.

Some reparation was made by Filippo's son, the Cavaliere Cosimo Buonarroti, who died in 1858. Reacting strongly against his father's politics, he inherited something of his public conscience, combined with strong loyalty to Florence. Lacking direct heirs, he bequeathed Casa Buonarroti and its collections to a foundation controlled by the City of Florence. Nevertheless, admirable and generous though his bequest was, his devotion to scholarship left something to be desired, given that he was in the habit of cutting up minor drawings – artistically speaking – by Michelangelo, his order pages for marble blocks, and giving the pieces to friends or even acquaintances. One such example, which he presented to “Sig. Segret. Gonnelli in segno di sincero riconoscimento” in 1827, is in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne; another, which sold at Christie's, London, 1 July 1986, lot 40, was accompanied by a note “L'Aul: Cosimo Buonarroti offriva/l'accluso saggio del carattere del/suo illustro Antenato Michelangelo/al Sig:r Dr: Bowring in segno di partiolare stima il di 3 gbre 1836”; and two similar fragments recently entered the British Museum (Turner, 1999, nos. 353, 354). Cosimo also gave away some *Ricordi* by Michelangelo.

Shortly after Cosimo's death, his cousin, the Cavaliere Michelangelo Buonarroti, removed some drawings and manuscripts, claiming that they were his personal property and had only been placed in Casa Buonarroti on loan.¹³⁷ He was the source of the second great dispersal

from the Casa Buonarroti, that of 1859; from this, the British Museum was the beneficiary, acquiring thirty-six sheets of drawings and a number of manuscripts. The circumstances of this sale are not fully clear, but even though there is no documentary evidence to prove that these drawings had always been in Casa Buonarroti – they were first seen by Eastlake in 1858 in the Villa Buonarroti in Settignano – some of the sheets are en-suite with those in Casa Buonarroti, and it can be taken as certain that the drawings came from this source. Happily, a number of drawings and manuscripts were later returned by the Cavaliere Michelangelo to the Casa. Nevertheless, the depredations had been great. An indication of the original strength of the collection is that at least fifty-six of the British Museum's Michelangelo drawings, and at least thirty-eight of those in the Ashmolean, were in Casa Buonarroti until c. 1790.

V. OTHER COLLECTIONS

Although Casa Buonarroti contained by far the largest collection of Michelangelo's drawings, it was not alone. Michelangelo himself at some date gave one of the cartoons for the Sistine ceiling to his friend, the Florentine banker Bindo Altoviti. And it seems inevitable that if he gave away cartoons, he would have given drawings also. As late as 1560, he sent to Leone Leone, in gratitude for the portrait medal of him that Leone had made, a wax model of the *Hercules and Antaeus* that he had hoped to carve in 1524 – thus he had retained the model for thirty-five years and had presumably transported it from Florence to Rome – plus a number of drawings. A sheet in the Albertina (BK4868/Corpus 408) carries an inscription indicating that the sculptor had given it to the inscriber, perhaps his pupil Jacomo del Duca, in 1560. And although we have no certain knowledge of Michelangelo making drawings specifically as gifts before the 1520s, when he is recorded as giving highly finished drawings to his young friend Gherardo Perini, there is no reason to suppose that he had not done so. Indeed, the highly finished nature of some of Michelangelo's early copies after Masaccio suggests that they too were Presentation Drawings and were not done only as exercises – and none has an ascertainable provenance from Casa Buonarroti. He continued to make drawings as gifts in the 1530s, and 1540s, most notably to Tommaso de' Cavalieri and Vittoria Colonna, but other friends were no doubt occasional recipients.¹³⁸ However, gifts of this type were probably less common than more practical ones – drawings given to other artists to assist them with compositions – such as Sebastiano del Piombo

and Pontormo. And Vasari tells us that Michelangelo's humbler artistic friends sometimes requested designs that the master – always an enemy of pretension – cheerfully fulfilled.¹³⁹

The result of this generosity on Michelangelo's part – and there must have been many other cases of which we have no record – is that there was some knowledge of Michelangelo's drawings fairly early on. Raphael copied a pen drawing c. 1506, and the influence of Michelangelo's technique on Raphael's drawings suggests that this was not the only one that he knew.¹⁴⁰ It seems certain too that some of Michelangelo's drawings were known to Andrea del Sarto.¹⁴¹ Michelangelo's pupils and assistants, although most are shadowy figures, must have known, and probably possessed, groups of his drawings. Michelangelo was a fluent and impatient draughtsman, and it is inevitable that, though some drawings would have been retained carefully – he asked his father in 1506 to send to Rome a bundle of drawings – odd sheets and fragments would have strayed from his studio. Titian, by 1520, certainly knew a Michelangelo design for a *Slave*, which survives in drawings, and reproduced it in his *Saint Sebastian* for the Averoldi Polyptych, under way in that year.¹⁴² The sculptor Bartolommeo Bergamasco, active in Venice at the same time, based his *Saint Sebastian* on the high altar of San Rocco on a Michelangelo design – now known only in a copy by Mini – for another slave.¹⁴³ There was also a theft. In 1530 the young Bartolommeo Ammanati and his friend Nanni di Baccio Bigio broke into Michelangelo's studio in the via Mozza and took from it a number of the master's drawings and models, which, evidently, were not all retained in one place. They were compelled to return the drawings, but it is highly unlikely that they did so before making copies of them. Nevertheless, by this time, if not earlier, Michelangelo had become very secretive, at least with powerful and exigent patrons, and in 1527 it was remarked by a rare visitor to his studio that Michelangelo “non mostra cosa alcuna ad alcuno.”

Michelangelo, as is well known, burned large quantities of his drawings at different times. One such episode is documented as early as 1517 when he commanded his friend Leonardo Sellaio to destroy a number of the cartoons in his Roman workshop. Sellaio expressed reluctance but told Michelangelo that it had been done. However, human nature being what it is, it seems unlikely that he would not have succumbed to temptation and kept at least a few of the more beautiful sheets for himself. In any case, Michelangelo's destructions were not total. And although he may well have burned drawings before leaving Florence finally in 1534, he undoubtedly took others with him to Rome. Michelangelo sometimes re-used old

sheets, on occasion after as much as thirty years, which, of course, is irrefutable proof that he preserved them.

Michelangelo also destroyed much of his Roman graphic production shortly before he died, but a number of drawings survived. The few known studies for the *Last Judgement* probably left his studio in chance ways, a few architectural drawings, particularly of the late Roman buildings, may have been spared from the flames intentionally, and the late *Crucifixion* drawings were so intimately bound with Michelangelo's search for salvation that they too were preserved. Because virtually all of the architectural studies and some of the *Crucifixion* drawings went to Casa Buonarroti, it is likely that they were found in his studio after his death. Although the posthumous inventory was fairly full, not every scrap of paper was recorded, and Michelangelo's nephew Leonardo would have retrieved such drawings with Michelangelo's other possessions. It is, of course, possible that some drawings were liberated by others immediately after Michelangelo's death and only later entered Casa Buonarroti, and some of those, such as the *Crucifixion* drawings at Windsor, which seem never to have been in Casa Buonarroti, may have been given to friends and associates – or stolen – while Michelangelo was still alive.

As we know, Michelangelo made presents of highly finished drawings to his friends in both Florence and Rome, and some of these were eagerly copied. We learn from a letter from Tommaso de' Cavalieri to Michelangelo of September 1533, only a few months after Cavalieri had received the three Presentation Drawings from Michelangelo, that Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici had borrowed one to have a crystal engraved from it and wanted to do the same with the others. It seems clear, therefore, that in both cities Michelangelo's Presentation Drawings were eagerly copied, in some cases within weeks or months of their reception. Francesco Salviati, for example, was commissioned by Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici to produce a now-lost coloured copy of the *Fall of Phaeton*, which Michelangelo had given to Tommaso. Certain aspects of Bronzino's drawing style can probably be explained by knowledge of Michelangelo's highly finished drawings, and some copies of the Presentation Drawings and other finished drawings can safely be attributed to his pupil, Alessandro Allori. Allori spent some five years in Rome from 1555 to 1560, avidly copying Michelangelo's works, particularly the *Last Judgement*. He had personal contact with the master, who was thanked for his kindness to the young man in a letter of 12 February 1560 by Benedetto Varchi.¹⁴⁴ It is very likely that Alessandro had sight of some of Michelangelo's studies, for at least two of his drawings, made shortly after his return to Florence, for

the *Cleansing of the Temple* in the Montauto Chapel in Santissima Annunziata, are hardly explicable without direct knowledge of the black chalk style adopted by Michelangelo in his preparatory drawings for the *Last Judgement*.¹⁴⁵

Apart from Francesco Salviati, Giulio Clovio, and Alessandro Allori, the identities of most copyists have not yet positively been established. But in one case, a copy at Windsor after the famous Presentation Drawing the *Archers*, in the same collection, is inscribed on the verso with the name of Bernardino Cesari, the younger brother of the Cavaliere d'Arpino. From this it is evident that copying continued at least until the beginning of the seventeenth century. But it is likely that the majority of these copies, some of which are of extreme beauty and precision and by artists of the highest level of competence, were made within Michelangelo's lifetime. Naturally, such copies, although not made with any intent to deceive, were often believed by later collectors to be originals and served to swell their possessions, including, of course, those of Sir Thomas Lawrence.

At the artist's death, the various recipients of his Presentation Drawings, most of whom outlived him, would probably still have owned them. Most of the greatest ended up in the Farnese Collection. The Farnese inherited Giulio Clovio's collection, which seems to have contained several originals by Michelangelo, including some Presentation Drawings whose initial recipients are not known. After Tommaso de' Cavalieri's death in 1587, the Farnese also acquired the famous drawings that Michelangelo had given him. A record of the early seventeenth century, perhaps by Sisto Badalocchio, is revealing:

Questo disegno [the *Fall of Phaeton*] è in mano di Cardinal Farnese che ha tutti i disegni di detto Messer Tommaso compri per prezzo di scudi 500, e lo visto insieme col Sig. Lodovico Cigoli [thus before 1613] pittore e architetto eccellentissimo, e col Sig. Pietro Abati, e stupivamo a vedere la diligenza usata da Michelagnolo nel ritratto di detto Messer Tommaso fatto da matita nera, che pare di mano di un Angiolo, con quei begli occhi e bocca e naso, vestito all'antica, e in mano tiene un ritratto, o medaglia che si sia, sbarbato, e insomma da spaurire ogni gagliardo ingegno. Vedemmo anco altri disegni come sopra.¹⁴⁶

A further influx into the Farnese Collection came with the death in 1600 of their librarian, the erudite antiquary Fulvio Orsini. He had acquired a number of Michelangelo drawings: His posthumous inventory lists twenty, including, perhaps, another autograph version of the *Fall of Phaeton*, possibly that now in Venice; the cartoon fragment for the *Crucifixion of St. Peter*, now in Naples; and the *Epifania* cartoon, now in the British Museum, which

had been retained at Michelangelo's death in 1564 by the notary charged with preparing the inventory, and which must have passed in the interim to Orsini. It was the Farnese's holdings that provided the most important single source for the great run of Michelangelo's drawings at Windsor, the collection richest of all in his Presentation Drawings. It is not known, however, how the drawings passed from one collection to the other, and it is a matter for speculation when this occurred. All that can be said with some degree of security is that forty-one drawings attributed to Michelangelo were recorded in a Farnese inventory of 1641 together with forty-four by Raphael.¹⁴⁷ The same inventory also grouped drawings by Michelangelo and Raphael together, with a total of eighty-five: This must represent a double count. In a later inventory of 1653 and an undated one that must postdate 1662, the drawings listed under Michelangelo's name are reduced to two, those given to Raphael are now twenty-one, while the number listed under both their names totals 147. It is difficult to understand these figures, but they may register a re-organisation of the collection; they also imply a substantial acquisition between 1641 and 1653. Whatever the case, they do not suggest departures from the collection and it does seem clear that the Farnese's holdings of drawings by Michelangelo remained more or less intact until at least 1662.¹⁴⁸ They, or most of them, are next recorded in the British Royal Collection in the reign of George III.¹⁴⁹ It is generally assumed that they were acquired in the 1760s or 1770s, when George III's agents were active in Italy, but they may have left the Farnese Collection before then. A possible clue is provided by Michelangelo's drawing of a *Candelabrum* in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum in New York.¹⁵⁰ This drawing – seemingly not then recognised as by Michelangelo – was probably acquired by Sir Andrew Fountaine in Italy between 1714 and 1717, as part of a group of decorative designs by Luzio Romano, who had also worked for the Farnese. Because the Cooper-Hewitt drawing is the single known study for a candelabrum by Michelangelo – although, of course, he might have made others – it is tempting to identify it with the second of the “Due disegni d'architettura di Michelangelo Bonarota, cioè una porta et un candelieri” recorded in a Farnese inventory of 1626.¹⁵¹ If this identification is correct, it would tend to suggest that at least a portion of the Farnese Collection came onto the market in the early eighteenth century, and that at this time the *Candelabrum* became separated from the rest of the Michelangelo sheets. These might have come to Britain contemporaneously or remained in Italy to be acquired later by George III's agents.

The drawings given to Gherardo Perini, as mentioned earlier, joined the Florentine Grand Ducal Collections. Some other Presentation Drawings, whose recipients are not known, probably ended up either in aristocratic collections or, by unknown paths, in Casa Buonarroti. Still others were probably retained by the families of the individuals for whom they were made: Michelangelo's great portrait of his young friend Andrea Quaratesi (1512–85), to whom he had given drawing lessons in the 1520s (W59), was still in the possession of Andrea's descendants in the mid-seventeenth century.

Apart from these highly finished display pieces, other drawings – lost, stolen, or strayed from Michelangelo's studio – and sketches given to artist friends would certainly have circulated.¹⁵² Individual sheets are difficult to trace in the absence of lucky evidential finds, but it does seem that before the end of the sixteenth century there existed several major caches of drawings by Michelangelo, and a number of minor ones, which had never been in Casa Buonarroti.¹⁵³

Undoubtedly the most substantial cache was formed in Michelangelo's own lifetime, by gift. When his pupil Antonio Mini (1506–33/34) decided to seek his fortune in France in 1532, Michelangelo gave him his painting of *Leda* and, according to Vasari, two boxes of models and drawings. Mini died early, and even though some of the cartoons that he had received from Michelangelo were later returned to the master, and presumably later still destroyed by him, there is no written record as to what happened to the models or the drawings. But there is a certain amount of visual evidence that suggests an answer. Starting in the 1530s and continuing through until the 1570s, a number of drawings and paintings by Primaticcio and artists closely associated with him contain figures copied from Michelangelo drawings. There can be no doubt about this: The figures concerned are not found in Michelangelo's more public works. The borrowings are often subtle and cunning, but once identified, they are seen to be exact: In some cases the borrowed figures in Primaticcio's drawings are the same sizes as the figures in the drawings by Michelangelo that they are copied from. In every case except one, the originals of the drawings referred to by Primaticcio have their starting provenance in France, and in every case the original by Michelangelo was drawn before 1531: It would seem difficult to deny that these drawings represent parts of Mini's cache, and it is probable that nearly all drawings by Michelangelo datable before 1531 that have a starting provenance in France (i.e., much of Jabach's collection and that of Crozat) came from Michelangelo's gift to his pupil. At least one has found its way to the Ashmolean Museum:

One of the figures on Cat. 18 recto was copied by Primaticcio. And it is probable that Cat. 59, which contains, among other copies, some after a drawing in the British Museum (W4/Corpus 48) that was certainly in France, was also made there. None of these drawings, of course, was known to Commodi.

Because Primaticcio had such immediate access to these originals, it is a reasonable presumption that he owned them, probably acquiring them soon after Mini's death. It was the group of drawings putatively owned by Primaticcio that probably provided the main source of the great runs of Michelangelo's drawings formed by the fraternal collectors Israël and Christophe Desneux (and which largely passed to their nephew François de la Nouë), who are said to have acquired their drawings from the Fontainebleau workshops.¹⁵⁴ It was from de la Nouë, according to Mariette, that they were in turn acquired by Jabach, probably not directly but after François de la Nouë's death in 1656, and perhaps in more than one batch.¹⁵⁵ Certainly, Jabach bought widely and from many sources, but, with certain exceptions, it is likely that most of his Michelangelo drawings were acquired in France. One of these exceptions might have been the Michelangelo drawings that had been owned by Sir Peter Paul Rubens, whose collection was acquired en bloc at his posthumous sale of 1657 by Canon Jan Philip Happart. Happart seems to have sold drawings to Jabach in the 1660s, and some Michelangelos may have been among them. However, Happart still owned twelve drawings attributed to Michelangelo at his death in 1686, and if these included the four bearing the initials of Rubens that are now in the Albertina, then they were presumably acquired in 1686 or later by a French collector, given that their earliest certain provenance is Crozat.¹⁵⁶ It is not inconceivable that they too passed through Jabach's hands.

The four Michelangelo drawings with the initials of Rubens are all of spectacular beauty. Three of these are en-suite with drawings now in Haarlem, but they bear neither the *Bona Roti* inscription nor Irregular Numbering (to be discussed later), and if they did belong to that series, they must have been separated from it before inscriptions or numbers were applied. On balance, however, it is more likely that the separation occurred within Michelangelo's lifetime. One of the drawings owned by Rubens, Michelangelo's pen study of a standing nude from the rear (BK118/Corpus 22) was known in France around 1570 when it was copied in *La Natation* one of the drawings of the *Suite d'Artemise*, and it is marginally more probable that Rubens purchased the four Michelangelos – and perhaps others – in Paris in the 1620s than

that he acquired them during his Italian period. If this deduction is correct, then these drawings too would have been among the group brought to France by Mini. It may be that Rubens acquired the first fruits among the Michelangelos in the Fontainebleau ateliers.

In 1671, part of Jabach's first collection was ceded – at a price of 220,000 livres, not as disadvantageous as Jabach himself claimed and later historians have generally accepted – to the French crown, and this forms today the single most important source of the Louvre's holdings.¹⁵⁷ But the 5,542 drawings included in this sale did not constitute Jabach's entire collection. This was already stated, discreetly, by Mariette in his preface to the 1741 catalogue of the sale of Crozat's collection: "Monsieur Jabach . . . en vendant au roi ses tableaux et ses desseins, s'étoit réservé une partie de desseins, et ce n'étoient pas certainement les moins beau." What Mariette did not say, however, although he hinted at it, is that the precious sheets that Jabach retained for himself seem to have been withheld from the crown in secret. And Jabach was also cunning in his dealings. He certainly sold the crown some drawings that he knew to be copies, keeping the originals for himself. But on the credit side, it might be adduced that although Jabach is often thought to have mutilated some of his drawings, subdividing them in order to isolate individual figures more effectively, it is by no means certain that the fragmentary state of many of the drawings that come from his collection is Jabach's own work. For example, a recently identified fragment by Michelangelo, Inv. 8026/J15, once formed part of the same sheet as Inv. 722/J14/Corpus 31. But whereas Inv. 722 retained its attribution to Michelangelo in Jabach's collection, Inv. 8026 seems never to have been connected with the artist. Had Jabach himself divided the sheet, it is unlikely that he would have failed to class the two drawings under the same name and hardly credible that he would have devalued Inv. 8026 by passing it to a less prestigious one. It is more probable that the sheet was divided before Jabach acquired it, and that he failed to notice that the two fragments had once formed a single whole.

Jabach's first collection was divided into two categories, those that were fully mounted (what were called the "dessins d'ordonnance" before recent research on his collection showed that the term had been misused) and those that were not, the so-called "rebut". The versos of the mounted drawings were inscribed in red chalk in a private code of classification, which referred to their dimensions and their school. There are no such inscriptions on the unmounted drawings. Nevertheless, all the drawings sold by Jabach to the crown – that is all the drawings from

Jabach's collection that are now in the Louvre – both mounted and unmounted – bear the famous paraph in ink (Lugt 2959). This is sometimes taken to be his collector's mark, but it was in fact applied by Jabach personally only to those drawings that he sold.

Following the sale of 1671, and when his fortunes had been re-established, Jabach formed a second collection of drawings, which at his death in 1696 numbered over 4,500, almost as large as the first collection. Like the first, the second collection was also divided into two categories, the fully mounted and unmounted. The mounted drawings from the second collection, which are now found in public collections, are mounted in precisely the same way as those from the first collection and bear similar inscriptions on their versos, and although Jabach probably continued the same mounting and classifying system, it is evident that some of these drawings were ones he had already owned in 1671. Thus, in the Musée Atger at Montpellier (Inv. 377), there is a sheet of mounted drawings, which bears on its verso Jabach's inscription 128, a number missing from the Jabach inventory of 1671. However, none of Jabach's "dessins d'ordonnance" now in collections other than that of the Louvre bears the famous paraph.

Jabach's second collection also included drawings by Michelangelo – indeed, some of the Michelangelo drawings owned by Rubens and Hapart may have been among them. However, only eleven drawings by Michelangelo are recorded specifically among the mounted drawings in the posthumous inventory of his second collection, drawn up in 1696. None of these eleven can now be identified with certainty – although it is possible that Cat. 66 by Raffaello da Montelupo was among them – and how many of them were genuine is debatable.¹⁵⁸ This is puzzling because the collector and artistic patron Pierre Crozat, "le roi des collectionneurs" in Lugt's phrase, possessed a remarkable group of Michelangelo drawings, which, according to Mariette, came mostly from Jabach: Directly after the passage quoted previously he added, "Monsieur Crozat les acquit de ses (Jabach's) héritiers." This purchase would have been made from Jabach's second collection. However, because so few drawings by Michelangelo were individually recorded in the 1696 inventory, Jabach had either disposed of them before his death to a third party, from whom Crozat later bought them – Crozat does not seem to have begun collecting drawings on a large scale before 1696 – or else, which seems much more probable, most of the Michelangelo drawings that remained in Jabach's hands at his death were listed so vaguely among the unmounted drawings that their true value was concealed. Portfolios that might

have contained the drawings by Michelangelo in question are O, comprising “70 dessins de Raphaël, Michelangelo, Paul Véronèse et autres excellents maîtres, R, 59 dessins de Titien, Giulio Romano, Michelangelo, Paul Véronèse, Guercin et autres, S, 216 dessins de grands maîtres” and “T, 525 dessins de rebut.” The slim commentaries and general absence of precise identifications of the 120 drawings attributed to Michelangelo in the sale catalogue of Crozat’s collection might indicate that Mariette did not wish to draw undue attention to their provenance. Perhaps Crozat obtained drawings from Jabach’s heirs on the understanding that their provenance should be concealed because, presumably, they would legally have been the property of the crown. This hypothesis would account for facts that otherwise remain difficult to explain. Thus, the group of Michelangelo drawings in the Albertina was acquired almost entire at the posthumous sale of Mariette, whose own collection did not contain, as far as is known, any drawings by Michelangelo not previously owned by Crozat. Because the Albertina group includes a number of very fine early pen drawings by Michelangelo, among them BK118/Corpus 22, and because some are directly en-suite with drawings sold by Jabach to Louis XIV in 1671, it is reasonable to infer that they came from the same series and, therefore, from Jabach himself. But none of these drawings bears any inscription to indicate Jabach’s ownership, and none, of course, bears his paraph.

It is probable that Crozat acquired at least some of his Michelangelo drawings from French vendors other than Jabach and that not all the Michelangelo drawings that Mini had owned had necessarily passed to Jabach.¹⁵⁹ However, in all save one case, drawings known to Primaticcio in the mid-sixteenth century have either remained in France or have provenances that cannot be traced back before their appearance in the collections either of Crozat or of Mariette.¹⁶⁰ And it is less likely that they travelled out of France only to return, than that they remained there. Of course, Jabach, Crozat, and Mariette acquired drawings outside France, so there is no certainty about what proportion of their collections descended directly from Mini’s hoard, but, as already remarked, it is more likely than not that those drawings by Michelangelo datable before 1531, whose recorded provenances begin in France, are the relics of the gift to Mini.

Mariette memorably described to A. F. Gori the collection of Pierre Crozat:

Quant aux desseins de Michel-Ange, Monsieur Crozat possédait presque tout ceux qui étaient en France. Il n’y en a que cinq ou six de bons dans la collection du Roy. La plus grande partie de ceux de Monsieur Crozat venaient de

M. Jabach qui les avoit eus luy-même d’un Monsieur De la Noüe, excellent curieux. Monsieur Crozat comptait avoir 120 desseins de M. Ange, mais il en avoit un grand nombre parmi eux qui n’étoient que des copies, ou qui n’étoient que des croquis peu considerable. Je crois que les vrais et bons Desseins de M. Ange de sa Collection pouvoient se reduire a une cinquantaine au plus; mais c’est encore beacoup, vû la rareté de ces Desseins. Je crois avoir fait choix de meilleurs, qui sont au nombre de 36.

According to the sale catalogue compiled by Mariette, Crozat’s collection of Michelangelo drawings did indeed comprise 120 sheets, divided into thirteen lots (nos. 9–21), so Mariette obtained over a quarter of his friend’s holdings, mostly, in all probability, at the sale, although it cannot be excluded that he purchased others later. But he was not the sole purchaser of Crozat’s Michelangelos. *A Martyre de S. Etienne* was the single drawing itemised among the six included in lot 11 in Crozat’s sale. It reappeared in the sale of the collection of J. D. Lempereur some thirty years later on 24 May 1773. These mentions had aroused little attention, because the subject seemed unlikely for Michelangelo. However, following the rediscovery of this grand compositional study, it can now be seen that both attribution and identification of the subject were correct, and this raises the possibility that other drawings listed in Crozat’s sale that are still missing might yet come to light.¹⁶¹

Mariette’s own posthumous sale in 1775–6 included some forty drawings by Michelangelo, but these too were undescribed, surprising in that most of the other drawings in the sale, by less important masters and of lesser value, were described quite minutely. The Michelangelos were sold in eight lots to a reserved clientele, and it may be that these individuals were provided with personal manuscript catalogues that have not survived. They fetched high prices, and there was clearly no fraudulent intent, but one suspects that their profile was deliberately kept low. The French Royal Collection profited minimally from the Mariette sale, at least as far as drawings by Michelangelo are concerned, despite being advised by Lempereur. The only major purchase was, ironically, a drawing not by Michelangelo, which, still more ironically, Mariette had valued above all others: the pen and ink study of a hand (Inv. 717/J R2/Corpus 93; pen and ink, 180 × 286 mm, by Bartolommeo Passerotti). As noted previously, some of the most beautiful and important Michelangelo drawings owned by Mariette found their way to the Albertina and that group integrates neatly with that now in the Louvre, which, of course, comes mostly from Jabach and, probably, from Michelangelo’s gift to Mini.

So much for the drawings possessed for only a year or two by Michelangelo's unfortunate pupil. What other groupings of Michelangelo drawings are likely to have existed in the sixteenth century? The recently discovered inventory of a previously unknown collector, Antonio Tronsarelli, who died in 1601, lists three drawings as by Michelangelo. Tronsarelli could well have acquired these in Michelangelo's lifetime, and it is likely that all were genuine: One of the three can be identified with Cat. 17.¹⁶²

There is no evidence of any direct connection between Michelangelo and Tronsarelli. There was, however, a very direct link between Michelangelo and the man who no doubt possessed a much more significant cache of his drawings: Daniele da Volterra, Michelangelo's closest artist-friend in the last years of his life. Michelangelo made some designs expressly for projects by Daniele during the 1550s and early 1560s and may have given him a number of other drawings. Daniele probably owned the two remarkable and famous black chalk drawings for the *Battle of Cascina*, now in Haarlem. He cited the figure of the soldier fastening the armour of his comrade in his altarpiece of the *Baptism of Christ* in the Ricci Chapel in San Pietro in Montorio, one of his last works.¹⁶³ However, although Daniele clearly had close knowledge of Michelangelo's drawings (and, indeed, a copy by him of Michelangelo's *Ganymede* is recorded but is not now identified), he did not try to imitate him. Daniele produced highly finished drawings for his compositions, which attain almost the level of Michelangelo's Presentation Drawings, but his handling of the chalk is more systematic and regular than Michelangelo's. It seems likely, indeed, that the drawings with which Michelangelo expressly provided him were not highly finished *modelli*, such as he sometimes made for Marcello Venusti, but rather sketches laying out a composition or determining a pose. Daniele was a draughtsman of the very highest ability and would not have required the same degree of assistance as Venusti, or even Sebastiano. But even though Michelangelo's influence underlay the dense mode of drawing practiced by a number of Roman artists and visitors in the second half of the century in Rome, it is difficult to chart precise knowledge of his drawings among the major artists and some of the *Michelangelisti*, Pellegrino Tibaldi for example, seem to have derived as much from Daniele da Volterra and, by example rather than association, Francesco Salviati, as from Michelangelo directly. And those artists who may have made a study of some of Michelangelo's drawings, Annibale and Agostino Carracci, were probably attracted more to his early pen drawings and those of the Sistine period than to his late works. But this is hypothetical given

that no Carracci copies after drawings by Michelangelo have yet been identified. Nevertheless, drawings by all these artists have at times been confused with those of Michelangelo.

When Daniele died in 1566, only two years after Michelangelo, his assistants Michele degli Alberti and Feliciano di San Vito were, according to Vasari, bequeathed all his artistic property. This presumably included his own drawings as well as those that he possessed by other artists. Vasari does not mention Giacomo Rocca, but Giacomo too seems to have been among Daniele's pupils and no doubt also obtained drawings. Working together, Giacomo and Michele employed the second black chalk study for *Cascina* now in Haarlem, the famous *Running Figure*, in reverse but at full length, in a fresco of a Roman Triumph in the corner room of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, datable 1568–9. Although this figure could have been known from other sources – Salviati was aware of it too, and included a half-length derivation from it in his fresco of the *Defeat of Saul* in Palazzo Sacchetti in the early 1550s – it is likely that the link was direct. It is not known when Giacomo and Michele began to work separately, but it is a fair assumption that they at some point parted company and, presumably, then divided their inheritance.

There are a few clues that point to drawings by Michelangelo that Rocca might have owned. Michelangelo's pen study of a *Seated Woman* (Cat. 22), made for an unknown purpose, was surely in Rocca's possession because he employed it in two frescoes executed for the Cevoli family: in reverse for the Samian Sibyl in the gallery of Palazzo Sacchetti and, in the true sense, as an unidentified Sibyl in the Cevoli chapel in Santa Maria degli Angeli. The gallery, incidentally, also includes a scene based on the upper group in Michelangelo's *Brazen Serpent* drawing (Cat. 34), which Rocca might also have owned.

The sequence Daniele da Volterra–Giacomo Rocca can perhaps be extended. Baglione records that as a young man, Giuseppe Cesari, the Cavaliere d'Arpino, worked with Rocca, and specifically remarks that Cesari admired the Michelangelo drawings then in Rocca's possession.¹⁶⁴ Since Baglione knew Cesari, there is every reason to believe this to be accurate. It seems likely that Cesari eventually acquired a portion of Giacomo Rocca's collection of drawings for himself: According to Baglione, Rocca died during the pontificate of Clement VIII, that is between 1592 and 1605.

The Cavaliere himself died in 1640, and although the immediate fate of his collection is not known, Bottari, in a note to the life of Michelangelo in the third volume

of his edition of Vasari, published in 1760, provides some information:

Il Signor Filippo Ciciaporci, gentiluomo Fiorentino, ha una copiosissima e singolar raccolta di disegni di vari, e tutti d'insegni professori tanto antichi che moderni. Ella in gran parte proviene da una collezione, che aveva fatta già il cavalier Giuseppe Cesari d'Arpino, che egli poi è andato sempre aumentando. Tra essi ve ne sono circa 80 attribuiti a Michelangelo, e molti professori, che gli hanno veduti, gli credono originali terminati parte di lapis rosso o nero e parti in penna, fatti con quella intelligenza, e bravura, ch'era proprio di questo divino artefice, sua insieme finiti con molto diligenza. Il detto gentiluomo di presente abita in Roma.

It is particularly significant that this cache also included a number of drawings by Daniele da Volterra.¹⁶⁵

Filippo Ciciaporci's collection seems to have been dispersed – probably in Rome rather than Florence – around 1765, shortly after Bottari published his edition of Vasari. The main immediate beneficiary was no doubt the Rome-based sculptor, restorer, and art-dealer, Bartolommeo Cavaceppi – listed by Ottley as the intermediate owner of all the drawings said to come from Ciciaporci – and a number of drawings with this provenance were eventually acquired by William Young Ottley. Among them were certainly some genuine drawings by Michelangelo, including one in the British Museum (W29/Corpus 97), which is similar in pen style and approach to Cat. 22. Cat. 22 itself was never owned by Ottley but was acquired by Woodburn from Baron Dominique-Vivant Denon, who may have been another beneficiary, via Cavaceppi, from the dispersal of the Ciciaporci Collection when he was in Italy in the 1780s and 1790s. Vivant Denon owned the famous *Dragon*, Cat. 28, which is similar in style to the *Sybil* and may also have been acquired in Italy – although in this instance a strong argument can be made for a French provenance.¹⁶⁶

Much less is known about Daniele's other major pupil, Michele degli Alberti, who also presumably acquired a portion of the drawings left by his master. But it would be tempting to identify him – or the still more shadowy Feliciano di San Vito – as the owner of a group of Michelangelo drawings, including a few copies by close followers, that has recently been partly reconstituted.¹⁶⁷ These drawings can be identified by distinctive inscriptions or by distinctive numberings or both. The inscription usually reads *di Michel Angelo Bona Roti* or some close variant and is often accompanied by a number, written by a different hand. Both inscription and number seem to be of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. It is likely that the *Bona Roti* inscriptions precede the

numbers.¹⁶⁸ The numbers rise as high as 96, and this series probably ran to around 100 sheets; at least seven are in the Ashmolean.¹⁶⁹ However, because not all the drawings carry both inscriptions and numbers, it is impossible to say whether those sheets that carry one and not the other were separated before those that carry both, or whether they are simply sheets that were later trimmed or subdivided. It is also a matter for conjecture whether the drawings that bear both inscriptions and numbers passed through two collections successively or remained in a single collection but were marked at different moments by different hands. The compiler is inclined to favour the latter explanation, but it is safer to treat them as though they were owned by two collectors, to be dubbed, respectively, the *Bona Roti* Collector and the Irregular Numbering Collector.

The largest group of such sheets is now in the Teyler Museum in Haarlem. The Teyler's holding of Michelangelo drawings is the remains of a collection formed primarily in Italy, between 1629 and 1637, probably from a combination of single and group purchases, by the artist and writer Joachim von Sandrart. Sandrart must have been in touch with the owners of caches of Michelangelo drawings, and virtually all those that are known today with a secure provenance from his collection are of high quality. In particular might be mentioned a group of extraordinarily beautiful drawings made for the Sistine ceiling. It is in principle possible that Sandrart acquired some of his drawings from the Cavaliere d'Arpino, but his single most significant source of Michelangelo drawings was probably the owner of the *Bona Roti*/Irregular Numbering group. It is certain that the inscriptions and numberings were applied to these drawings before Sandrart acquired them, and not after. One obvious reason for saying this is that Sandrart possessed a number of drawings by Raphael and his studio that are also now at Haarlem, and whose later provenance is identical with that of the Michelangelos, and none of these drawings bears comparable inscriptions or numbers.¹⁷⁰ It is notable that the Michelangelo drawings in the Teyler Museum include both of the figure-studies for *Cascina*, which were known in Rome in the 1550s and 1560, plus another sheet of which both sides contain drawings executed by Michelangelo specifically for Daniele, one made in preparation for the statue of Saint *Paul* commissioned from Daniele for the Ricci chapel in San Pietro in Montorio, for which he ordered marble in 1556, and the other side for Daniele's *Aeneas Commanded by Mercury to Relinquish Dido*, a painting being prepared by Daniele for Giovanni della Casa in 1555–6.¹⁷¹ It is tempting to conclude that the inscriptions and the numbers are related to the group of sheets

putatively owned by Michele degli Alberti rather than those owned by Giacomo Rocca, given that those that were most probably Rocca's and that passed through the collections of the Cavaliere d'Arpino and the Cicciorporci family before eventually being dispersed from the last, bear neither inscription nor number. As a working hypothesis, it may be submitted that Michele degli Alberti and whoever obtained possession of the drawings after Michele's death might be identified as, respectively, the *Bona Roti* collector and the Irregular Numbering Collector – or vice versa.¹⁷²

Sandart did not acquire the *Bona Roti*/Irregular Numbering series in its entirety, and it is virtually certain that some drawings had already been separated out and purchased by other collectors. One of the Michelangelo drawings so inscribed, now at Christ Church, was copied in an etching in the Caraccesque publication, "La scuola perfetta," shortly after 1600 and may well have been on the market at this time.¹⁷³ And one of the sheets owned by Bernardo Buontalenti, that now is in the British Museum (W27/Corpus 185), also bears an irregular number (No. 23). This sheet subsequently passed to Casa Buonarroti together with Michelangelo the Younger's acquisition of a group of Michelangelo drawings once owned by Buontalenti, where it joined at least one drawing still bearing the Irregular Number, and another which probably once did, which may have been acquired by Michelangelo the Younger at the presumed dispersal of the collection.¹⁷⁴

There is also at least one case in which the Cavaliere d'Arpino seems to have added a drawing from the *Bona Roti*/Irregular Numbering series to those that we may assume he had acquired from Giacomo Rocca. A Michelangelo drawing in the Louvre, which bears on its recto the *Bona Roti* inscription and the irregular number 21, carries on its verso the inscription *Arpino*, which – whether it is taken as an indication of the inscriber's view of the drawing's authorship or ownership – shows that it was believed to have been in his possession.¹⁷⁵ There is also, as we shall see, a later moment at which some of the *Bona Roti*/Irregular Numbering series could have come onto the market. Indeed, partial dispersals from this series or related ones could have occurred at various times.

It is likely that Sandart acquired some drawings by Michelangelo other than those that had formed part of the *Bona Roti*/Irregular Numbering series. Thus, not all the drawings in Haarlem bear either inscriptions or numbers, and among these is the *Running Man* for the *Battle of Cascina* already mentioned, the figure employed by Michele degli Alberti and Giacomo Rocca in 1568. Thus, it may be that some drawings putatively inher-

ited by Rocca did not follow the others into the Cavaliere d'Arpino's collection but were dispersed individually and that, by the 1620s, a few drawings by Michelangelo that had been together in Daniele da Volterra's possession some sixty years earlier and had subsequently been divided between or among his pupils had drifted back onto the market and had subsequently rejoined one another in collections formed in early *seicento* Rome.

Sandart's collection was acquired, apparently in *tranches* between 1645 and 1651, by Pieter Spiering van Silfvercroon, the Swedish ambassador to Holland. Silfvercroon's collection, in which a *libro* of drawings by Michelangelo was specifically mentioned, was acquired from Silfvercroon and his heirs by Queen Christina between 1651 and 1653. Following her abdication in 1654, Christina's collection of drawings travelled with her to Italy: Whether she further augmented it there is unknown. At her death in 1689, her various collections were bequeathed to Cardinal Decio Azzolini. Azzolini died shortly thereafter, and the drawings were subsequently sold by his nephew to the Duke of Bracciano, Don Livio Odescalchi. Livio added a very large number of drawings to the collection, and, after his death in 1713, an inventory, which numbered 10,160 sheets and five sketchbooks; was compiled. Among these is listed an album of 23 pages – perhaps the *libro* referred to by Silfvercroon – containing

in se carta ventitre, e tra questo una è tagliata in mezzo, ed in dette carte si trovano incollati parte, e parte staccati disegni in tutto numero trenta-due tutti di Michelangelo Buona Roto, detto Libro quantunque apparisca cartolato sino al numero cento, restano nulladimeno solamente alle sudette carte ventitre vedendonis tutte le altre tagliate et portate via.

Thus, from an album that had once contained one hundred pages mounted with drawings by or attributed to Michelangelo – a significant total in relation to the irregular numberings – only twenty-three pages remained, on which thirty-two drawings were either still fastened or from which they had come loose. By this token, the whole album would once have contained, presumably, about 150 drawings. It is odd that a collector so evidently passionate as the Duke of Bracciano would have disposed of so large a portion of his precious drawings, and it is open to suspicion that the remaining sheets of the album had either been pilfered between the death of the Duke and the taking of the inventory, or, more likely, removed from the album by Azzolini's nephew before he sold the collection to the Duke: If so, this would account for the fact that other Michelangelo drawings bearing the *Bona Roti*

and Irregular Numbering inscriptions came onto the art market in the eighteenth century. Two of these drawings, both now in the Ashmolean, were owned by Sir Joshua Reynolds (Cats. 20, 26).

In the inventory of the Duke of Bracciano, it is also noted that there were 282 drawings of the “Capella Sistina del Vaticano fatti di Michelangelo,” but it is evident that most, if not all, of these were copies – sixty-eight, after engravings after figures from the Sistine ceiling – remain together at Haarlem.¹⁷⁶ It is probable that the album of autograph drawings by Michelangelo was that made up by Sandrart, which had remained intact while in Christina’s collection and which was only subsequently dismembered. If so Sandrart would have owned one of the largest – and best – collections ever formed of drawings by Michelangelo. There is no evidence to suggest when the remaining seventy-seven pages, probably containing over one hundred sheets of drawings, were cut from the album or where they went, but their number may account for some of the other drawings that seem to have become available in Rome in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, such as the study for *Libica*, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, which was probably owned by Carlo Maratta.¹⁷⁷ That this sheet once formed part of the Sandrart–Christina group is suggested by the *Bona Roti* inscription that it bears.

It seems that no further dispersals from this album at least of Michelangelo drawings, were made between whatever was presented to Crozat and its sale to the trustees of the Teyler Museum in Haarlem in the 1790s by Don Livio’s descendants. Although it is debatable whether the Teyler Museum contains thirty-two autograph sheets, the number comes close to that, and it is likely that the Christina–Odescalchi album contained predominantly genuine drawings.

Pierre Crozat, who, from 1714 onward, negotiated the sale of the Duke of Bracciano’s paintings to the Duke d’Orléans, received as his fee one hundred drawings from the Odescalchi collection. According to Mariette, some sixty of these were of real value, and they may have included a few by Michelangelo. But given the quality of the drawings acquired by the Teyler Museum only seventy years later, it seems evident that Crozat was not offered the top of the range. In any case, no drawing with an identifiable Crozat provenance bears either the *Bona Roti* inscription or an Irregular Numbering.

Crozat did, nevertheless, obtain at least one major Michelangelo in Italy. It was probably in 1714 that he acquired numerous sheets – including some by Raphael – from the heirs of the Cardinal of Santi Quattro, who had formed his collection in the first half of the sev-

enteenth century. Among these was a large drawing by Michelangelo of *Christ and the Samaritan Woman*. Recorded in Crozat’s posthumous sale of 1741, traceable in further sales until 1807, it was then lost to sight until 1981 when it was rediscovered in the Bodmer Library in Geneva; it was subsequently sold by Sotheby’s in New York on 28 January 1998, lot 102.¹⁷⁸ From the characteristic inscription on its recto, it is certain that it had been owned by the Cardinal.

Gori remarked that, apart from the Grand Ducal Collections, there were other collections of drawings by Michelangelo in Florence. Among these was that of Filippo Ciciaporci, of which Bottari’s account has been cited previously. Gori also refers to the collection of Senatore Pandolfo Pandolfini, who had inherited the personal collection formed by Filippo Baldinucci, comprising four large volumes of drawings, arranged in historical order. In his edition of Vasari, Bottari somewhat amplifies this information:

I figli Pandolfini eredi del Senator Pandolfo Pandolfini uomo dotto, e diletante delle belle arti, e promotore degli artefici, hanno molti disegni originali di Michelangelo, de’ quanti alcuni sono in cornice col loro cristallo, e alcuni sono inseriti in 4 tomi di vari disegni, che si era formati per suo studio e diletto, il celebre Filippo Baldinucci, nel tempo che egli ordino i 130 grossi volumi di disegni della immortal regia Casa de’ Medici, per ordine del cardinale Leopoldo della stessa famiglia. E siccome questi distribuigli per ordine cronologico del tempo in cui fiorivano quelli artefici, così lui distribuili i detti quattro suoi tomi.¹⁷⁹

These volumes were acquired for the Louvre in 1806, but they contained no drawings now accepted as original studies by Michelangelo. There seems to be no further information about the framed and glazed drawings, among which could well have been some originals, and it may be that these were disposed of separately. It was the disruptions in Florence of the late eighteenth century – beginning with the dis-establishment of many religious orders – that released a flood of works of art onto the market and accelerated the liquidation of the city’s artistic capital. This, of course, was greatly increased by the European wars of the 1790s. And it was from this situation, to return to our starting-point, that Sir Thomas Lawrence profited so comprehensively.¹⁸⁰

NOTES

1. Woodburn, 1846. Although this catalogue was printed for J. Fisher, it copies Woodburn, 1842, and is here classed under Woodburn’s name.

2. As a comparison may be cited the Pompeo Leoni album of drawings by Leonardo, re-discovered in the Royal Collection in the eighteenth century: According to Charles Rogers, writing in 1778 when the album was still intact, "In it are contained 234 Leaves on which are pasted 779 Drawings" (pp. 4–5).

3. Woodburn, 1842.

4. Byam Shaw, 1976, no. 64; see n. 127.

5. Cat. 81.

6. Lawrence was conscious – and proud – of his place in a collecting genealogy: He wrote to Woodburn on 17 December 1822 (Williams, 1831, II, p. 232): "I am still the successor of Sir Peter Lely, the Richardsons, Sir James Thornhill (the former possessor of my Rubens), Hudson, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Benjamin West."

7. An abstract of Lawrence's will is in Williams, 1831, II, pp. 565–8.

8. A detailed discussion of Woodburn's efforts to sell the Lawrence Gallery to the Nation is the unpublished thesis by Denys Sutton of 1938, of which the Ashmolean houses the copy referred to by Parker in the introduction to his 1956 catalogue. Material on Lawrence's collecting can be found in Williams, 1831, although it should be noted that he misdates some of Lawrence's letters; further information is in Lawrence's letter-books, preserved in the library of the Royal Academy. See also Robertson, 1963, pp. 52–3.

9. Thus, the famous study of a head, believed until Wilde, 1953a, no. 57, to be that of St. Bartholomew in the *Last Judgement*, does not bear the Lawrence dry stamp, although there is no doubt whatsoever that it was in his collection.

10. The compiler has been unable to locate the following exhibits in the 1836 catalogue: 1836–18, 1836–19, 1836–34, 1836–70, 1836–78, 1836–99; all of these were sold to William II of Holland, but 1836–18, at least, is recorded in Woodburn's *Lawrence Gallery* of 1853 as plate 23.

11. Labbé and Bicart-Sée, 1996, p. 174.

12. Robinson, 1870, p. xx.

13. *Ibid.*, p. xxiii.

14. 1836–18, 1836–20, 1836–43, 1836–44, 1836–48, 1836–56, 1836–75, 1836–90, 1836–94, 1836–95, 1836–98, 1836–99, 1836–100. Of these, seven either came from Michelangelo's studio or are works of such high standard that it would have been reasonable at that time to consider them to be originals: 1836–18 (by Mini?), 1836–20 (by Salviati), 1836–43 (by Sebastiano), 1836–44 (by Pontormo), 1836–56, 1836–75 (accepted as an original until Wilde's catalogue of 1953), 1836–100 (by Mini?).

15. The untraced exhibits are listed in n. 10.

16. 1850–126 and 1850–130 were wrongly given to Sebastiano; 1850–129, 1850–132, and 1850–133 were wrongly given to Venusti. The seven further drawings not presently identifiable are 1850–114, 1850–150, 1850–160, 1850–161, 1850–165, 1850–237, and 1850–238.

17. Hinterding and Horsch, 1989.

18. Turner et al., 1997, no. 28; in that entry, the drawing's provenance is given as the Eustace Robb Collection, Oxfordshire.

19. Inv. IV.7/Corpus III, no. 399; black chalk, 383 × 296 mm.

20. 1836–2 and 1836–50 each comprised four drawings, and 1836–82, three. All were separated post 1870 and are treated individually both in 1956 and in the present catalogue.

21. Robinson, 1870, p. xxiii.

22. Louvre Inv. 714/J4/Corpus 19; pen and ink with traces of black chalk, 262 × 185 mm.

23. This publication poses a problem. By 1853 five of the thirty drawings reproduced in it had found permanent homes: Three were

among the drawings acquired by Oxford in 1846, and two others had been bought by the Louvre at the sale of the King of Holland; neither of these locations is given in the accompanying letter-press. It seems likely that the volume was prepared for publication before 1838, not then issued, only to be revived in 1853. The companion volume of facsimiles of drawings by Raphael, published in 1841, specifies those drawings that had been bought by William II.

24. McCullagh and Giles, 1997, no. 350.

25. For Malcolm and his collecting, see Coppel, 1996.

26. Sotheby's, London, 28 April and 24 November 1976. The drawings by Michelangelo comprised lots 14 and 16 on 28 April and lot 28 on 24 November; that attributed to Jacomo del Duca was lot 15 on 28 April. None of the autograph Michelangelos, all of which were acquired by Malcolm from Robinson, bears a Lawrence stamp – or, indeed, any other indication of their earlier provenance. The best suggestion that the compiler can offer is that they may have formed part of the Cicciporci group, and were purchased privately by Robinson, perhaps in Italy. The exception is lot 15 on 28 April, which bears the marks of Lanier (L.2880) and Cosway (L.628). This sheet, incidentally, seems to be a double-sided facsimile of a lost sheet by Michelangelo, probably made in his studio in his lifetime; for a comparable instance, see Cat. 55.

27. A magnificent figure-study in pen presented to the Louvre in 1881 by Edmond Gatteux (Inv. RF1068/J11/Corpus 21) bears only Mariette's stamp and probably did not come from Lawrence, despite the temptation to identify it with lot 155 in the sale of William of Holland, *Etude d'homme, Superbe dessin à la plume*, bought by Brondgeest for the high price of 400 guilders.

28. Catalogued by Bean, 1960, nos. 65–70, to which should be added his no. 73 (for which see n. 146).

29. In a letter to Woodburn dated 29 June 1820 (Williams, 1831, II, p. 280), Lawrence refers to "that fine collection of drawings which I owe to your judgment and vigilant attention."

30. This may be the place to mention a letter written from Naples at an uncertain date in the 1630s by Rev. William Petty, who acted as an agent for the Duke of Arundel and who informed the Duke's son that he had secured for Arundel "500 of Michelangelo (with the bathers and all)." This reference (see Springell, 1963, p. 250) is mysterious. The fact that the letter was written from Naples does not necessarily mean that the drawings were purchased there, but that would be the obvious assumption. It is highly improbable that the five hundred contained more than a small proportion of drawings genuinely by Michelangelo, but there could have been some originals among a host of copies. Even though they did come to London (see Howarth, 1985, p. 134), there seems to be no further trace of them. Whether any can be found among the drawings owned by Everard Jabach, who seems to have acquired the largest part of Arundel's collection, is an open question.

31. Two autograph sheets owned by Lely are Princeton X 1947–134 (discussed by Joannides, 1995a) and Hamburg 21094/Corpus 35.

32. Ongpin, 2001, *passim*.

33. Joannides, 1995b and 2003b.

34. On Reynolds' collection of drawings, see Royalton-Kisch, 1978. An otherwise unpublished study of knees by Michelangelo, bearing Reynolds' stamp, was offered at Christie's, London, 9 December 1982, lot 144, black chalk, 185 × 159 mm, and again at Sotheby's, London, 9 July 2003, lot 9. This drawing, like two other slight sketches owned by Reynolds now in the British Museum (W73/Corpus 398 and W79/Corpus 405) and the four *David and*

Goliath fragments in the Morgan Library (Inv. 132 i,ii,iii,iv, Corpus 370–1; see Cat. 46a), may have come onto the market with the dispersal of the Cicciaporci Collection. All were made late in Michelangelo's career.

35. Published in instalments between 1808 and 1823.

36. Acquired by William II, it was lot 106 in his sale. It was purchased for the ducal collection at Weimar and was described in that collection by Gotti, 1875, II, p. 210. No doubt sold by the Sachsen-Weimar family in the twentieth century, it is now in the National Gallery of Canada (Franklin, 2005).

37. Wilde, no. 87.

38. See ns. 31 and 34.

39. Taking the 1836 exhibition as a sample, one genuine drawing came from Reynolds (1836–79), two from Richardson (1836–36, 1836–52; although his ownership is listed for 1836–51, this was probably an error), and one from Revil (1836–54). Among the drawings wrongly given to Michelangelo two came from Reynolds (1836–44, 1836–75), two from Richardson (1836–37, 1836–46), one from Hudson (1836–78 – probably but not certainly a copy), and one from Cosway (1836–92).

40. Taking the 1836 catalogue as a sample, genuine drawings by Michelangelo coming from Mariette (and, in most cases, Crozat) were 1836–13, 1836–31, 1836–59, 1836–81, and 1836–89. Drawings wrongly ascribed to Michelangelo from Mariette's collection were 1836–8, 1836–17, 1836–41, 1836–45, and 1836–61.

41. For the history of the Albertina's collection, see Dossi, 1999–2000.

42. For Julien de Parme, see P. Rosenberg, 1999. Julien also acquired drawings for himself at the Mariette sale.

43. Birke and Kertesz, 1992–1997, I, nos. 102/Corpus 269, 103/Corpus 432, 116/Corpus 5, 118/Corpus 22, 120/Corpus 144, 123/Corpus 53, 132/Corpus 14; III, no. 4868/Corpus 408; the sales of works of art made in the 1920s, the 1930s, and later by the Archduke Frederick and his heirs included some 3,800 drawings, but these seem to have been works acquired under Frederick's own auspices between 1895 and 1919, and not to have come from the collection of drawings formed by Albert von Saxe-Teschen; see Dossi, 1999, pp. 42, 166–7.

44. J. Fisher, 1865, p. 9.

45. See Joannides, 1994a.

46. Lempereur owned several drawings by Michelangelo, including two now in the British Museum, W1/Corpus 6 and W3/Corpus 36, the study for the *Minerva Christ* formerly in the Brinsley Ford Collection, Corpus 94, and the *Stoning of St. Stephen* now at the Château de Loppem. Only the last two now bear Mariette's mark, and only W1 was acquired by Lawrence.

47. For Vivant Denon's drawing collection see Bicart-Sée and Dupuy, 1999–2000.

48. Williams, 1831, II, pp. 405–7.

49. Williams, 1831, II, pp. 418–20, mistakenly placed by Williams later in the year. Because Lawrence refers to the opening of the Royal Academy exhibition in this letter, it should no doubt be dated in the first half of May.

50. Lawrence, who was in Paris between August and October 1825, wrote to Woodburn on 1 September (Williams, 1831, II, pp. 413–16): "Of Denon's drawings I saw a few; but the owner is now absent and does not return till after my departure which will take place at the end of this month." Woodburn went to Paris shortly after.

51. 1836–22 and 1836–64.

52. The catalogue of Julien de Parme's sale, known in a single copy, is reproduced in P. Rosenberg et al., 1999–2000, pp. 26–31. It contained four lots of drawings by Michelangelo (10–13).

53. For the Brunet-Denon family, see Dupuy, 1999–2000, p. 494 ff.

54. Lawrence expressed in his will his wish that "my highly intelligent friend William Young Ottley Esq." (Williams, 1831, II, p. 568) should be entrusted with cataloguing Lawrence's collection for sale. In an undated note to Keightley (Royal Academy, Lawrence letter-books, II/228) Lawrence recommended that Ottley should receive £500 for this employment.

55. Woodburn, 1836a, p. 1.

56. For Roscoe's first letter, see Royal Academy, Lawrence letter-books, IV/253; from his letter of 5 January 1825 (ibid., IV/293), it is evident that Lawrence had reacted critically to the drawing, although he did eventually buy it from Roscoe.

57. Gere and Pouncey, 1983, no. 95.

58. Garlick, 1989, no. 623.

59. Lawrence's letter is published in Taggart et al., 1965, pp. 8–9.

60. Williams, 1831, II, p. 285.

61. Royal Academy, Lawrence letter-books, IV/84. Beaumont seems to have purchased the *tondo* from Wicar shortly before 19 May 1822, when he wrote about it to Lawrence (Lawrence letter-books, IV/20, reference kindly supplied by Cecilia Treves); he is thought to have paid £1,500, but there seems to be no certain record of this.

62. Woodburn, 1836a, p. 2.

63. Royal Academy, Lawrence letter-books, IV/93.

64. Royal Academy, Lawrence letter-books, IV/86. The *Leda* cartoon was given to the Royal Academy by William Lock the Younger in 1821.

65. Williams, 1831, II, p. 291.

66. Michelangelo's authorship of the *Leda* cartoon in the Royal Academy is now universally rejected, but there is every reason to think that it was accepted as his in the sixteenth century. According to Vasari in 1568, "a Fiorenza è ritornata poi il cartone della Leda, che l'ha Bernardo Vecchietti... condotti da Benevenuto Cellini scultore," and it is also mentioned by Raffaello Borghini (1584, p. 13) as in the Vecchietti Collection. It was still there in 1746 when Gori in his edition of *Condivi* wrote (p. 111: "Il cartone di Leda fatto di Michelagnolo, si conserva sino di presente, bello, intatto e fresco in Firenze nela Sala della Casa de' Vecchietti; nè senza stupore e gran piacere può osservarsi"). But Charles Rogers, 1778, I, p. 16 and n. 38, quoting *Serie IV, degli homine i più illustri nella pittura* etc, 1771, p. 48, writes, "The original Cartone of this Leda with the Swan, mentioned by Vasari, Borghini, Bocchi and others, is now at London in the valuable collection of William Lock Esq., a great Lover of the Fine Arts and particularly of the works of this inimitable master; by whom he has also a Hercules Killing Cacus in terra-cotta, a basso-relievo of a Bacchanal, a Torso of a man, and two models of an Aurora and of a St. Laurence, one of which is in wax." Furthermore, in Coltellini's edition of Vasari, of which volume 6 was published in 1772, it is stated on pp. 388–9 that the cartoon – and some sculptural models – was now owned by William Lock. The alternative, that the cartoon acquired by Lock is that recorded in France in Le Brun's 1683 inventory of the French Royal Collection and referred to in an annotation to that inventory by Houasse datable 1691 as destined to be burned (see Brejon de Lavergnée, 1987, no. 369, pp. 370–1; Michelangelo's

painting is recorded as having been burned before 1642), can be excluded, especially as the dimensions of the French example were 162 × 218 cm as opposed to the 171 × 249 cm of that in the Royal Academy. Passavant, 1836, p. 76, also says that the Royal Academy cartoon – which he did not believe to be autograph – was acquired from Casa Vecchietti. It is now commonly attributed to Rosso, but that attribution is hard to sustain. The drawing for the *Leda* to which Woodburn refers cannot securely be identified. It might be an error for the copy after the *Night*, here Cat. 83, or the untraced drawing 1836–35.

67. Royal Academy, Lawrence letter-books, IV/86. There is some doubt about the provenance of the *Cleansing of the Temple*, now in the National Gallery. Recorded in the Borghese Collection in the mid-seventeenth century, it remained there until the end of the eighteenth century, when it was acquired by Commissaire Reboul. It was bought from him by Woodburn. In his letter to Lawrence of 13 March 1823, Woodburn stated that he had sold the *Venusti* to Mr. Lock (i.e., William Lock the Younger), but in Lawrence's reply to Woodburn's letter, of late March or early April 1823 (Williams, 1831, II, pp. 416–18, misdated to 1825) he remarks of the drawings acquired by Woodburn from Wicar: "Mr. D. [his usual way of referring to Dimsdale] will be delighted to possess the studies for his own Marcello Venusti, which so exceedingly add to the value of that beautiful work." Whether a different painting is in question, or whether Lawrence or Woodburn made a slip of the pen, is uncertain. After Dimsdale's death, Lawrence no doubt acquired the painting from his estate, via Woodburn. After Lawrence's death, the painting returned to Woodburn, who is referred to as owning it in the *Athenaeum's* review of the exhibition of Michelangelo's drawings on 16 July 1836. It was presumably sold by Woodburn to the Duke of Hamilton, from whose collection it was bought by the National Gallery in 1885.

68. Woodburn, 1836a, p. 4. Lawrence's feelings about Dimsdale were expressed in a jocular – but telling – way to Woodburn in a letter of 27 January 1823 (Williams, 1831, II, p. 287: "I have never thought with common Christian charity of Mr. D. since the dreadful moment when I first saw my long dreamt of treasure [a drawing Lawrence believed to be by Raphael] of the *Peste* [i.e., the Plague], in his possession. What will be his end I know not; but certainly it will not be a natural death. I never see him, determining that the certain retribution may be the work of other hands, my own being as yet bloodless and pure.").

69. Woodburn, 1836a, p. 4.

70. J. Fisher, 1879, p. 11.

71. Wicar worked through an intermediary. A list of the Raphael drawings in Fedi's possession, all of them now in Lille, was given by Longhena, 1829, pp. 718–19, as actual, evidently unaware they had been re-possessed by Wicar five years before. Longhena similarly records (pp. 726–7), as in Ottley's collection, a group of drawings that had passed to Lawrence in 1823. It is worth noting that since Fedi presumably did not object to Longhena's publishing the details of his group of Raphael drawings, he can have felt no disquiet about them; this suggests that, although he may have obtained them by subterfuge, he felt that he had a right to them. He seems to have served in some capacity with Wicar on the Napoleonic commissions, and the "theft" may have been the result of a friendship soured, or a deal that went wrong.

72. Established by Nesselrath, 1983; see the essay by F. Lemerle in Brejon de Lavergnée, 1997, pp. 283–9.

73. Bell, 1938, p. 199 ff.

74. Piot, 1863, p. 145. The biography of Filippo Buonarroti by Saitta, 1950–1, makes no mention of this episode.

75. It is unclear whether Ottley and Wicar acquired drawings from Cavaceppi during his lifetime or from his heirs after his death.

76. Sueur, in Bentini, Loisel Legrand, et al., 1998, p. 24.

77. Bentini, 1989, p. 46; these drawings were in the *appartamento* of the *piano nobile*. The Este Collection no doubt contained other drawings by or attributed to Michelangelo either not on display or on display elsewhere. The Coccapani Collection, much of which entered Este ownership c. 1650, contained *Un Christo in Croce di Michel Angelo di lapis nero* (ibid., p. 37) recorded again in an undated inventory (ibid., p. 40); it would be tempting to identify this with one of the copies of Michelangelo's *Crucified Christ* made for Vittoria Colonna (see Cat. 66) but none of those known to the compiler bears an Este stamp. Another inventory, of 1751 (ibid., pp. 40 ff.), records as no. 336, *Una testa di carbone di Michelangelo con cornice* (this might be BM W57), and no. 412, *Un Filosofo a lapis nero di Michel Angelo con cornice*. No. 353, *Un'altra testa a lapis rosso di Michel Angelo suddetto, con cornice logorata*, seems however to have been attributed to Michel Ange da Caravaggio, to whom *Una testa a lapis nero*, no. 351, was certainly given.

78. Joannides, 2002–3a, p. 37.

79. Robinson, 1870, p. xv.

80. Scheller, 1971.

81. Further details in Joannides, 2002–3a, p. 40.

82. Passavant, 1836, p. 32. The drawings are W16/Corpus 76 and W17/Corpus 77 in the British Museum and Bean 65 in the Musée Bonnat. They had been seen by Lawrence in Rome in 1819, for in a letter to Woodburn of March or April 1823 (wrongly placed among those of 1825 by Williams, 1831, II, pp. 416–18) Lawrence wrote: "I well remember SEBASTIAN DEL PIOMBO's letter, respecting the reception of his pictures, which at Rome I much wished to secure, together with two, if not three, studies by Michael Angelo, for the group of Lazarus in that fine picture. I was so instrumental in urging Mr. Angerstein to buy it, that of course I had the DEEPEST INTEREST in looking at those sketches, which so confirmed my conviction of that figure being entirely his."

83. Among these in the Ashmolean would be certainly Cats. 3, 19, 29, and 47, and probably 4, 5, 9–12, 24, 36, 37, 45, and 48. In the British Museum, they would be W42/Corpus 316, and probably W34, W36/Corpus 528, 57/Corpus 220, and the copy W91.

84. For the former see Calbi, 1986, fig. 91a; the latter, unpublished, is in the National Gallery of Scotland, RSA 256.

85. Gere, 1953, p. 47.

86. See Joannides, 2002–3a, p. 40 for this calculation.

87. See n. 72.

88. Gere, 1953; the copies of the sale catalogues referred to by Gere as in the Sutton Collection are now in the Print Room of the British Museum.

89. Cats. 70 and 113.

90. Gere, 1953, p. 48.

91. However, see Appendix 1, Ottley sale of 1804, lot 269. The type of numbering found on this drawing is also found on a number of sheets by Gabbiani in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille: see Brejon de Lavergnée, 1997, nos. 246–51, 252–7, and 259–60. It is identified by Pouncey and Gere, 1962, no. 224, p. 129, as possibly that of Lamberto Gori, but it seems instead to be that of the Martelli. For five ex-Martelli drawings owned by Woodburn, offered in his 1804 sale and now in the Prado, see Turner and Joannides, 2003.

92. See Wood, 2003, passim.

93. Lot 1765, the *Fall of Phaeton*, is identifiable with the copy by Alessandro Allori in the Woodner Collection of the National Gallery of Art, Washington. It no longer bears the memo on its back. However, Lamberto Gori did own interesting drawings: According to Ottley (1808–23, p. 17) the *Horsemen* by Signorelli, now in the British Museum (Popham and Pouncey, 1950, no. 237), came from his collection, “together with a few other studies by Signorelli.”

94. 1842 nos.: 1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38, 40, 42, 49, 53, 57, 60, 62, 65, 66, 67, 69, 72, 73, 77, 80, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, and 100.

95. 1842 nos.: 4, 7, 9, 11, 13, 17, 26, 27, 28, 31, 35, 37, 38, 42, 43, 45, 50, 56, 58, 66, 70, 71, 72, and 78.

96. 1842 nos.: 2, 12, 24, 51, 54, 67, 76, 77, and 85.

97. 1842 nos.: 1, 10, 30, 32, 34, 47, 52, 60, 61, 63, 64, 69, 75, 80.

98. 1842 no. 50, Cat. 93, an uninspired copy after the *Last Judgment*, which, if it ever was in Casa Buonarroti, can have been acquired only for documentary purposes.

99. Respectively 1842, nos. 48 (from the King of Naples at Capodimonte), 39 (from Revil and Ottley), and 44 (Richardson Sr., Spencer and Ottley).

100. The following are not by Michelangelo: 1842 nos.: 12, 24, 51, 76, and 85 (this last probably did not come from Wicar).

101. The following are by Michelangelo: 1842–2, 1842–54, 1842–67, and 1842–77. 1842–67/Cat. 6, was copied by Commodi; see n. 118, no. 12.

102. The following are neither by Michelangelo nor his studio: 1842–1, 1842–34, 1842–52, 1842–61, 1842–69, 1842–75i, and 1842–80.

103. The following are either by Michelangelo or his studio: 1842–10, 1842–30, 1842–32, 1842–47, 1842–60 (Mini), 1842–63 (Piero d’Argenta?), 1842–64, 1842–69, and 1842–75ii.

104. These are 1814–253 (the Window, 1836–49/1842–42), 1814–254 (the Door, 1836–1/1842–43), 1814–257 (1836–7), 1814–259 (1836–90), 1814–260b (1842–56), 1814–261 (1842–72), 1814–263 (1842–45), 1814–264 and 1814–265 (1836–2 or 1836–50), 1814–823 (1842–35), 1814–824 (1836–82), 1814–825 (1836–82), 1814–1502 (1836–98), 1814–1504 (1836–82), 1814–1587a (1842–28), 1814–1681 (1842–67; Wicar alone mentioned), 1814–1760 (1842–9), 1814–1767 (questionable).

105. Valenti Rodinò, 1996, pp. 137–8; the *Epifania* was acquired at the posthumous sale of the collection of Cardinal Silvio Valenti’s nephew, Cardinal Luigi Gonzaga, in 1809 by Guillaume Guillon-Lethière, who wrote about it to Vivant Denon on 5 May (Bicart-Sée and Dupuy, 1999–2000, p. 452, “J’ai acheté à la vente du Cardinal Valenti une chose fort rare, c’est un carton de Michel-Ange, figures un peu plus fortes que nature, savoir un vieillard, un homme mur une femme et deux enfants.” Denon replied that he “desiderait bien de l’acquérir pour le musée mais il n’a aucun fonds disponible pour ses acquisitions. Cependant, comme il présume que votre intention est de l’envoyer a Paris, il vous invite à la joindre à la fresque que vous expédirez et peut-être s’arrangera-t-il avec vous pour le joindre au précieux cabinet de dessins qu’il possède et que vous connaissez.”). Wicar (see Beaucamp, 1939, pp. 558–60) had been on the track of this cartoon earlier that year, but his efforts to obtain it failed. The cartoon is next recorded in the collection of Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino.

106. See Ragionieri, 2000, p. 12.

107. Uffizi 229F, 230F/Corpus 393 and 409.

108. Uffizi 598E, 599E, 601E/Corpus 307, 308, and 306.

109. Guasti, 1863, pp. lxi–lxiii, transcribes, from Codex XV in Casa Buonarroti a text by Michelangelo the Younger recording sheets of drawings by Michelangelo that also bore autograph poems, which he had obtained directly or indirectly from Bernardo Buontalenti. It reads as follows:

Da disegni di mano [i.e. in the possession of] Bernardo Buontalenti, oggi miei: [1] Da un disegno a penna, d’una Femmina ritta, con un putto a piedi, oggi venatomi in mano e fatto mio: Tu ha’ ’l viso più dolce che la sappa [Louvre RF 4112/J17/Corpus 25, which had left Casa Buonarroti by 1758 when it was recorded in the collection of Philip von Stosch]. [2] Da uno, dove sono due sepolcri insieme accoppiate, con queste parole “La Fama tiene gli epitaffi a giacere: non va nè innanzi nè indietro, perche son morti, et loro opere e fermo [British Museum W28/Corpus 189, part of the 1859 purchase]. [3] Da uno dove sono certi Sepolcri simili a quel di sopra. “Di te ne’ veggo, e di lontan mi chiamo” [British Museum W27/Corpus 185, part of the 1859 purchase]. [4] Da un altra carta, dove è un gamba e altri schizzi, “Sol’io ardendo all’ombra mi rimango” [British Museum W5/Corpus 46, part of the 1859 purchase]. [5] Nel frontespizio d’un Porto “Chi non vuol delle foglie” [Ashmolean Museum, Cat. 56].

110. Some of these were noted by Joannides, 1978 and 1981b.

111. The 1684 inventory notes that before Leonardo Buonarroti presented the *Madonna of the Stairs* to Cosimo I in 1565, he had it cast in the bronze still in Casa Buonarroti.

112. The relevant correspondence between Francesco and Michelangelo the Younger was published by Sebregondi Fiorentini, 1986.

113. An instance of this may be the famous study for *Haman* (British Museum, W13/Corpus 163), whose provenance is unanimously given as Casa Buonarroti. The reason for raising the possibility that it might not have entered the Casa before the early seventeenth century is convoluted but worth considering. The *Haman* seems to be the only ex-Casa Buonarroti drawing of which a precise early same-size, same-medium copy exists, that in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle (red chalk, 390 × 222 mm; PW 450; Joannides, 1996–8, no. 40). If this copy were isolated, it would present no serious problem to assume that the copyist had access to the collections of Casa Buonarroti (a second copy of the *Haman* drawing, in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, red chalk, 363 × 290 mm, probably derives from the Windsor copy rather than the original). However, the Windsor copy seems to be by the hand, perhaps that of a French artist, that also made copies of two studies for the Sistine ceiling now in Haarlem (A27 and A20, VT 48 and 49/Corpus 135 and 136; originally on a single sheet of paper but divided into two by the time the Irregular Numberings 62 and 63 were applied to them) and on a second sheet in the Royal Collection at Windsor (red chalk, 390 × 235 mm; PW 449; Joannides 1996–8, no. 46). A further copy, in Florence (Uffizi 2318F/B268; red chalk 287 × 215 mm) of the study for *Libica* (New York, Metropolitan Museum, Inv. 24. 197.2 recto/BT 131/Corpus 156; red chalk, 288 × 213 mm) seems, as Wilde, 1953a, p. 26, first suggested, to be by the same hand as the Windsor *Haman* copy. This hand may also be responsible for a copy of two pages of drawings by Michelangelo (Christ Church JBS. 62 verso/Corpus 86 verso; red chalk, 291 × 211 mm [also copied in an etching made c. 1600: see n. 173] and Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, Inv. I. 513 recto/Corpus 121; black chalk, 206 × 193 mm) on a sheet now in the British Museum (W86; red chalk, 306 × 202 mm, dated by

Wilde to “about 1600 or later”). Thus, to summarise the situation, we have four sheets of copies, reasonably attributable to the same hand, of six sheets of drawings by Michelangelo made in part for the Sistine ceiling, five of which have no recorded connection with Casa Buonarroti. This would suggest – but not, of course, prove – that c. 1600 the copyist had access to all six Michelangelo sheets at the same time and, presumably, in the same collection, and that while one of these autograph sheets (the *Haman* study) subsequently entered Casa Buonarroti, the others (four of which bear either the *Bona Roti* inscription, an Irregular Number, or both – the Rotterdam sheet has been severely trimmed, and no inscription now survives on it; see later in this chapter for discussion of these inscriptions) arrived at their present locations by other routes.

114. Sebreghondi Fiorentini, 1986, and Morrogh, 1992, recognised that this group of copies, classed in the Uffizi under the name of his friend Ludovico Cigoli, came from an album of drawings by Francesco Buonarroti. The drawings were obviously made for the draughtsman's own reference, not with archaeological intent.

115. Francesco's copies are all in black chalk and are made on one side only of sheets of paper measuring approximately 285 × 415 mm, folded down the centre with each side used individually. They are capricious in their juxtaposition of designs from different periods of Michelangelo's architectural activity, and even though they include some same-size copies, they can vary, without apparent reason, from inflated to diminished. It is, of course, only assumption that the drawings for which no source can be identified depend from originals by Michelangelo, but, failing evidence to the contrary, it may serve as a working hypothesis. The compiler has identified ten sheets of such copies, as follows (the lettering starts from the upper left and moves down, and then up). Unless otherwise indicated (> = right edge as base; < = left edge as base; ^ = top edge as base), the sketches are arranged with the lower edge of the sheet as base:

1. 5348A

Left side

- a. Inaccurate sketch after CB 96A verso/B79/Corpus 551.
- b. Loose sketch after BM W37 recto/Corpus 554.
- c. Loose sketch after BM W37 verso/Corpus 554.
- d. > Simplified copy of upper part of Cat. 55/P.II, 307/Corpus 605.

Right side

- a. After CB97A verso/B167/Corpus 616, lower right.
- b. After CB96A recto/B79/Corpus 551.
- c. A loose sketch after the Campidoglio tabernacle design CB97A recto/B167/Corpus 616.

2. 5350A

Left side

- a. Small sketch of Cat. 54 recto/P.II, 333/Corpus 589.
- b. A tabernacle with triangular pediment containing a symbolic? sarcophagus: source unidentified. The original, if by Michelangelo, probably datable c. 1520.
- c. With the right edge as base. Abbreviated copy of the sarcophagus on CB103A/B264 recto/Corpus 613.

Right side

- a. Large sketch of a door or tabernacle flanked by fluted pilasters or columns, probably after a lost original of the mid-late 1510s.

3. 5352A

Left side

- a. Upper central section of Michelangelo's *modello* for the Magnifici Tomb (see Cat. 63 for discussion). No example of this much reproduced design is now to be found in Casa Buonarroti, and it is conjectural after which version this copy was made.

Right side

- a. Partial same-size copy after Michelangelo's drawing for the Magnifici Tomb, British Museum, W26 recto/Corpus 180.
- b. A sarcophagus from Michelangelo's *modello* for the Magnifici Tomb (see left side, a).

4. 5355A

Left side

- a. After the study for the Porta Pia, CB73Abis verso/B164/Corpus 615.

Right side

- a. After the sketch for the Magnifici Tomb, BM W26 recto/Corpus 180.
- b. After the sketch for the Magnifici Tomb, BM W26 recto/Corpus 180.
- c. > After the sketch for a single tomb, BM W26 verso/Corpus 180.

5. 5358A (reproduced by Morrogh, 1992, fig. 11)

Left side

- a. A free-standing monumental altar. Source unidentified; the lost original, no doubt by Michelangelo, is probably datable c. 1520 (Morrogh interpreted this drawing as a study for a free-standing Medici tomb, but the compiler thinks it is for a monumental altar).

Right side

- a. A pedimented horizontally oriented window. Source unknown, the original probably datable c. 1560.
- b. A blind window for the Porta Pia, after CB106A verso/B169/Corpus 619, upper drawing.
- c. A blind window for the Porta Pia, after CB106A verso/B169/Corpus 619, lower drawing.

6. 5390A

Left side

- a. Loose variants of the three drawings for a lavabo, CB73A verso/B97/Corpus 274, re-arranged.

Right side

- a. Slightly enlarged copy of niched tabernacle, CB112A verso/B100/Corpus 197.

7. 5394A

Left side

- a. > Laterally compressed copy of the ciborium? CB40A recto/B98/Corpus 177.
- b. > Same size copy of Cat. 21 (d)/P.II, 307/Corpus 187.

Right side

- a. > Slightly enlarged copy of throne design, CB72A recto/B63/Corpus 199.
- b. > A complex wall or ?fountain design articulated with ?female herms; source unidentified. Michelangelo's authorship of the original is conjectural, but if by him, it is probably datable c. 1516. A page that contains an early drawing for the San Lorenzo façade (CB44A verso/B43/Corpus 498) includes a similar herm, and this may not, as is usually thought, be related to the Julius Tomb.

8. **5400A**

Left side

- a. Profile of a cornice, after CB62A recto/B84/Corpus 532, upper right.
- b. > A sarcophagus, after CB19F verso/B150/Corpus 368, centre.
- c. > A sarcophagus, after CB19F verso/B150/Corpus 368, upper centre.
- d. Profile of a cornice, after CB62A recto/B84/Corpus 532, middle right.
- e. Profile of a cornice, after CB62A recto/B84/Corpus 532, centre.
- f. Profile of a cornice, after CB62A recto/B84/Corpus 532, left.
- g. Profile of a cornice, after CB62A recto/B84/Corpus 532, right.

Right side

- a. > Profile labelled *pedestallo*; source unidentified.
- b. A wall tomb, after CB114A verso/B37/Corpus 176, lower right.
- c. A sarcophagus, probably either an adapted copy of CB19F verso/B150/Corpus 368, upper right, or after a variant of this now excised from that sheet.
- d. ^ Profile labelled *pedestallo*; source unidentified.
- e. A wall tomb after that on CB88A recto/B57/Corpus 181, lower left.
- f. A sarcophagus, interpreted after CB19F verso/B150/Corpus 368, lower left.

9. **5403A**

Left side

- a. After the tomb design on BM W25recto/Corpus 184, upper right.
- b. After the tomb design on BM W25 recto/Corpus 184, lower left.
- c. > Cornice profiles, source unidentified.
- d. > After the tomb design on CB71A recto/B58/Corpus 183.
- e. ^ Cornice profiles, source unidentified.

Right side

- a. Enlarged copy of the tomb design CB49A recto/B59/Corpus 182.
- b. < Copy of the tomb design CB128A/B87/Corpus 279.
- c. ?Medici ring with diamond, source unidentified.
- d. Cornice profiles, source unidentified.

10. **5406A**

Left side

- a. Enlarged version of CB84A recto/B166/Corpus 614.
- b. > Enlarged copy of a wall tomb design CB114A verso/B37/Corpus 176.
- c. > Enlarged copy of a wall tomb design CB114A verso/B37/Corpus 176.
- d. > Copy of the central section of CB52A/B258/Corpus 188.

Right side

- a. Somewhat regularised and enlarged copy of the central section of W38 recto/Corpus 561 (N.B.: Unlike the other originals in the British Museum recorded in Francesco's copies, this drawing was not part of the 1859 purchase but entered the museum from the collections of Lawrence, Samuel Woodburn [it was obviously among those not offered to Oxford], his sale of 1860, and Phillips-Fenwick).
- b. Wall tomb, after CB114A verso/B37/Corpus 176.
- c. Wall tomb, after JBS 64 verso/Corpus 280, study at lower right. See note 60.

116. From a record of books and papers taken by Francesco to Malta in 1607, Sebreghondi Fiorentini, 1986, pp. 72–4, suggests that at least two figurative drawings by Michelangelo – the *Pietà* (Corpus 426; black chalk, 295 × 195 mm [cut down]) now in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, drawn for Vittoria Colonna, and a *Phaeton* – as well as several architectural drawings – travelled to Malta with Francesco. However, it is unclear from the phrasing whether *disegno* means drawing or design, and because the two identifiable figurative compositions were widely known in engraving, and because there is no evidence that the Boston *Pietà* or any version of the *Phaeton* was ever in Buonarroti possession, this suggestion must be treated with caution.

117. These groups of drawings are discussed with great insight by Papi, 1989, pp. 35–6 and 1994, pp. 150–4, who illustrates and analyses a selection of them.

118. The compiler is at present aware of twenty-seven sheets by Commodi that certainly or probably contain copies after drawings by Michelangelo or his studio, of which a summary listing follows. Those sheets that certainly or probably formed part of the sketch-book are indicated by an asterisk (*). Some of the Michelangelesque sources were noted on the copies by P. N. Ferri:

1. **18528F**, red chalk, 234 × 185 mm (Illustrated Corpus, I, p. 118), same-size copy of CB1F/B8/Corpus 158. (Recognised as by Commodi by Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, in an inscription on the mount.)

2. **18535F**, black chalk, 250 × 103 mm, Papi, 1994, D1

a. Same-size copy after the raised right hand on CB52F recto/B227/Corpus 142.

b. Same-size copy after the leg on CB52F recto/B227/Corpus 142. (Recognised as by Commodi by Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, in an inscription on the mount.)

3. ***18599F**, 289 × 214 mm

Recto, pen and ink and wash over traces of black chalk (Papi, 1989, fig. 10a; 1994, D2, fig. 48, with sources identified).

a. *St. John Filling His Bowl*, probably after CB19F recto/B150/Corpus 368.

b. *Head of a Man*, after CB69F verso/B143/Corpus 91.

c. A clenched hand, probably abbreviated from CB 69F recto/B143/Corpus 91.

d. *The Virgin and Child*, after BM W83/Corpus 391 (1859 purchase).

Verso, pen and ink and wash

a. An upward reaching figure, after BM W33 verso/Corpus 236.

b. A striding nude man, after BM W48 recto/Corpus 208 verso (this drawing is given by Wilde to a pupil of Michelangelo; the other side of the sheet contains an autograph study for a reclining figure which is identified by Wilde as *Leda* but which the compiler is inclined to think is the *Night*).

c. *Hercules and Antaeus*, after BM W33 recto/Corpus 236.

d. A reclining youth; source unidentified.

4. **18603F**, red chalk, 106 × 148 mm

Same-size copy of the *Bed of Polydeitus*, CB53F recto/B174/Corpus 229bis.

5. ***18607F**, 213 × 155 mm

Recto, black chalk

A nude standing figure, probably after a lost sketch for Christ in the *Last Judgement*.

Verso, black chalk and pen

a. A face looking down, after CB47F/B22/Corpus 124 (pen).

b. After the *Risen Christ*, CB66F recto/B136/Corpus 262.

c. A face looking down, after CB47F/B22/Corpus 124 (pen).

d. A face looking down, after CB47F/B22/Corpus 124 (pen).

(a, c, and d identified in an annotation on the mount; it may be, however, that c and d are based on a similar original, now lost.)

6. *18608F, 215 × 145 mm

Recto, pen and ink

a. The turning figure from the *Bed of Polycleitus*, CB53 recto/B174/Corpus 229bis.

b. A skull in left profile, after Cat. 30 verso/Corpus 237.

c. *Hercules and Antaeus*, adapted from CB53 recto/B174/Corpus 229bis.

d. A figure showing his bottom, after Cat. 30 verso/Corpus 237.

Verso, pen and ink over red chalk

a. A profile after Uffizi 18724 verso/B237/Corpus 317 (red chalk). Source identified in a note on the mount.

b. A seated child, after one at the far right of the *Infant Bacchanal*, more probably after the engraving by Beatrizet (*The Illustrated Bartsch*, 29, p. 297, no. 40) than Michelangelo's drawing at Windsor, PW431/Corpus 338.

7. *18609F, 213 × 293 mm, pen and ink, pen and ink over black chalk, black chalk

Recto

a. A brooding figure, after AB, XII, fol. 46/B 360 probably by Antonio Mini of c. 1528.

b. Profile of an old woman, after Cat. 30 recto/Corpus 237.

c. A man on horseback, after Cat. 30 recto/Corpus 237.

d. A left hand, after CB37A verso/B83/Corpus 226.

Verso

a. *Hercules and Antaeus*, after Cat. 30 recto/Corpus 237, upper study.

b. A hand; source unidentified.

c. *Hercules and Antaeus*, after Cat. 30 recto/Corpus 237, lower study.

8. *18610F, 214 × 293 mm

Recto, pen and black chalk

a. A left foot seen from the left; source unidentified.

b. A figure with arms and legs bent back over a board, after the small sketch on CB42A recto/B78/Corpus 541.

c. *Christ in Limbo*, modified after CB35F/B135/Corpus 90.

d. A head after CB1F/B8/Corpus 158.

e. A male figure blowing a trumpet, perhaps after a variant of a figure known in a small sketch, probably after rather than by Michelangelo, in the British Library (BL) Department of Manuscripts, Add. Ms. 21907, fol. 1 recto (not in W)/Corpus 217.

Verso

a. A figure seen from the left, left arm outstretched behind, head turned left over shoulder, in pen; source unidentified.

b. A figure loosely based on the *David*, probably made after a drawing by Antonio Mini offered at Bonham's, London, 8 July 2002, lot 69; pen and ink over red chalk, 208 × 172 mm.

9. *18611F, 214 × 293 mm, black chalk and pen

Recto

a. A turning figure seen from the front, after Cat. 73 recto, by Antonio Mini.

b. Nude figure with a raised arm; source unidentified.

c. A kneeling male figure blowing a trumpet (see 18610F, verso (e)).

d. A left hand, after CB37A verso/B83/Corpus 226.

e. A putto, after the third from left in *Infant Bacchanal*, more likely from the engraving by Beatrizet (*The Illustrated Bartsch* 29, p. 297,

no. 40) than Michelangelo's drawing at Windsor, PW431/Corpus 338.

Verso, pen and ink and black chalk

a. A hawk perched on a wrist; source unidentified.

b. A fleeing figure; source unidentified.

c. A left hand, perhaps modified after BM W7 recto/Corpus 119 (1859 purchase).

d. > A view of *Day* from the rear, same size after Cat. 73 recto, by Antonio Mini.

10. 18614F, 153 × 162 mm, pen and ink

After the Settignano *Triton*, Corpus 11

11. *18619F, 294 × 434 mm, pen and ink with wash

Recto (Papi, 1994, D4, fig. 49, with some sources identified)

Left side

a. A head and shoulder in outline; source unidentified.

b. A left hand resting on a ledge?; source unidentified.

c. *Leda*, after Uffizi 18737F recto/B3/Corpus 44 (identified by Ferri-Jacobsen 1905, p. 28).

d. A left hand resting on a ledge?; source unidentified.

e. A left hand resting on a ledge?; source unidentified.

f. The right leg of the Child, after CB23F/B9/Corpus 29.

g. The gesturing figure at table in the *Haman* pendentive (more likely after a copy from the fresco than a lost original study for it).

h. The legs of the Child, after CB23F/B9/Corpus 29.

i. A standing Apostle?, after BM W74/Corpus 403

Right side

j. A left hand; source unidentified.

k. A sprawling man, after Uffizi 18721F recto/B175/Corpus 149 (probably by Mini after a lost sketch by Michelangelo).

l. The right hand of Ahasuerus from the *Haman* pendentive (as g).

m. A figure reeling back, after Uffizi 18721 recto/B175/Corpus 149 (as k).

n. A right hand holding a baton?; source unidentified.

o. A head; source unidentified.

p. An antique cornice, after CB2A recto/B24/Corpus 517.

q. A? hand; source unidentified.

Verso, black chalk, pen, and pen and wash (Papi, 1989, fig. 10b; 1994, D4, fig. 50, with some sources identified).

Left side

a. St. Sebastian; source unidentified.

b. An *ignudo*, after CB75F/B15/Corpus 145, lower centre.

c. An *ignudo*, after CB75F/B15/Corpus 145, centre.

d. A head turned up in left profile; source unidentified.

e. An *ignudo*, after CB75F/B15/Corpus 145, lower left.

Right side

f. A raised left hand, after the study for Adam, CB64F/B238/Corpus 132.

g. A head turned up to right, developed from i.

h. A head turned up to right, developed from i.

i. A figure bending in a complex pose, after BM W8 verso/Corpus 135 (1859 purchase).

j. A right hand holding a strap; source unidentified.

k. A raised right hand after the study for Adam, CB64F/B238/Corpus 132.

l. A face looking down, after CB47F/B22/Corpus 124.

m. A mouth, above which is a tiny dragon, after Hamburg 21094 recto/Corpus 35. (This drawing bears the mark of Sir Peter Lely; it, therefore, must have left Casa Buonarroti before Lely's death in 1680. In principle, it might have been in another collection when

Commodi copied it, but the layout of the present sheet makes this unlikely.)

n. A right calf, seen from the front, source unidentified.

o. Indecipherable.

12. *18620F, 290 × 427 mm

Recto, pen and ink, with wash, black chalk (Papi, 1989, fig. 11a; 1994, D5, fig. 51; some sources identified)

Left side

a. A left hand seen from the left; source unidentified.

b. A left hand seen from the left, holding a strap?; source unidentified.

c. A fleeing man, after CB69F verso/B147/Corpus 91.

d. A right hand holding a strap?; source unidentified.

e. A horse with a rider hurling a javelin, after Cat. 6/Corpus 39.

f. A horse, after Cat. 6/Corpus 39.

Right side

g. A right hand; source unidentified.

h. An eye, after CB28F/B213/Corpus 126 (after Michelangelo).

i. A brow, after CB28F/B213/Corpus 126 (after Michelangelo).

j. A nose and mouth, after CB28F/B213/Corpus 126 (after Michelangelo).

k. A right foot, seen from below; source unidentified.

l. A man carrying a bundle, perhaps after a lost copy by Mini of a sketch by Michelangelo for the Sistine *Flood*. Black chalk.

m. A left foot, seen from below; source unidentified.

n. A right hand holding a handle?; source unidentified.

o. A left foot and calf, seen from below; source unidentified.

Verso (Papi, 1989, fig. 11b; 1994, D5, fig. 52; some sources identified)

Left side, black chalk

a. A left hand bent as though holding something, seen obliquely from the front; source unidentified.

b. A left hand, after BM W10 verso/Corpus 154.

c. A mouth, after Besançon D3117 (or the lost original of that drawing)/Corpus 319.

d. A lower right leg; source unidentified.

e. A right calf, seen from the front; source unidentified.

f. A left ear, after Besançon D3117 (or the lost original of that drawing)/Corpus 319.

g. A man carrying another, after Uffizi 617E/B212/Corpus 127 (after Michelangelo).

h. Part of a leg; source unidentified.

i. A man carrying another, perhaps after a lost copy by Mini of a sketch by Michelangelo for the Sistine *Flood*.

j. A left leg; source unidentified.

k. A left hand after Uffizi 18721F verso/B175/Corpus 149.

Right side; pen and ink and wash

l. A right hand; source unidentified.

m. A kneeling man with raised hands seen from the rear, after CB54F recto/B146/Corpus 284.

n. A fleeing figure; source unidentified.

o. A horseman throwing a javelin, after Cat. 6 recto/Corpus 39.

p. A man seen from the rear, sprawling in a complex pose; source unidentified.

13. *18621F, 425 × 293 mm

Recto, black chalk, black chalk with wash, pen, and pen and wash over black chalk

Left side

a. A left leg after CB52F recto/B227/Corpus 142.

b. A right leg, after CB52F/B227/Corpus 142.

c. After Cat. 51/Corpus 428?

d. The left hand of Adam, after Detroit 27.2 recto/Corpus 120. (No provenance is recorded for this sheet before its appearance in the Emile Wauters Collection.)

e. A right calf, after CB52F recto/B227/Corpus 142.

f. *Ignudo* sketch, after BM W8 verso/Corpus 139 (1859 purchase).

g. *Ignudo* sketch, after BM W8 verso/Corpus 139.

Right side

a. After CB8F/B20/Corpus 122.

b. A nude male figure seated in right profile, his right hand under his right thigh, his left arm raised with his left hand bent against his face; source unidentified.

Verso

Left side, black chalk, pen, and pen and wash

a. A left calf seen from the front, after Uffizi 18720F verso/B19/Corpus 141.

b. A left arm and hand, perhaps after a lost drawing for Adam in the *Creation*.

c. A right arm and hand, after CB12F/B176/Corpus 159.

d. A sprawling or falling figure; source unidentified.

e. An *ignudo*, after Uffizi 18720F recto/B19/Corpus 141.

Right side

a. *St. John Filling His Bowl*, after CB19F verso/B150/Corpus 368.

b. A left foot seen from below; source unidentified.

c. A face seen nearly full on, enlarged after BM W40 verso/Corpus 315, by Antonio Mini (1859 purchase).

d. A man reading, after CB 12F/B176/Corpus 159.

e. A right foot, from the front; source unidentified.

f. A right hand resting on something, perhaps a fusion of the two drawings on Detroit 27.2 verso/Corpus 120.

14. *18622F, 429 × 292 mm pen

Recto

Left side

a. A crucified man, a same-size adaptation of the subsidiary figure on BM W12/Corpus 162 (1859 purchase).

b. A study for the *Last Judgement*, after BM 1980-10-11-46/Turner, 1999, no. 355 verso/Corpus 359 (acquired in Italy in the 1820s from the Florentine sculptor Aristodemo Costoli by Rev. Robert Sandford).

Right side

c. The hindquarters of a horse, same size, after Cat. 4 recto, lower drawing/Corpus 102.

Verso

Left side

a. A crucified man, same size, after the main figure on BM W12/Corpus 162 (1859 purchase).

b. The hindquarters of a horse, same size, after Cat. 4 recto, lower drawing/Corpus 102.

Right side

c. A resting figure; source unidentified.

d. The horse, after Cat. 4 recto, upper drawing/Corpus 102.

e. The hindquarters of a horse, sketch after Cat. 4 recto, lower drawing/Corpus 102.

15. 18625F, red chalk, 255 × 172 mm

A half-seated man? seen obliquely from the front with right arm raised, slightly enlarged, after Uffizi 18729F/B52/Corpus 294. (Identified by Ferri.)

16. **18626F**, red chalk, 252 × 172 mm (Papi, 1994, D6, fig. 53)

A half-seated man? seen obliquely from the front with right arm raised, slightly enlarged, after Uffizi 18729F/B52/Corpus 294. (Source identified in an inscription on the drawing.)

17. **18629F**, black chalk 216 × 149 mm

The back of a statue of Venus, after CB16F/B69/Corpus 234.

18. **18632F**, red chalk, 251 × 189 mm

Enlarged copy after the head of an *ignudo* on Louvre Inv. 860 recto/J19/Corpus 143.

19. **18633F**, pen over red chalk, 260 × 189 mm

After CB43F recto/B239/Corpus 128, not by Michelangelo. (Source noted by Ferri.)

20. **18634F**, red chalk, 280 × 184 mm

Same size, after Uffizi 233F recto/B1/Corpus 37. (Source noted by Ferri.)

21. ***18654**, pen, 212 × 293 mm

Recto only

a. Sketch for an *ignudo*, facing left, adapted from Cat. 13, recto F (inverted)/PII 303/Corpus 170.

b. Sketch for an *ignudo*, facing right, after Cat. 14 verso B/PII 304/Corpus 171.

c. Sketch for an ancestor reading, after Cat. 9 verso C/PII 299/Corpus 166.

22. **18655F**, pen, 233 × 156 mm

Recto

A genre sketch by Commodi with no connection to Michelangelo.

Verso

A same-size copy of the small standing figure at the lower left of Uffizi 233F recto/ B1/Corpus 37.

23. ***18659F**, pen, 295 × 425 mm

Recto (Papi, 1994, D7 fig 54; sources identified)

Left side

Virgin and Child after CB72F/B203, probably by Niccolò Tribolo.

Right side

A Virtue striking downwards for the *Last Judgement*, after BM 1980-10-11-46/Turner, 1999, no. 355 recto/Corpus 359 (acquired in Italy in the 1820s from the Florentine sculptor Aristodemo Costoli by Rev. Robert Sandford).

Verso

A left hand resting on an unidentifiable form; source unidentified.

24. ***18660**, pen and red chalk, 212 × 293 mm

Recto

a. A standing man adapted and enlarged from a figure at the left of the roundel design on Uffizi 18721F recto/B175/Corpus 149.

b. Probably after a lost drawing by Antonio Mini, similar to CB74F/B177.

Verso

a. Two men moving left to right, one with hands bound behind him, the other with his right arm raised; source unidentified.

25. ***18661F**, pen and black chalk, 209 × 295 mm

Recto

a. A half-length figure, seen frontally, with his left arm raised, in pen; source unidentified.

b. The same as a, bust length, in black chalk.

c. A standing figure, left leg bent forward, in left profile; source unidentified.

d. A gesturing figure, adapted from CB61F verso/B137/Corpus 261.

e. A left leg, from the rear; source unidentified.

Verso

a. A stooping figure in left profile, left hand reaching down, perhaps an interpretation of the underdrawing of the *Risen Christ*, CB66F recto/B136/Corpus 262.

b. Upper part of study for the *Risen Christ*, CB66F recto/B136/Corpus 262.

26. ***18662F**, black chalk and pen, 215 × 294 mm

Recto

a. After Uffizi 18729/B52/Corpus 294 (cf. 18626F), pen. (The addition of the hammer, unclear in Michelangelo's original and Commodi's chalk copy, is appropriate to the figure's pose and perhaps identifies him as Vulcan.)

b. A standing youth, seen from the front, looking to his right, black chalk; source unidentified but perhaps after a drawing by Antonio Mini.

c. A small sketch of a male figure lying on his back, pen; source unidentified.

27. **18675F**, black chalk, 292 × 220 mm

Part of a torso, probably after a lost study by Michelangelo of the 1520s.

119. Uffizi 18524F (red chalk, 289 × 209 mm), 18665F (pen and ink over red chalk, 440 × 292 mm), 18666F (pen and ink over red chalk, 440 × 290 mm), all three reproduced by Ragionieri, 2000, pp. 44–5. A fourth and fifth drawing (18538F, black chalk with white body colour, 243 × 188 mm, and 18519F, black chalk, 175 × 320 mm), both given to Commodi by Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, copy, respectively, the terracotta torso in Casa Buonarroti, perhaps made in connection with the *Dying Slave*, and the wax model variously identified as for a *River God* or a *Slave* but more probably for the latter (Inv. 191 and 542, Ragionieri, 2000, nos. 3 and 4, pp. 32–41; including illustrations of Commodi's copies); a sixth (18427BisF; pen and ink, 295 × 215 mm) is after the crucified thief at the right hand of Christ in the bronze group designed by Michelangelo.

120. Inv. 18614F. The Settignano *Triton* seems first to have been mentioned in print in 1746 by Gori, in his edition of *Condivi*, p. 99; in 1760 Bottari provided a more circumstantial account (Ed. Vasari, III, p. 349) “nella sua Villa di Settignano allato al camino è un Satiro disegnato sul muro col carbone di Michelangelo quando stava scaldandosi. E disegnato meravigliosamente ad naturale, e con la sua solita fiera, e terribil maniera.”

121. Uffizi 17425A, an illustrated letter from Andrea to Ludovico Buonarroti discussing heraldry, is dated “la vigilia di S. Lorenzo, 1596”; 18600F is the beginning of a draft letter to the same. Ferri and Jacobsen, 1903, p. 87, who first mentioned these drawings, gave them to Ludovico himself on the strength of the inscription on 18600F.

122. Papi, 1994, pp. 150–2.

123. Thus, it is possible, as Ragionieri 2000, pp. 12–14, remarks, that these works were copied by Commodi while they were (putatively) in Medici possession between 1565, when Leonardo Buonarroti, under compulsion, presented to Cosimo I the contents of Michelangelo's via Mozza Studio, and 1617. However, it seems unlikely that Cosimo I would have coveted scrappy drawings

without Medici connections, and the compiler is inclined to think that these remained in the family and were copied by Commodi in Casa Buonarroti. A negative argument in favour of this view may be adduced: There are no known copies by Commodi after drawings by Michelangelo that were certainly in Medici Grand Ducal possession during Commodi's lifetime. Thus, he did not copy either precisely or sketchily masterpieces by Michelangelo such as the *Cleopatra* made for Cavalieri, the two *cartonetti* prepared for Marcello Venusti, or the three Presentation Drawings of *Ideal Heads* given to Gherardo Perini, all of which, minus, of course, the *Cleopatra*, remain in the Uffizi. The most plausible explanation for this absence is that Commodi did not have access to the Medici Collection of drawings.

124. See n. 114 nos. 14 and 22.

125. 233F/B1/Corpus 37, 18720F/B19/Corpus 141, 18721F/B175/Corpus 149, 18724F/B23/Corpus 317, 18729F/B52/Corpus 294, 18737F/B3/Corpus 44.

126. Inv. 860/J19/Corpus 143; black chalk, 305 × 210 mm

127. JBS 64 verso/Corpus 280; black chalk and pen and ink, 333 × 248 mm, on a Baldinucci mount.

128. These drawings, both in black chalk, brown wash, and touches of white body colour (respectively, Paris, Fondation Custodia Inv. 5422; 253 × 339 mm, and Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen Inv. V.7; 240 × 346 mm) were recently discussed by R. Rosenberg in Weil-Garris Brandt et al., 1999–2000, nos. 6a and 6b; unlike Rosenberg, the compiler believes both drawings to be autograph works by Rubens. A copy after the Rotterdam drawing (known to the compiler only from an old photograph in the Witt Library) is in the collection of the University of Würzburg; it appears to be by Jacob Jordaens.

129. Significantly, the copies after drawings by Michelangelo (or of copies by Raffaello da Montelupo after drawings by Michelangelo) either made or owned by Gabbiani, listed in Cat. 34 are, with a single exception, after drawings now in the Uffizi and presumably always in Grand Ducal possession. Gabbiani seems to have made (or owned) no copies after Casa Buonarroti drawings.

130. Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Inv. 74.73.495; see R. Rosenberg, 2000, NZ 167; and Ramade, 1985, no. 304; Drouais led the way among Jacques-Louis David's pupils in exploiting Michelangelo's works as a visual source.

131. Mariette, 1746, pp. 231–2.

132. Condivi-Gori, 1746, p. xviii; Wright, 1730, p. 422, had already noted: "At the Palace of the Senator Buonarroti, we saw two books filled with sketches of Architecture, designed by *Mich. Angelo*, who was his Ancestor."

133. CB 45A/B245/Corpus 497: This was recorded as hanging in Stanza III in the description of the Gallery of 1684, together with the *Cleopatra* and two other undescribed drawings by Michelangelo. In Stanza III a "Madonna, disegno in matita di Michelangelo" is mentioned, the famous cartoon still in Casa Buonarroti, CB 71F/B121/Corpus 239. (See Procacci, 1967, pp. 227–8.)

134. Mariette, 1746, pp. 231–2.

135. These are also recorded in 1684: "e vi sono due grossi volumi, disegni di Michelangelo Buonarroti, ordinati e messi al armadio accanto, per esser grandi." There were also engravings in the Buonarroti Collection, no doubt including most of those known after Michelangelo's works (Procacci, 1967, p. 228).

136. Reprinted in Procacci, 1967, pp. 219–30.

137. For this episode, see Thornton and Warren, 1998. Some support for the Cavaliere Michelangelo's claim is provided by an inscription on the sheet that bears Michelangelo's famous study for the *Last Judgement*, CB65F recto/B142/Corpus 347: "Questo disegno è di proprietà di Michel.o del fu Carlo Buonarroti lasciato in custodia al cugino Cosimo, anno 1833." If this inscription is taken at face value, it would seem that there was before 1833 a fraternal division of Michelangelo's drawings.

138. Such as, for example, Uffizi 603E/B187/Corpus 306 (Joannides, 2002–3b, no. 184 [183 in the English-language edition]) and Uffizi 251F/B243 and the copy after a developed version of this design by Francesco Salviati, Uffizi 14673F (Joannides, 2002a, nos. 8 and 9).

139. Davis, 2002, argues that c. 1525 Michelangelo gave a sheet of architectural designs now in the Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio, Vicenza, to Sarto's wayward pupil Jacopo di Giovanni di Francesco, alias Jacone, who would be responsible for the pen drawings on the verso, overlaying Michelangelo's indications in red chalk. Davis's attribution was anticipated by the late James Byam Shaw, who annotated a reproduction of the drawing in the Witt Library with Jacone's name. The sheet's history before its appearance in the sale of the Squire Collection, Sotheby's, 28 June 1979, lot 40, is unknown.

140. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 87.12.69/BT 211.

141. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, no. 351/4.

142. Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Armand-Valton, no. 197A/Corpus 62 and Louvre Inv. 844/J50.

143. On a sheet subsequently used by Michelangelo for fortification drawings, CB27A recto/Barocchi 182/Corpus 567; various media, 562 × 407 mm. Bartolommeo Bergamasco's statue is illustrated in Schulz, 1991, fig. 36. Mini's copy was probably made from a clay or wax model.

144. *Carteggio*, V, MCCCXVII.

145. Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts; Brejon de Lavergnée, 1997, nos. 4 and 5.

146. Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, Bean, no. 73. The compiler is now inclined to think that this autograph – although much damaged and retouched – drawing is the portrait of Tommaso de' Cavalieri formerly in Farnese possession.

147. Riebesell, 1989, pp. 124–31, with a table on p. 127.

148. Perhaps further drawings attributed to Michelangelo and/or Raphael were acquired from the estate of the Cavaliere d'Arpino.

149. Clayton, 1996–8, p. 208.

150. Clifford, 2002, *passim*.

151. Riebesell, 1989, p. 201.

152. This may be true of Michelangelo's Cooper-Hewitt *Candelabrum*, a highly finished *modello* of c. 1520, which many years later he converted into a menorah by sketchy black chalk additions.

153. Thus, the sculptor Cristoforo Stati da Bracciano (1556–1619) owned two sheets of drawings by Michelangelo, now lost, that also contained poems (and perhaps others that did not). Guasti, 1863, p. XI, cites the following notes by Michelangelo the Younger: "[1] Da un carta di schizzi di Michelangelo in mano (i.e., in possession of) di Cristoforo da Bracciano scultore eravi scritti questi Madrigale, anzi ballata, pareva di mano di Michelagnolo stesso 'Quanto sare men doglia il morir presto' [2] Nel rovescio di una carta dove son certe modanature di Michelagnolo, in mano (i.e., in possession of) al medesimo Bracciano 'Com' arò dunque ardire.'"

154. See Szanto, 2002.

155. Ibid, p. 56.

156. BK116/Corpus 5, 118/Corpus 22, 120/Corpus 144, 123/Corpus 53.

157. Schnapper, 1994, pp. 267–80.

158. Py, 2001, nos. 368, 369, 764–9, 1129, [Portefeuille] P.

159. Thus, the *Pietà* in the Albertina (BK103/Corpus 432; red chalk 404 × 233 mm), which was probably owned by Crozat and Mariette, bears a large pen and ink inscription at lower left: *Michel Ange*. The compiler has noticed the same inscription on four other sheets:

1. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm; Bjurström, Loisel, and Pilliod, 2002, no. 1110, as follower of Bandinelli; pen and ink, 264 × 162 mm

2. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm; Bjurström Loisel, and Pilliod, 2002, no. 1201, as Domenico Beccafumi; pen and ink, 275 × 164 mm

3. A copy after Michelangelo's Morgan Library *Annunciation*, formerly in the Sir Robert Mond Collection (L.2813a; Borenus and Wittkower, 1937, no. 156), sold Christie's, London, 18 April 1989, lot 7, as attributed to Giulio Clovio; black chalk, 318 × 248 mm

4. A studio copy after lost sketches by Michelangelo drawn on the verso of a portion of an autograph letter by Michelangelo, formerly Brussels, E. Wauters Collection; pen and ink, 220 × 160 mm (K. Frey, 1909–11, pl. 249).

The two Stockholm drawings were acquired as Michelangelos by Tessin at the Crozat sale (1201 was part of lot 20), but the inscription common to them and to the three other drawings implies that all five were in the same French collection before Crozat acquired them. Whether any one of these sheets was owned by Jabach, and how those in Stockholm acquired the patently incorrect attribution to Michelangelo, are matters for conjecture.

160. This exception is Haarlem A17/VT52/Corpus 130; it may be that in this case Primaticcio knew not the original but a replica, perhaps by Mini. Alternatively, it is possible that, as Van Tuyll van Serooskerken suggests, this drawing could have returned to Italy with the cartoons sent back to Michelangelo by Rustici. If so, it would presumably have been given by Michelangelo to Daniele.

161. Joannides, 2001.

162. For the inventory, see Lafranconi, 1998; for further discussion, Lafranconi, 2003.

163. Haarlem A18/VT46/Corpus 51. Treves, 2001, who also thought that Daniele may have owned the two *Cascina* drawings, nevertheless argued that the *Baptism* was designed not by Daniele but by Michele degli Alberti. As will be suggested later, Michele degli Alberti may well have inherited this drawing, which bears the *Bona Roti* inscription, after Daniele's death. To the compiler, however, the sophistication with which drawings by Daniele and Michelangelo, which had been generated for different purposes, were combined in this panel suggests the mind of Daniele himself.

164. Baglione, 1642, p. 66: "Giacomo Rocca . . . al quale lascio Danielle bellissimi disegni non solo de' suoi, ma anche di quelli di Michelagnolo Buonarroti, li quali egli a tutti per meraviglia mostrava. E dalla vista di questi grand' utile apprese, e molto gusto il Cavalier Giuseppe Cesari da Arpino, quando era giovane, & in diversi lavori, che da Giacomo Rocca prendeva a fare, n'ebbe

aiuto." In his commentary, Röttgen suggests that a *Crucifixion* in Galleria Borghese traditionally attributed to Cesari may have been begun by Giacomo Rocca.

165. Vasari, 1759–60, III, p. 350. Bottari's information came from a letter received from Gaburri on 1 August 1741 (Fanfani, 1876, pp. 97–8). This provides a little more information: "Una bellissima collezione di disegni originali di Michelagnolo possiede in Firenze il Sig. Filipp. Ciciaporci, gentiluomo fiorentino, nella sua numerosa collezione di eccellenti disegni tanto antichi che moderni. Questi sono un gran parte della collezione che aveva già fatta in Roma il Cav. Giuseppe Cesare d'Arpino; e molti altri sono andati dispersi. Oltre ai disegni di Michel-Angelo, i quali sono 80 originali di studi terminati e conclusi, parte a lapis rosso e parte a lapis nero, e alcuni toccata a penna con quella diligenza, bravura e intelligenza come era suo costume. Vi sono altresì alcuni nudi di man di quel Brachettone (i.e., Daniele da Volterra) che coperse le nudità di molte di quelle figure che dipinse M. A. nella Capella Sistina; e questi sono gli studi per adattarvi i panni."

166. The dragon was drawn on a teaching sheet – indeed, it submerges sketches by Mini – which might well have gone with Mini to France but the situation is complicated rather than clarified by a copy in the Louvre (Inv. 693/J103), which bears inscriptions both in Italian and French.

167. Clayton, 1996–8, pp. 208–9.

168. Ibid.

169. Cats. 1, 2, 5, 20, 26, 45, 57.

170. Van Tuyll van Serooskerken, nos. 228–43.

171. Noted by Treves, 2001, pp. 39–40. She further pointed out that Casa Buonarroti 19F/B150/Corpus 368, with sketches for Daniele's *St. John* and for the Laurenziana staircase, also contains a sketch for the *Aeneas*.

172. Feliciano di San Vito would also be a possibility for one or the other of these owners, but because nothing is known about him, and because Giacomo Rocca did make use of drawings by Michelangelo, Rocca is a more likely candidate.

173. The study of a left leg, JBS 62/Corpus 86 verso; red chalk, 212 × 283 mm; see L. Donati, 2002, pp. 326–9. A page of drawings in the British Museum, W86, red chalk, 306 × 202 mm, dated by Wilde to "about 1600 or later," contains a copy of the same left leg made from the original, not the etching, plus a profile view of a right leg from a drawing by Michelangelo, now lost, which must have been on the same or a companion sheet.

174. Cat. 57; BMW13/Corpus 63, the famous study for *Haman*, bears neither a *Bona Roti* inscription nor an Irregular Number, but the fact that it was copied together with members of the group now in Haarlem (see n. 113) strongly suggests that it was part of this collection but that it subsequently lost its number.

175. Louvre Inv. 727/J10/Corpus 34. Lamentably, the compiler omitted to record the *Arpino* inscription in his entry on that sheet and the provenance there suggested for that sheet is wrong. It should probably run: Michelangelo; Daniele da Volterra; Michele degli Alberti; the Cavaliere d'Arpino; unidentified French collector; Cabinet du Roi.

176. Van Tuyll van Serooskerken, no. 71.

177. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 24.197.2/BT 131/Corpus 156.

178. Annesley and Hirst, 1981; see the catalogue of Sotheby's sale for further discussion.

179. Vasari, ed., Bottari, III, 1760, p. 350.

180. Nothing seems to be known about Jeremiah Harman's "Michelangelo" drawings, which Woodburn added to those from Lawrence. Harman was active as a collector of paintings, and these drawings, none of which has a traceable provenance prior to his ownership, were probably a secondary interest. None of those that came to Oxford (Cats. 60, 89, 98, 99) is of high quality, although none is without interest. A fifth drawing, then thought to be by Michelangelo (1846–21) was subsequently given to Baccio Bandinelli (P. II 77).

Attention may be drawn here to the very different interpretation of much of the evidence treated in this chapter and in the appendices, which was provided by Perrig, 1999, who proposes that the majority of drawings generally believed to come from Casa Buonarroti are in fact minor drawings, mostly by Giulio Clovio, from the collection of the King of Naples (the former Farnese Collection), which Wicar would have obtained in the 1790s, and to which he and Woodburn attached false provenances. Perrig further suggests that other worthless Farnese drawings were dispersed c. 1600, and

that some of these then entered Casa Buonarroti, to be themselves dispersed c. 1800, falsely as Michelangelos. This reconstruction of events – perverse to the highest degree – is based only on negatives, is unsupported by any positive evidence, assumes every mistaken provenance supplied by Woodburn to reveal conspiracy, and, finally, is prompted by, and rests on acceptance of, Perrig's connoisseurship, expressed in his demotion of most Michelangelo drawings to the status of copies or imitations, or in his allocation of them to other draughtsmen, reattributions nowhere supported by sustained comparison with drawings genuinely by those other draughtsmen. Perrig's views remain isolated and are accepted by no serious student of Michelangelo's draughtsmanship. This is not the place for an extended discussion of the article of 1999, nor would it be worthwhile, but it might be useful to signal some of its more fundamental omissions: silence about the copies by Andrea Commodi and Francesco Buonarroti, about the Ciciaporci Collection, and about the sales by Ottley and the testimony provided in his sale catalogues.

MICHELANGELO'S DRAWINGS

APPROACHES

Any serious discussion of Michelangelo's drawings must start with the surviving body of his graphic work. It might, of course, be possible to produce an idealist account of Michelangelo's drawings, by deduction from his works in other media and taking no notice of those drawings generally attributed to him, but whether such a construct could have any value is doubtful. But it must be admitted also that there is not and cannot be absolute proof that any drawing generally believed to be by Michelangelo is genuinely by him. This can be generalised to the observation that there can be no absolute proof that any drawing is by any artist to whom it may be attributed. Any drawing can be dismissed by the iconoclastically minded critic as a copy, a forgery, a pupil drawing, or simply a drawing by another, unidentified, hand. These constraints apply to all attempts to attribute drawings of whatsoever type and period, but they are particularly to be borne in mind in the case of graphic oeuvres produced before the invention of photography; graphic oeuvres that have been reassembled from scattered survivals on the basis of internal resemblance and/or relation to documented or otherwise generally accepted works in other media; and graphic oeuvres assembled with little support from collateral evidence such as paper types, collective provenances, or anecdotal testimony. In such territory, the assertions of a connoisseurship that calls itself scientific can acquire an apparent authority because they seem to provide simple maps through difficult terrain. But all *soi-disant* "scientific" attempts to construct corpora of drawings, quite apart from the fact that the methods employed are never as scientific – in the terms of the mathematical sciences – as their adherents claim, are inevitably circular in that they start from a core of "authentic" drawings, drawings against which others are measured, whose composition itself is a matter not of proof but of faith. The same critiques that the iconoclastically minded critic direct to works that he or she rejects

can be applied also to those that he or she accepts. Such "scientific" assertions invariably prove disastrous, whether they be expansionist or contractionist (almost invariably the latter), for they rest on the illusion that the eye of the individual critic is an unchanging and impartial instrument of analysis. The connoisseur who believes him- or herself to be possessed of a supra-personal eye, able to allocate authorship on the basis of pure visuality, is suffering from self-delusion, and from this the descent into solipsism is likely to be rapid. This is not to say that the application of a few rigid visual criteria to a poorly defined oeuvre may not be useful in clearing perimeters and pruning excrescences. But it is less effective in the work of positive construction and is particularly ill-suited to grasp variety, development, and change.

In practice, when attempting to define the graphic oeuvre of an artist, one's judgements – always provisional – must rest on close analysis of individual drawings seen not as isolated objects but within the context of the artist's work both in drawing and other media. Particular judgements must be situated within an awareness as detailed and profound as possible of the stylistic range and particular traits of the artist being studied and of his or her chronology. A knowledge of work by contemporaries and a general experience of the ways in which artists work within certain traditions will serve as helpful controls. But, finally, such loose concepts as "the balance of probability" cannot be avoided. It is also salutary to remember that, when the complete or virtually complete graphic work of an artist is known – a situation rare before the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – the changes of drawing-style to be found between one page of a sketchbook and another, the variety of interests to be found over a few sheets of studies for a single work, or the variety of techniques exploited on a single page of drawings can be enormous. Such experiences should alert the student to the fact that major artists are always more various than their interpreters can conceive. And they should also remind the student that time has severely edited the work of most

artists prior to the modern period, and especially severely their drawings: fragile, uncared for – Annibale Carracci reportedly used some of his most beautiful studies to clean frying-pans – sometimes deliberately destroyed or discarded by the hands that made them. Keeping in mind the enormous losses suffered by, for example, Renaissance drawings should make the student wary of relying on normative stylistic analysis, and still more hesitant in asserting his or her views. Awareness of how misleading the kinds of analysis generally employed to reconstruct the oeuvres of Renaissance artists would be were they applied to a major twentieth-century artist, for example, should enjoin the student to treat the possibilities of the past with extreme caution. In principle, no type of evidence should be rejected per se. Any clue that the drawing – or, if mounted, its mount – provides, of whatever sort – inscriptions, numbers, types of paper, types of mount – can prove valuable in attempting to answer the questions the student might pose. A recent development that has, in the case of Michelangelo, proved especially valuable, is the listing of watermarks. Even though a watermark in a piece of paper does not prove that the marks on that paper are made by a specific hand, it can at least restrain wilder speculations, and it provides also a valuable control for the dating of what is on that paper.

THE MAKE-UP OF THE CORPUS

Charles de Tolnay's *Corpus dei disegni di Michelangelo*, published in four volumes between 1975 and 1980, reproduces in facsimile the vast majority of those drawings that have seriously been attributed to Michelangelo during the twentieth century, including a number that Tolnay was unable to accept but believed should be included. Some further drawings were considered by him of insufficient importance to warrant facsimile reproduction, but were included among the comparative and associated material found in the catalogue sections of his volumes. De Tolnay's total of 633 sheets can, in the compiler's view, be reduced by about forty-three to obtain a total of 590 sheets containing drawings that, however rudimentary, seem to him attributable to Michelangelo. To this can be added around twenty sheets, some overlooked by Tolnay and some discovered only after the publication of the *Corpus*. The total would arrive at around 610 sheets. However, given the fact that, of the 610 items accepted by the compiler, some twenty are probably or certainly scraps cut from larger sheets or fragments, the number falls to about 590. If one were to add sheets of drawings by Michelangelo now known only in copies, it would again increase

the number by around fifty. But it is probably best to consider only autograph drawing here and easiest to work with a total of 600.

Of the 600 sheets, 322 are either drawn on one side only, or contain on one of their two sides drawings that, in the compiler's view, are not attributable to Michelangelo. The remainder, 278, are drawn on both sides by Michelangelo himself. If it is wished to total sides, which for convenience here will be called pages, the total comes to about 870. On these pages, of course, the types of individual drawings might vary immensely, and the page total gives an unclear idea of the numbers of actual drawings, which may be defined as visual indications intended by the artist to be separate from one another or, at least, drawn separately even if, as on many occasions, they are overlaid. On a single page of first ideas, *concetti* – such as one of those in the Ashmolean for the Ancestors of Christ in the Sistine ceiling – might be found in as many as ten sketches (see Cats. 9–16). On another page, such as that, also in the Ashmolean whose main figure is a study for the genius accompanying *Libica* (Cat. 18), one can find a developed figure study, a close-up detail of the Sibyl's hand, a finely drawn architectural sketch, and six small *ricordi of prigionieri*. On another sheet, however, might be found only a single *modello* (such as Corpus 188 or 206) or a ground plan (Corpus 559 and 560). On some of Michelangelo's more complicated sheets, *concetti*, figure sketches, architectural studies, and pupil drawings might be found (Cats. 25, 30, Corpus 596), and on occasion, the edges of used sheets were cut to make templates for architectural mouldings (examples of this are in Casa Buonarroti, Corpus 525 and 537). The project of providing a total – retrievable by type, medium, and date – of all surviving individual drawings by Michelangelo is daunting, but it would certainly be possible with computerisation.

DRAWING TYPES

The surviving corpus demonstrates that Michelangelo, like any draughtsman, made drawings for many different purposes, and because he was active as painter, sculptor, and architect, as well as an occasional designer of decorative objects, his drawings are more varied than those of most of his contemporaries in their functions and forms. Broadly, however, they might be divided into two main classes, figural and architectural/decorative, and further sub-divided, crudely, into different types, according to their function. However, it must be remembered that different types of drawings often overlap, and it should not

be imagined that the following classification corresponds to the way Michelangelo might have thought about his work.

Figural

1. *Concetti* – drawings that embody the first ideas, usually roughly and on a small scale, of figural projects (Cats. 10, 13).
2. Loose sketches – somewhat more developed drawings for a pose or a composition (Cat. 15).
3. Compositional draughts – laying out an arrangement in some detail but not to the level of precision of a *modello* (Cat. 5, Corpus 45 and 73).
4. Individual figure sketches – experimenting with poses within an ensemble that is more or less determined (Corpus 75 and 76).
5. Figure studies – bringing to a fairly finished and precise level single or small groups of figures whose pose and place in a composition is now determined (Cats. 1 recto, 7 recto, 17).
6. Studies of parts of figures, some of which might precede and some of which might follow 5 – such drawings might be made to experiment with the most effective solution for a particular movement or pose of part of the body, a shoulder, a wrist, and so on (Cats. 18, 26).
7. Studies of drapery (Corpus 119 verso, 154 recto).
8. A *modello* – laying out the arrangement of individual figures in detail and finalising the composition. Although Michelangelo certainly made drawings of this type, it is questionable whether any survive, although at least one precise copy by Giulio Clovio of a lost drawing of this type, made for Sebastiano del Piombo's *Flagellation*, is known (Windsor Royal Collection, PW 451).
9. The cartoon – a full-size version of, usually, a composition to be painted, from which points or lines are transferred to the surface of the support or, more likely, to an intermediate cartoon which would actually be used for this task, thus preserving the cartoon proper from damage (Corpus 384 and 389).
10. A (primarily) outline drawing on a surface to be painted (Cat. 21).
11. Close to and at times indistinguishable from 8 is a category of drawings that, although not invented by Michelangelo, was much exploited by him: the Presentation Drawing, made as gifts for the artist's friends and considered by him and them as independent works of art. They are usually elaborately finished, and sometimes planned as carefully as a painted composition, with preparatory studies (Corpus 333 and 336). Slightly looser types of drawing probably made as gifts also survive (Cats. 31, 35).

12. Anatomical drawings, made to extend the artist's knowledge of human anatomy and not specifically related to any project (Corpus 111 and 112).

13. Copies after other artists, which can vary from slight annotations to elaborately finished studies. Some of these may have been made as gifts (Corpus 3, 4, and 5).

14. Record drawings (*ricordi*) after the artist's own three-dimensional models or sculptures (Cat. 18 recto?; Corpus 57 recto).

15. Copies after the artist's own models to establish the most effective angle of vision, or to test the particular emphasis required for lighting (reported by Vasari, but no certain surviving examples, although Louvre Inv. 694 and 699/J49,48 may be copies of such exercise).

16. Teaching drawings (Cats. 28 verso, 30).

Architectural and/or Decorative Designs

1. *Concetti* – small drawings that adumbrate roughly architectural, decorative, or multi-media projects. In the case of architecture these might be ground plans and elevations (Cat. 54 verso).
2. More developed sketches plotting a project in somewhat more detail, with general articulation more advanced (Cat. 39, Corpus 274).
3. Individual sketches of architectural membering or decorative forms designed to be placed within an ensemble that is more or less determined (Cat. 53 verso, Corpus 198 and 199).
4. Studies, bringing to a fairly finished level single or groups of elements whose place within a project is now determined (Corpus 202 recto and 554).
5. Studies of parts of members or decorative forms, for example, capitals and the shapes of volutes, some of which might precede and some of which might follow 4 (Corpus 530).
6. A *modello*, laying out the project in detail including all the parts – or half in the case of symmetrical bi-axial compositions, both elevations and ground plans. This would probably be followed by a three-dimensional model of wood or clay (Cat. 38 recto, Corpus 608 and 610).
7. Diagrams of the dimensions of the elements required for the wood or clay model for architectural schemes or decorative objects determining the size and shape of the individual units of which the ensembles are composed (Corpus 504).
8. Block sketches, diagrams of the dimensions of the blocks of marble required for the architectural or decorative projects determining the size and shape of the individual units of which the ensembles are composed (Corpus 508 and 509).

9. The model template, a full-size version of the forms to be carved or modelled in the models, which acts as a guide for the transfer of the idea onto the objects to be worked (Corpus 600, 612 verso, and 613 verso).
10. Templates proper. In the New Sacristy, some were drawn on the walls of the Cappelletta (Corpus 536 and 539).
11. *Ricordi* of architectural work already carried out (putative, no surviving examples).
12. Copies of antique architectural forms designed to familiarise the artist with their elements (Corpus 516 and 517).
13. Theoretical drawings, analysing or explaining the principles to which work has been planned (Corpus 593 and 594).

RATES OF SURVIVAL

Before essaying a chronological overview of Michelangelo's development as a draughtsman, it may be useful to look at his surviving graphic oeuvre as a whole. To repeat, it comprises some 600 sheets and 870 pages, and it includes drawings of almost all the types listed previously. The drawings range from notations of a few lines that would have taken no more than a second or two to throw onto the paper to highly elaborate Presentation Drawings that might have taken a day or more to execute. But these are likely to be the temporal limits.

Leaving aside Presentation Drawings, copies of works by other artists or architects made either for research or recreation, anatomical drawings, drawings made for educational purposes, and the like, it is instructive to turn to drawings made for Michelangelo's major projects. But when the final versions of projects for which drawings survive are compared with the versions found in those drawings, even quite developed figure-studies rarely match precisely the finished works. This may in part be due to Michelangelo's making changes in the course of execution – he certainly improvised to some extent on the Sistine ceiling – but it strongly suggests that more – perhaps many more – drawings were made between the surviving ones and the executed works. Therefore, even when relatively large numbers of drawings survive for a project, these must still represent a small proportion of those Michelangelo made.

Because no complete sequences of drawings survive for any of Michelangelo's projects, no analogies can be drawn among them, and even if a complete sequence had survived, there would be no guarantee that it was

representative. It is also evident that some projects and some periods of Michelangelo's life are likely to have generated a greater quantity of drawings than others: The Sistine ceiling, for example, would have required a very large number. Michelangelo's sculptural projects, even massive ones like the Julius Tomb or the New Sacristy, probably fewer comparatively, because much of the individual statuary would have been worked out, after preliminary drawings had been made, in models of wax or clay; however, even in these cases one cannot be categorical, for Michelangelo made multiple studies of, for example, the shoulders of *Day* (Corpus 215 and 216).

The quantity of drawings made by Michelangelo would also have varied with his age. In his formative years, to attain his high level of proficiency in drawing, he must have made practice sketches and studies in very large numbers. At the other end of his career, it was recounted, by Tiberio Calcagni writing to Michelangelo's nephew Leonardo on 29 August 1561, that Michelangelo was still capable of drawing for three hours at a time, and this practice was probably not related to particular projects of that time, but as exercise, to keep his hand in. From his own advice to a pupil, "Disegna Antonio, disegna Antonio, disegna e non perdere tempo" (Corpus 240), it is evident that Michelangelo held the act of drawing in supreme regard and emphasised the importance of continual practice. It is also worth remarking that no contemporary testimony suggests that Michelangelo was lazy.

It is immediately noticeable that the numbers of surviving figure drawings fall off greatly after 1530. According to the compiler's calculations, there are seventy-one pages of drawings for the Sistine ceiling, a fresco that contains a complement of some eighty substantial full-length figures – comprising the *ignudi*, the Prophets and Sibyls, and the Ancestors of Christ, plus many subsidiary decorative figures, as well as large numbers in the vault histories and the pendentives – but, in his view, only about twenty-six pages of drawings survive for the *Last Judgement*, whose overall complement of figures has been calculated at some 390 – although, of course, many of these are minor. However, a recent discovery (Turner and Joannides, 2003) has shown that Michelangelo studied even the limbs of fairly secondary figures with care. For neither the Sistine ceiling nor the *Last Judgement* is there a single surviving cartoon fragment. Only two reasonably secure preparatory drawings (Cat. 43 and Corpus 358) plus a large fragment of the cartoon survive for the two frescoes in the Pauline Chapel, which, taken together, contain over seventy figures.

In architecture, the situation is in some ways similar but in others different. Some twenty sheets of block sketches are known for the façade of San Lorenzo and, probably, another dozen for the New Sacristy, but there are none for the Laurentian Library or any of Michelangelo's later architectural projects. It is evident that very large numbers of drawings must be lost, quite apart from those that Michelangelo deliberately destroyed at at least two moments in his career.

Finally, although one can do no more than conjecture how many drawings Michelangelo might have made, it may be helpful to move back and look at the matter in large. Michelangelo's active working career, one of the longest on record, continued for a little more than three quarters of a century. During most of that time, he was a central figure, and for many years *the* central figure, in the universe of Central Italian art. He was responsible for a sequence of massive, complex, and exceptionally important projects, and he worked for the richest, most powerful, and most sophisticated patrons that Florence and Rome had to offer. All his schemes – pictorial, sculptural, and architectural – would have required extensive and elaborate preparation, and his universally recognised accomplishment as a draughtsman – by common consent one of the greatest that Europe has produced – can have been achieved only by constant exercise. The existing total of his drawings provides an average of some eight sheets or twelve pages of drawings – of all types – per year, which further averages one sheet of drawings every six weeks or one page per month. Because Michelangelo was not a constipated draughtsman, or one who found the act of drawing difficult, it is quite feasible that an artist renowned for his hard and rapid work might have averaged, over a working lifetime, one sheet of drawings – regardless of type – per day. Because few among all the drawings that survive would have taken much more than an hour or two of concentrated work to execute, then, over a lifetime, Michelangelo could easily have made some 28,000 sheets of drawings. This would mean that the surviving corpus of sheets containing autograph drawings would comprise no more than about 2 percent of his total output. If an average of two sheets of drawings a day were assumed, and on some days, in the heat of work, Michelangelo could have made many more, then the total would be some 56,000, of which the surviving corpus would comprise about 1 percent. The second is the sort of total to be found in an artist of comparable genius and comparable longevity, who was also a great and fluent draughtsman: Picasso. Whichever totals are adopted, it is evident that only a minute fraction of the drawings that Michelangelo made is now known.

THE PHASES OF MICHELANGELO'S DRAWING

The earliest phase of Michelangelo's drawings shows him following in the footsteps of his master Ghirlandaio. Although no drawings by Michelangelo can certainly be dated before 1500, there is a general consensus – which may be correct – that his copies after Giotto and Masaccio (Corpus 3 and 4) were made during the early 1490s. Significantly, it was in the Brancacci chapel, where they were drawing after Masaccio's and Masolino's frescoes, that Torrigiano reportedly broke Michelangelo's nose. And Ghirlandaio was a key figure in the revival of interest in Masaccio's work that took place in the last third of the quattrocento.

Ghirlandaio's surviving drawings are in pen and in black chalk. His pen drawings consist both of rapid compositional sketches, and of fairly highly finished treatments of drapery. Like most of his contemporaries, he used relatively thinly applied black chalk for underdrawing, but he also employed black chalk in an elaborated and systematic way to make drapery studies. However, this aspect of his work seems little to have affected Michelangelo. It is sometimes suggested that Michelangelo's early use of pen was affected by engravings. Although Michelangelo was certainly interested in the engravings of Schongauer, it was primarily for their iconography, and there is little need to posit such an influence. Pen drawing was a particularly Florentine skill, much valued, and Donatello – whom Michelangelo greatly admired – is reported to have made many drawings in pen. Michelangelo would have been aware of a much larger number of drawings by Ghirlandaio and others than is now known, and he no doubt found whatever inspiration he needed in them. Some of Michelangelo's early drawings show unmistakable links with Ghirlandaio's sketchy style: The same formula is employed for heads and faces, obviously influenced by the copying of lay-figures and small jointed models, and Michelangelo incorporates similar features, obtaining, more potently than Ghirlandaio, a sense of power by the very distortion of his forms.

Better known are Michelangelo's highly finished pen drawings in which he brought cross-hatching to a pitch of flexibility and density not previously attained, and never quite to be attained again. It was this type of drawing, illustrated both in his studies of draped figures (Corpus 5) and in his more detailed studies of the nude (Corpus 21 and 22), that was to provide the basic model for certain drawings by Raphael and by Bandinelli and those artists who followed him. In principle, it involved tighter or more open weaves of lines according to areas of shadow of light, but Michelangelo's mesh was both richer and more

varied than Ghirlandaio's. Risking illegibility by excessive application of ink, he went down densely in the shadows and created greater range and flexibility in the mid-tones, thereby imbuing his forms with more vitality and mobility than those of his master. Put thus, the process sounds simple; in practice, it demanded extraordinary dexterity and manual control. In one or two instances, Michelangelo carried this technique to a pitch of extreme virtuosity, creating plastic form by the pure intersection of hatching lines, without any bounding contours or internal guidelines, so that the forms emerge dream-like from the paper (Corpus 35).

In a few instances, Michelangelo employed a form of hatching somewhat different from that demonstrated in his usual pen drawings (Corpus 34 and 35). In these, a diagonal orientation of the strokes creates a sheen on the forms, not unlike that sometimes found in Bandinelli's drawings, especially his studies for bronze statues. This, however, probably related to specific commissions or specific effects and does not seem to have been a common practice of Michelangelo's.

Other artists who employed cross-hatched pen approached it in either a looser more sketchy way or else a more systematic one, losing the vitality and substantiality of Michelangelo's stroke. Thus, Bandinelli creates minimal textural variety within his figures, whereas in Michelangelo's there is great differentiation between flesh and drapery and different types of flesh.

Because there is no guarantee that the survival of drawings is proportional, it may be that the examples of Michelangelo's apparently characteristic type of pen drawing are less representative than they seem. Nevertheless, although copies of lost drawings do not suggest that any radical reassessment is required, it is wise to include some caveats. For example, a group of drawings usually distributed by art-historians over several years might in fact all be for the same project and be drawn over a few days, or weeks. Similarly it must be asked whether particular types of projects called for particular types of drawings, and whether aspects of style considered to be essential were in fact contingent. Thus, one drawing, which has been found to be particularly problematic, the study for the Magdalen (Corpus 31) in the National Gallery *Entombment*, is unusual in several ways. Its definition of form differs from, and is, in certain respects, inferior to, the modelling normally associated with Michelangelo; and it is unique in his work in being drawn on rose-tinted paper. If the dating of the *Entombment* project to 1501 is correct, it could be argued that these features correspond to an early drawing style of which no other examples have yet been identified, and that drawings commonly

believed to antedate 1501 have been incorrectly placed. On the other hand, it may be that Michelangelo consciously drew in a particular way for a particular purpose related to the tonal and colouristic qualities required for painting rather than sculpture. The doubts that some critics have had might therefore arise from a misapprehension of this drawing's function and the application to it of criteria derived from Michelangelo's drawings for sculpture.

A factor that contributes to uncertainty in this case however is one of the key features of Michelangelo's art, his reference to one medium as inspiration for another. It has been universally remarked – and it goes back to statements by the artist himself – that Michelangelo's painting is intensely sculptural; it has been less commonly noted that some of his sculpture, the St. Peter's *Pietà*, for example, is intensely pictorial. His architecture too began with a fundamentally pictorial bias, as the project for the façade of San Lorenzo demonstrates, and only gradually matured into a form of large-scale sculpture, increasingly shorn of anything extraneous. Such cross-fertilisation among media naturally makes a straightforwardly functionalist approach hazardous. And while a supple functionalism has proved most revealing and rewarding in the study of Michelangelo's drawings, it is necessary to be aware of a possible pitfall: In attempting to fix a purpose for a particular type of drawing one might merely be inferring too much from chance – either of survival or handling.

In another aspect of pen drawing, Michelangelo probably gained inspiration from a different Florentine tradition. Some *concetti*, or quick sketches, made in the first decade are in pure outline (Corpus 40 and 46). Michelangelo employed stressed pen line, with breaks to evoke the swell of muscles or bones, and his achievements in this respect are quite remarkable. Pollaiuolo and Botticelli – with whom he was personally acquainted – had made use of pure outline, but Michelangelo's command of anatomy and capacity for suggestion meant that he could evoke a fully plastic form with the most minimal means. In this respect, the artist who may most have influenced him was Leonardo, some of whose drawings he surely knew, despite the enmity between them. This interest extended to *concetti*, for although Michelangelo produced very few of the "pentimento" drawings that characterised Leonardo, he certainly developed something of Leonardo's interest in movement and in characterisation by movement.

The earliest chalk drawings that survive from Michelangelo's hand are in black chalk and are connected with, or contemporary with, the cartoon for the *Battle of Cascina*. Michelangelo probably made charcoal

drawings too, but none survive. Vasari describes the technique of the *Cascina* cartoon: "V'erano ancora molte figure aggruppate et in varie maniere abbozzate, chi contornato di carbone, chi disegnato di tratti e chi sfumato e con biacca lumeggiatio," from which it is evident that it was, at least in the less defined parts, softly drawn, with the concentration on mass rather than on contour. Indeed, this seems also to have been true of his preparatory drawings. The most extensive surviving compositional sketch, in the Uffizi (Corpus 45), is drawn in soft black chalk partly over stylus indentation, and Michelangelo seems to have established his composition primarily in black chalk, bringing some figure studies to a very high degree of finish in the medium. Particularly significant however is the distinction that Michelangelo made according to the purpose of the drawing. In two of the surviving chalk studies for a background figure, the chalk is handled softly and broadly, with the masses of the body as the primary focus of attention (Corpus 54 and 53 verso). But in two studies for foreground figures (Corpus 50 and 51), the medium, again black chalk, is handled in a much harder manner, with a sharp point and with strong emphasis on contours. And certain figures upon which Michelangelo wished to place special emphasis were worked up by him in pen (Corpus 52 and 53 recto). Of course, accidents of survival may convey an incorrect impression of Michelangelo's thought processes as they were expressed in the media and the types of handling that he employed, but it is clear from his paintings – notably the *Doni Tondo* and the Sistine histories – that he differentiated focus and definition between different spatial layers of his compositions.

Unlike *Cascina*, the very few *concetti* that survive for the Sistine histories and the Prophets and Sibyls (Corpus 123 and 151–2), and the fairly numerous ones that survive for the Ancestors (Cats. 9–16), are drawn in pen rather than chalk. And a study for the drapery of *Cumaea* is a multi-media drawing in pen, wash, and white-heightening (Corpus 154). Further studies for figures were made in black chalk, in much the same way as they were made for *Cascina*, with very broadly handled drawings to establish the basic masses of the figure, and then tighter studies to fix deployment of gesture and musculature. It seems evident then that Michelangelo conceived the ceiling as in a harder, more sculptural style than *Cascina*, and there are a number of plausible reasons why he might have done so. One, obviously, is that the shape of the ceiling made it impossible to impose upon it any sort of unified scheme. The design had to be an accumulation of repeated arrangements comprising more or less discrete forms, which could be individualised at will, but whose basic configurations remained broadly constant:

The *ignudi* are obvious examples of this. Light, bright tones and sculpturesque form may also have been encouraged by the difficulty of seeing the inadequately lit vault from the floor of the chapel and by a desire to harmonise the frescoes tonally and stylistically with those executed on the walls of the chapel in the 1480s by, among others, Ghirlandaio, Botticelli, and Signorelli. Of course, such conclusions are based upon a very few survivals from the thousands of drawings that Michelangelo must have made for so complicated a project, and further discoveries may modify them. But that a significant alteration took place in Michelangelo's preparations for his frescoes in the second half of the ceiling may be inferred from a change in his use of media. For even though *concetti* for the histories, *ignudi*, and Ancestors painted in the second half of the ceiling continued to be drawn in pen, the majority of the further figure-studies were made in red chalk (Corpus 144 and 156). Red chalk was first extensively employed in Italy by Leonardo. This might have discouraged Michelangelo from using it, but, significantly, he seems to have experimented with red chalk even in Florence, when preparing the formally Leonardesque *Doni Tondo* (Corpus 158). Lighter in hue, red chalk also tends to take a sharper point than most varieties of black chalk and is generally somewhat greasier in texture, allowing a smoother and more flowing line. Sharpened, it thus can approximate to a pen-line, although lacking the flexibility of a quill, and to a silver-point line as well. The latter was of little interest to Michelangelo because, although one or two lead-point drawings by him do exist (Corpus 141) and although he occasionally, even as late as c. 1530, used metal-point to block out a composition before working over it in pen or chalk, he seems never to have been interested in a medium that tended to work against the liveliness that was so central to his drawings. But the legibility of red chalk, its capacity, when fused or moistened, to create passages of dark almost equivalent to black, and to extend much more broadly in the mid and high tones would have invigorated him. Red chalk allowed more flexible and elastic form than black, as well as in its obvious approximation to the colour of flesh. Indeed, even though it can hardly be put down merely to a change in the medium employed to prepare them, it is clear that some of the most beautiful and elastic nudes on the second half of the Sistine ceiling were prepared in sanguine. It is likely too that the change to red chalk also allowed Michelangelo to economise in preparation: It was less necessary to make loose studies in black chalk and then to work them up in pen and wash. The whole procedure could be undertaken on the same page. Certainly some of the drawings made by Michelangelo at this stage are

among the most complete and evocative nude studies ever produced.

After completing the Sistine ceiling, Michelangelo returned to work on the Tomb of Julius II and simultaneously accepted a commission for the *Risen Christ*, planned for the Roman church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. His single surviving study for the *Christ* (Corpus 94) was made in tightly hatched pen, akin to his drawings of the first half-decade, and it has recently been shown that it must be some four years later than previously assumed because it was made for the second version of the statue, not the first. But in preparing the *prigioni*, although not abandoning pen, he seems to have made more use than hitherto of red chalk, establishing rich surface modelling (Corpus 62). Red chalk was also used for some compositional drawings (Corpus 73).

Increasingly, however, Michelangelo's sculptural ideals changed in the course of the second decade. Instead of polished surfaces and exquisitely detailed musculature, the mode of the *Belvedere Torso* seems gradually to have come to dominate his imagination. He had already registered its effect in the later *ignudi* of the Sistine ceiling, in which contour plays a reduced role, and in which precise and crystalline modelling gives way to more massive, less closely defined, and more rubbery form. And, with the passage of the third decade, Michelangelo increasingly came to see this as a mode for his sculpture as well. As a result, he seems to have changed his employment of media once more. He continued to use pen, in an analytical mode equivalent to *écorché* studies in order to establish the underlying structure of his figures (Corpus 209 and 224), and then he worked up the surfaces in black chalk (Cats. 26, 27 recto), as if to avoid the flesh-evoking qualities of red chalk. Of course, no system was absolute, but only one study in red chalk remains for a statue in the New Sacristy, and this is specifically concerned with establishing the qualities of the surface (Cat. 27 verso).

Throughout this time, Michelangelo frequently used red chalk for architectural copies (Corpus 516, etc.), grasping in a single stroke both line and texture, but he employed pen and black chalk for laying out architectural sketches, the former when it was a matter of establishing the main lines and relations of architectural elements, the latter when it was the overall pictorial effect that he wished to establish (Cats. 39 recto, 25 recto). Architecture, which, from the mid-1520s, came to occupy an increasing amount of his time and imagination, was initially for Michelangelo a support and frame for sculpture – figures in the round and compositions in relief. For these projects he continued to employ highly finished *modelli* (Corpus 497) like those he had prepared for the Julius

Tomb (Corpus 55 and 489), following in this the lead of his architectural master Giuliano da Sangallo.

Nevertheless, compared with those of Giuliano, Michelangelo's *modelli* are richer and more pictorial, employing underdrawing in black chalk, generally used with a ruler, ruled pen-lines, and chalk or pen outlines combined with wash and, sometimes, white heightening, to establish the forms of the statues and reliefs envisaged for the project (Corpus 276 and 280 recto). It is Michelangelo's drawings of this type, particularly the earlier more detailed *modelli* for architectural-sculptural projects, where the detailing can appear finicky and the dynamism and inventiveness of the figures is apparent only after close study, that modern criticism has found hardest to accept; but with expanding study of Renaissance architectural drawings, they are gradually coming to be appreciated at their true value.

From the mid-1520s onwards, as Michelangelo became more of a pure architect, reducing or even eliminating figurative sculpture from his projects, drawings of this type abandon the use of pen-lines, as the grander masses of the architectural forms take precedence over details. Some of his project drawings for doors and windows, employing chalk, wash, and white heightening, are among the most painterly drawings Michelangelo had produced up to that time (Corpus 550 and 551). With characteristic ingenuity, he saw the possibilities that the fusion of media created.

As the functional role of pen diminished, Michelangelo used it in other ways. During the 1520s, he produced a number of drawings whose techniques, dense cross-hatching or open parallel hatching, often combined with rather rangy contour, look back to those of his early pen-drawings. Some critics have indeed dated them early, but they are coarser and more exaggerated both in local modelling and in outline than the drawings of the first decade. Several sheets of this kind are in the Ashmolean (Cats. 22, 23, 33), and none of them can be connected with a work in another medium. They have an emotional exasperation, combined with a caricatural, satirical edge rarely seen in Michelangelo's drawings of other periods. They relate neither formally nor in mood to projects that Michelangelo had under way at the time, hence the temptation of another group of critics to give them to draughtsmen like Baccio Bandinelli or even Bartolommeo Passerotti, both of whom specialised in vehement and "expressive" pen styles. It is not impossible that Michelangelo was actually responding to the work of Bandinelli, which he knew well, but these drawings may also have represented a private need – of a type familiar from Leonardo's work – to indulge in the grotesque and brutal as a counter-balance to the sublimely beautiful

forms that he was currently creating in the New Sacristy, a project that, unlike the Sistine, allowed no room for ugliness. In any case, whatever their motivation, it seems that drawings of this type did not stay in Michelangelo's possession but were given to others, as may be inferred from the fact that more early copies survive after them than any other category of his figure drawings. Indeed, sheets of this type strongly coloured later appreciations of Michelangelo's style.

If, as it seems, they are self-sufficient drawings, then they may also be seen as the shadow side, technically and spiritually, of Michelangelo's contemporary production of idealised images, in the chalk Presentation Drawings that he made in the 1520s. They may also relate to his practice as a teacher, for at this time, with his assistant Antonio Mini, and his young friends Andrea Quaratesi and, perhaps, Gherardo Perini, Michelangelo seems to have been more preoccupied with teaching than at any other period of his life. And his teaching drawings often include elements of the grotesque (Cats. 28 verso, 30 verso).

With his definitive move to Rome in 1534, there is a notable reduction in the survival rates of Michelangelo's drawings. As noted previously, compared with the number of drawings known for the Sistine ceiling, very few preparatory drawings survive for the *Last Judgement*, and, other than the magnificent cartoon fragment (Corpus 384), almost nothing is extant for the Pauline Chapel frescoes. Ironically, even though no cartoons or cartoon fragments remain from his early period, a second cartoon, of around 1550, for a panel painting by his pupil and biographer Ascanio Condivi survives (Corpus 389). Some compositional sketches but virtually no developed drawings are known for sculpture (Cat. 47). In compensation, however, there are a few sketches and compositional drawings made for other artists (Cats. 45, 46 recto) and even three *cartonetti* (Corpus 393, 399, and 409).

Throughout most of the last thirty years of his life, Michelangelo's preferred medium was black chalk. Increasingly, he avoided the voluptuousness that sanguine could encourage, as he avoided sensuousness in flesh-painting. The massiveness of the final group of *prigioni* for the Julius Tomb had become the mode of the painting that he executed in the second half of the 1530s and that was composed entirely of figures, the *Last Judgement*. Although the overall effect of the fresco is rugged and rough, with figures and groups at times appearing clumsy, they were prepared with the most painstaking and elaborate care. Michelangelo may have made even more studies for the *Last Judgement* than for the Sistine ceiling, given that the relation of figures to one another, quite apart from their individual poses, was much more complicated. And

even though so few drawings survive, Michelangelo's system seems clear. As with *Cascina*, the earlier composition whose structure, and therefore problems, resembled most closely that of the *Last Judgement*, he began broadly and gradually refined. The composition was established without pressure for neatness, but rather to achieve an agglomeration of expressive figures (Corpus 346 and 347). Individual figures, or groups, were then studied in detail: A sheet in the Royal Collection (Corpus 351), with repeated studies of a soul being tugged between an angel and a devil, shows Michelangelo's determination to obtain the most compelling possible forms. It is reasonable to suppose that all the groups were studied with comparable attention.

The next stage seems to have been very softly and broadly handled figure-studies, to secure the basic masses. These drawings, although their forms are more innately defined than the examples of twenty-five years earlier, do not differ from them greatly in kind (Cat. 41). And Michelangelo laid some ideas very lightly onto the sheets, creating effects that are inherently pictorial (Corpus 354). The succeeding drawings demonstrate a new, highly self-conscious, and individual technique (Cat. 42 recto, Corpus 352). Michelangelo seems to have returned in some respects to an aspect of his pen drawing. The chalk is employed with a sharp point and the form built up in bracelet hatching, which simultaneously hardens and makes volumetric the depicted physique. Over this hard sub-structure, Michelangelo laid a surface sheen – in part, apparently, by stumping – which was subordinate to the underlying form. Michelangelo thus created a new range of superhuman physical types, akin to those favoured by body-builders, in which every muscle is given its maximum development but in which the form retains organic coherence. It is as though, thirty years after it was made, Michelangelo took Leonardo da Vinci's criticism of the anatomical style and made it the foundation of a new figure style.

The purpose of this stylistic choice was twofold. In part it was to create effects of unparalleled energy, appropriate to the terrifying events of the *Dies Irae*. A conception such as this, based rather on the Olympian subject of the *Fall of the Giants*, could not adequately be treated using "normal" figures. And, although criticisms of the figures' nudity were not in the event averted, another feature of the method was to de-sensualise the bodies depicted. The types are so far removed from ordinary human experience, and so far removed also from any possible concepts of beauty – Michelangelo, for example, consistently coarsened and simplified all the facial types – that the spectator engages in no erotic relation with the forms.

From around 1520, and probably considerably earlier, Michelangelo made drawings as presents for friends. As already remarked, the Presentation Drawing was not a new genre; at least one drawing by Leonardo dating from the 1470s, the *Head of a Warrior* in silver-point in the British Museum, is explicable only as a virtuoso display of technique, made for a patron or a friend, and Vasari recounts that – probably shortly after 1500 – Leonardo made a now-lost drawing of the *Quos Ego* for his friend Antonio Segni. It is likely that drawings of this type sprang from highly finished *modelli*, and Verrocchio's studio was probably their crucible. Perhaps some of Michelangelo's more elaborate early pen drawings, if not necessarily created as gifts, were given away, for there is evidence for early knowledge of some of them (Corpus 22 was known to Raphael, whose lost sketch after it is known in a replica in the Metropolitan Museum, 87.12.69/BT 211). And it may be that Michelangelo made self-sufficient drawings in pen, as Bandinelli was to do. However, drawings certainly made by Michelangelo as gifts are either in black or red chalk, and none are known either in the original or in copies that can reasonably be dated before c. 1520. But Michelangelo made a highly finished *modello* in chalk for at least one of the paintings by his friend Sebastiano (Windsor Royal Collection, PW 451), and it may well have been from drawings of this type that his Presentation Drawings proper developed.

It is not known how many Presentation Drawings Michelangelo made, but they fall broadly into two types: ideal, emblematic heads and figurative compositions, generally of allegorical or mythological subjects. It seems to have been the former that he initially drew most. A series of three "Ideal Heads" were made for his friend Gherardo Perini in the early 1520s (Corpus 306–308), and others survive whose original recipients are unidentified (Cat. 31, Corpus 321). Although Michelangelo may have made them, no allegorical or mythological Presentation Drawings survive that can certainly be dated before c. 1530. In 1531 or 1532, however, Michelangelo became deeply fond of the young Roman aristocrat Tommaso de'Cavalieri and for him made a series of moralising compositions in both red and black chalk, which rapidly became famous (e.g., Corpus 338 and 342). Further drawings of this type survive from the same period (Cat. 35), no doubt made for other friends. And some of the more highly finished drawings of the *Resurrection*, also made by Michelangelo in the early 1530s, were probably also intended as gifts for friends (Corpus 263 and 265).

There is some controversy over the technique of these drawings. Michelangelo seems to have made them more rapidly than one might suppose from their hyper-finished

appearance. In a note to Tommaso written on the version of the *Fall of Phaeton* in the British Museum (Corpus 340), he says that if Tommaso likes it, he will make a complete version the next day. If, as is generally assumed, this second version is the very highly finished representation of the subject in the Royal Collection at Windsor, then Michelangelo's speed was phenomenal.

In making highly finished drawings, Michelangelo had to strike a compromise between elaboration and liveliness. Too heavy an application and the surface would go dead; too light a touch and the effect of polished marble or bronze, or even the sheen of flesh, would not be achieved. In 1949, Wilde argued that these drawings were composed by stippling, that Michelangelo had used a chalk with a hard point and had built up the surface by a series of touches, a very laborious system, approximating to Seurat's pointillism. This has been denied by other critics, notably Rosand, who argue instead that Michelangelo in fact used the chalk quite broadly, employing the "tooth" of the paper to obtain textural variety. However, in no case among surviving drawings does the support appear sufficiently rough to obtain such luminescent variety, and the matter remains unresolved. In these drawings, Michelangelo certainly used many different types of handling and techniques, from simple outline, to broader, broken line-work, to areas that appear to be created by stumping, to fine overlays of parallel lines to build up form, to some stippling. It seems most likely indeed, that, although a full programme was not employed, Michelangelo made some use of stippling to obtain the effect of a surface created, as it were, without signs of creation. And he may have placed his paper against slightly roughened surfaces, in order that their textural variety would come through: like brass-rubbing. Interestingly, it was this very effect that Seurat was to exploit.

After the mid-1530s, so far as we know, Michelangelo ceased to make Presentation Drawings of secular subjects. All his later ones are religious, and all save the *Madonna del Silenzio* (Corpus 388), of c. 1540, are made in black chalk, including his last series, dating from the first half of the 1540s, for Vittoria Colonna (Corpus 411 and 426).

Towards 1550, he also made two *cartonetti* for *Annunciations* to be executed by his friend Marcello Venusti and, a few years later, one of the *Agony in the Garden* (Corpus 393, 399, and 409). In elaboration and detail, these differ little from the Presentation Drawings proper, although some areas are left blank for Marcello to incorporate motifs of his own. When Marcello had finished with them, Michelangelo gave two to his pupil and associate Jacopo del Duca, later to be obtained and displayed

by Cosimo I, Duke of Florence. In these drawings, continuity of form is greater than before, textural differences are less, and Michelangelo has aimed at a minimalism corresponding to the surfaces of his late finished sculptures.

Only two reasonably secure preparatory drawings survive for the Pauline Chapel frescoes (Cat. 43, Corpus 358), and no firm conclusions can be inferred from so small a sample. What is most interesting – and surprising – is the cartoon fragment for the *Crucifixion of Saint Peter* (Corpus 384). This is finished to a miniaturist level, with every detail defined and then pounced, a precision not found in the fresco, where the forms are depicted relatively imprecisely. Although the present condition of the frescoes is partly the result of over-cleaning – it seems likely that in the Pauline Chapel Michelangelo made greater use of *a secco* retouching than previously – it is evident that his preparation was deliberately more exact than his execution and that he was reaching for a softer and more painterly style in which the aggressive presence of plastic form would play a diminished role in the generation of meaning.

This pictorial style, making use of wavering contours played against broadly evoked central body areas, seems to have become the dominant mode of the 1550s. The effect is finally to reduce the importance of contour and expand that of mass (Cat. 50). And this development is pursued both in the architectural and figurative drawings that Michelangelo made in his last years, from the later 1550s until his death in 1564. In this period, Michelangelo made use of multiple media (Corpus 435, Cats. 55, 56). This was natural for ground plans, in which wash was frequently used in conjunction with line, and even

in the 1510s, Michelangelo had employed more than one medium for *modelli* of architectural elements seen in elevation, particularly windows and doors, as well, of course, as tombs. But the pictorial effects of the late phase are surprising, as though Michelangelo were anticipating “soft” architecture (Corpus 612, 618, and 619).

The figure drawings of this phase are also remarkable. The thickening and simplification of forms seen in the Pauline Chapel is extended. Preparatory studies of the nude tend to be treated in the most diagrammatic manner, and it is in draped figures where intensity of feeling is most fully exploited: Bodies fuse with their draperies to produce spectral forms anticipating the experiments of proto-Romanticism (Cat. 53 recto). The draped figure becomes the primary vehicle of Michelangelo's expression, but in those elaborated compositions in which the nude still plays a part – the late *Crucifixion* scenes in which the body of Christ is displayed in apparently infinite permutations of suffering – definition is deliberately reduced. Michelangelo had always made use of soft drawings in the primary stages of developing figural forms and the *Crucifixion* drawings are softened further by layers of wash and white heightening to create images that seemingly arise from another artistic culture, that of Venice, as seen in the latest works of Titian (Corpus 417 and 418). It is probable that, in part, the broad and soft handling reveals Michelangelo's failing eyesight as well as his shaking hand, but such disabilities were paradoxically beneficial in that Michelangelo's effort to overcome them produced an internal calvary, opening for him a vision intensified by the sacrifice of the forms that he had loved most deeply.

The Catalogue &

Wholly or Partially Autograph Sheets	1–57
Copies of Lost or Partially Lost Drawings	58–61
Copies of Surviving Drawings	62–67
Studio Drawings and Drawings of Undetermined Status	68–80
Copies of Sculptures	81–85
Copies After Paintings	86–104
Copies of Architecture	105–106
Miscellaneous	107–114

CATALOGUE I

Recto: The Virgin and Child with Saint Anne

Verso: Figure Studies

1846.37; R.22; P.II 291; Corpus 17

Dimensions: 257 × 175 mm

Watermark: Robinson Appendix 19a. Roberts Cross C. The single use of this paper in Michelangelo's work. Not recorded in Briquet.

Medium

Pen and iron gall ink.

Condition

There is a major pressed-out crease with ingrained dirt running diagonally across the lower right corner. There are major fractures where the ink has burned through further to repaired areas and old museum repairs with in-drawing. Other historic repairs are at the edges, where there is thinning and a repaired hole. There is local staining, widespread discolouration, and show-through of the ink on both the recto and the verso.

Inscriptions

Recto: Lower centre, in pen and ink: *di Michel Angelo (di) Buona Roti* in a sixteenth-century? hand; below this, inverted, in black chalk, 32; at lower right, in black chalk, 7.

Verso: With the top edge as the base, obliquely at upper left, cut by the edge of the sheet, *no*.

Lower centre: Robinson's numbering in graphite: 22

Description

Recto

The Virgin, Child, and Saint Anne seated; a horizontal pen-line runs across the full width of the sheet, some 7–9 mm above its lower edge.

Verso

A. Rear view of a standing youthful male, at three-quarter length. He looks to his left, his left arm is held away from his body, his right forearm is bent forward, and his legs are braced apart.

B. Lower left corner, probably in the artist's hand: . . . *no amore*.

C. Immediately to the right of B: *lestare*.

With the right edge as base

D. Outline of a female head facing right.

E. Another, similar head, further simplified.

F. A man's head, in left profile.

It is uncertain whether D, E, and F should be read as separate studies or as three people engaged in discussion: conceivably a mother and child with a male interlocutor.

G. The head of a middle-aged, bearded man, turned to his right, seen in front three-quarter view.

H. The head, torso, and part of the upper thighs of a seated youthful male, with long hair, facing left.

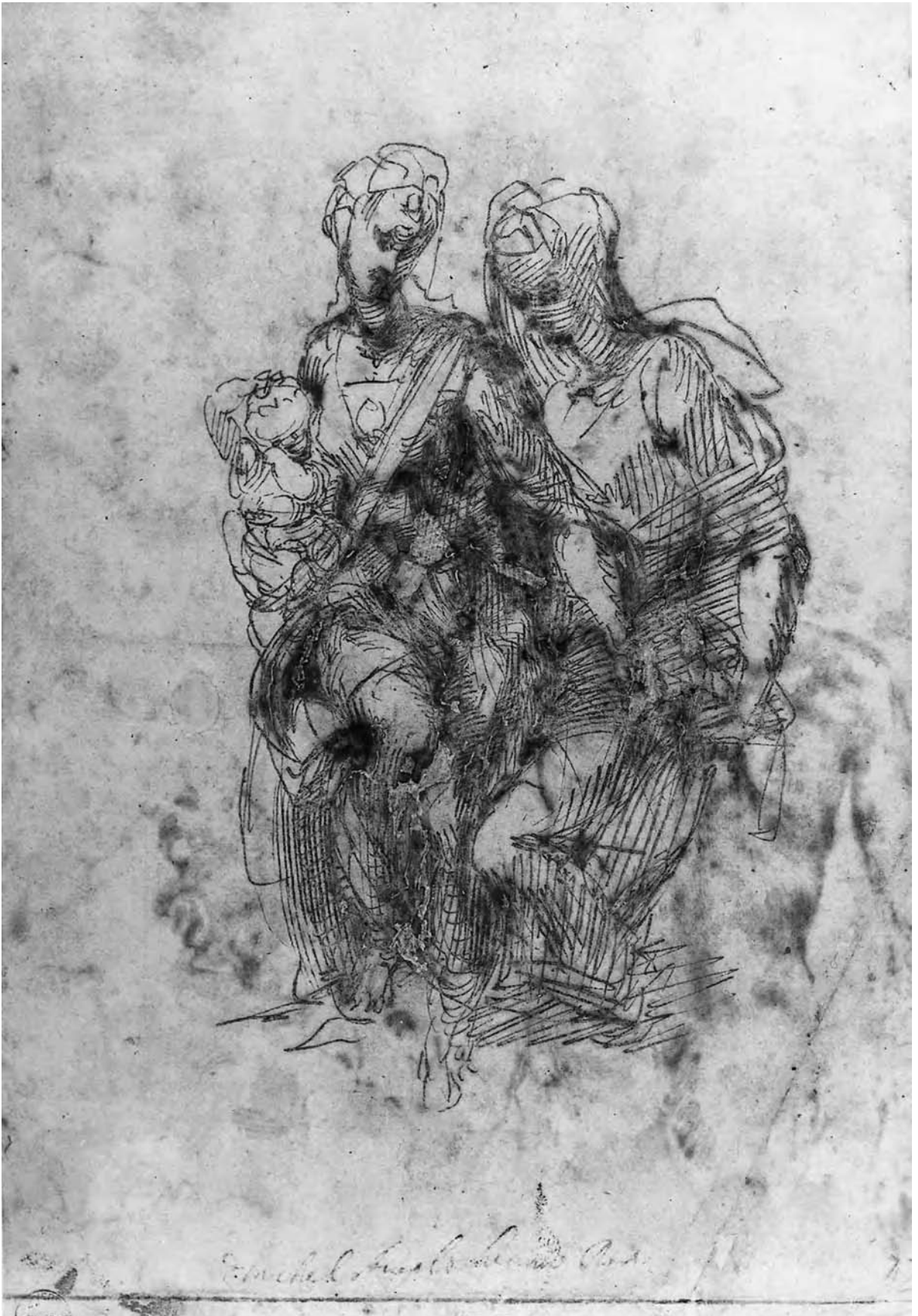
I. Below G: *leardo*.

Discussion

Recto

The group of the Virgin, Child, and Saint Anne on the recto is obviously inspired, as all critics have emphasised, by Leonardo's famous experiments with closely integrated three- and four-figure Holy Family groups, one of which was displayed to the public in cartoon form at Santissima Annunziata in April 1501. But it has been noted that the present drawing is close in arrangement to Leonardo's National Gallery cartoon of the *Virgin and Child with Saint Anne and Saint John the Baptist* (NG6337; charcoal, black and white chalk, 1415 × 1046 mm) – which is not identical with that shown in 1501 and whose date is disputed – and closer still to Leonardo's damaged drawing in the Louvre (Inv. RF 460; pen and ink over black chalk, 120 × 100 mm) and to another fragment of a sheet bearing a study for the same group (Venice, Accademia, Inv. 230; pen and ink over black chalk, 122 × 100 mm). No doubt there was awareness in Florentine artistic circles of more variants of the subject by Leonardo than are recorded. Wasserman (1969) and Nathan (1992) have also argued that the pose of the Virgin is influenced by one of Leonardo's designs for a kneeling *Leda*: Indeed, it is plausible that Michelangelo absorbed ideas from a range of Leonardo's work before fusing them with his own interests to produce the present composition. The compiler is sceptical of Nathan's suggestion that the drawing was at first intended to represent a *Leda* with one of her children, but Michelangelo might have considered treating that subject at this period: a group sketched on a sheet in the Uffizi (18737 recto/B3/Corpus 44; black chalk, pen and ink, 242 × 211 mm) could as well represent *Leda and the Swan* as – its usual identification – *The Abduction of Ganymede*.

Whatever its debts to Leonardo, Michelangelo's group is more sculptural and block-like in conception than any known work by his great rival, and he also experimented with other such groups over several years: two drawings





of comparable complexity of arrangement (Paris, Louvre, Inv. RF4112 recto/J17/Corpus 25; pen and ink, 392 × 284 mm; Inv. 685 recto/J16/Corpus 26; pen and ink, 325 × 261 mm) are probably of c. 1506, contemporary with the *Doni Tondo*. Thus, the undoubted relation to Leonardo's interests does not enjoin a specific dating. In the compiler's view the recto drawing could have been made at any time between 1502 and 1506.

One of Michelangelo's preoccupations here was in the expressive organisation of drapery, comparable with that seen in the Bruges *Madonna*, underway c. 1504. Although it is difficult to be certain, the figures seem first to have been outlined, although not modelled, in the nude, and draperies were then stretched across them. Notable too in this drawing is the simplification of the heads to bean-like shapes, and the employment of a wandering, partly broken, line to evoke the figures' elaborate head coverings.

The Child's pose is particularly complicated, with His right arm raised and bent across behind His head, and His left arm raised to clasp His right shoulder. But, surprisingly in such a group, He is not the centre of attention. Perched on the Virgin's right hip, supported by her right hand and the sling that passes over her left shoulder, He is the object of neither the Virgin's nor Saint Anne's gaze. The action's focus is the Virgin's outstretched left arm and hand: reaching for something held under Saint Anne's left arm. Her pose, unexpectedly, bears a close resemblance to a sketch probably for a Sistine *ignudo*, found on the verso of a study for the *Battle of Cascina* in the British Museum (W6 verso/Corpus 52; red chalk, 420 × 285 mm).

Despite its relatively precarious balance and the sense of impending movement that it conveys – the weight on Saint Anne's right leg must be intolerable – this drawing may well have been conceived for a sculptural group, such as that executed c. 1510 by Andrea Sansovino for the Roman church of San Agostino or that executed around a decade later for the Florentine church of Orsanmichele by Francesco da Sangallo, the son of Michelangelo's old friend Giuliano da Sangallo, who was close to Michelangelo at that time and who had some access to drawings by him. The inclusion of Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child had a long tradition in Florence, where the Virgin's mother was particularly venerated: It was on her day, July 26, that in 1343 the tyrant Duke of Athens was expelled from the city.

For the verso drawings see Cat. 2.

History

(Casa Buonarroti) This provenance, given by Parker with a ?, is probably incorrect. There is no evidence that Pierre Crozat – according to Woodburn, the earliest

identified owner of this sheet – acquired drawings from Casa Buonarroti, although, given the fact that leakages occurred, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that he acquired drawings that had once been there. However, given the nature of the recto inscription and the truncated numbering on the verso, the more probable sequence is the *Bona Roti* Collector; The Irregular Numbering Collector; Joachim Sandrart; Pieter Spiering Van Silfvercroon; Queen Christina; Dezzio Azzolini; Livio Odescalchi, Duke of Bracciano; Pierre Crozat; Pierre-Jean Mariette (no stamp, but his ownership is attested by Woodburn); Marquis de Lagoy (no stamp); Thomas Dimsdale (L.2226; at the lower left of the verso; badly damaged and, apparently, cut away and then re-attached); Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

The recto was etched in facsimile at an unknown date by the Marquis de Lagoy. Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–105] (“The Virgin, Child and Saint. Elizabeth, on the reverse various interesting studies. Fine pen.”). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 31 (“A very spirited pen drawing of singular composition.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 18 (As 1836.). Fisher, 1852, p. 6, no. 33 (Recto.). Woodburn, 1853, no. 5 (Recto reproduced.). Fisher, 1865, p. 20, no. XXIIIX. Robinson, 1870, no. 22 (Michel Angelo. Recto and verso, c. 1504.). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 18, pl. 23 (As 1852.). Black, 1875, p. 213, no. 22. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 223. Fisher, 1879, p. 5, no. 14 (Probably the first idea of a marble group.). Berenson, 1903, I, pp. 211–12, no. 1561 (Recto: the type and drapery of the Virgin recall the Rome *Pietà*; perhaps registers hearsay about Leonardo's cartoon rather than direct knowledge, if so, early 1501. Also looks forward to the *Medici Madonna*. Verso: related to [Cat. 2] of c. 1505; “the model or the type which Granacci, Franciabigio, Bacchiacca and even Andrea and Pontormo used, or rather imitated.”). Colvin, 1904, II, no. 9A (Recto: “This is eminently a sculptor's drawing. The artist has conceived the general idea of a group of the three figures thus seated and has sat down pen in hand to block it into some kind of shape while it was still half vague in his mind. As he works he feels the forms as it were imperfectly emerging from the marble; and with rough impetuous hatchings in whatever direction expresses his feelings best, tries an arrangement for the light and shade of his main masses, for the inclinations of the heads and leading positions of the limbs, and two or three principal motives for the action and reaction of limbs against drapery. The sketch is of first-rate interest, both for its intrinsic quality and from the fact that it shows

Michelangelo inspired by a motive of Leonardo da Vinci.” Relates more closely to Leonardo’s earlier version of the subject in the Royal Academy cartoon, than the later one in the Louvre painting, studies by “the sullen and jealous young genius just back from his four years of successful work in Rome.”); no. 9B (Verso: cites Berenson’s view that it may be some years later than the recto.). Thode, 1908, I, p. 114; II, p. 340 (1504–5. Recto: group influenced by Leonardo. Verso: head of young man influenced by Leonardo, to whom *leardo* may refer. Similarity of pose to BM W9/Corpus 138.). Justi, 1909, pp. 173–4 (Recto: after Leonardo’s cartoon.). Thode, 1913, no. 406 (As 1908. Recto: cf. Louvre Inv. 685 recto/J16/Corpus 26. Verso: male studies probably for *Cascina*, c. 1504.). Panofsky, 1922, p. 8 (1501–4. Recto: free interpretation of Leonardo’s 1501 cartoon. Verso: the male nude [Cat. 2, verso, C] to be compared with Leonardo’s study of a male nude from the rear at Windsor [12,596/CP p. 120] and the profile of the head of a young man also related to Leonardo’s types. The pen technique shows similarities to Leonardo’s.). Popp, 1925b, p. 72 (With [Cat. 2] part of a sketchbook.). Popp, 1925–6, pp. 139–40 (Recto: inspired by Leonardo. Verso: c. 1501.). Baumgart, 1935a, p. 351 (Recto: “L’essenza della composizione a gruppo, gli rimane ancora estranea. Ciò che gli sembrò importante era la comprensione della plasticità della figura e della composizione plastica del gruppo che raggiunge, sì, una esteriore unità formale priva però ancora dell’intimo compenetrarsi ed equilibrarsi di singoli valori plastici.”). Baumgart, 1937, pp. 11–12 (Recto: drawn in response to Leonardo, 1501–2. Very different from *Doni tondo*.); pp. 36–7 (Verso: after Michelangelo; clear differences in quality from the authentic Cat. 2.). Berenson, 1938, no. 1561 (As 1903.). Bertini, 1942, p. 41 (Recto: drawn in response to Leonardo.). De Tolnay, 1943a, pp. 100, 180, no. 9 (Recto: spring–summer of 1501, when Leonardo’s cartoon was displayed, but rather resembles Leonardo’s Louvre drawing, Inv. RF460. “[T]he figures are contained in an oblong block set diagonally. Each figure acts independently of the others – and indeed in opposition to them. The whole is based on dissonances.”); pp. 101, 180–1, no. 10 (Verso: inscription refers to Leonardo. [E] taken up in Joseph of *Doni tondo* and [F] in background youth. A inspired in pose by Leonardo’s drawing at Windsor, 12593/CP, p. 119.). Popham and Pouncey, 1950, pp. 67–8 (Recto and verso: c. 1505; the recto’s “compact sculptural composition” based on that of Leonardo’s National Gallery cartoon. Verso: connected with *Cascina*.). Goldscheider, 1951, no. 8 (Recto: a free copy of Leonardo’s cartoon, c. 1501.); no. 7 (Verso: inscription should be

read as *leardo* [dappled] or *Nardo*, which would refer to Michelangelo’s elder brother, Fra Leonardo.). De Tolnay, 1951, pp. 29, 291 (Recto and verso: as 1943/1947.). Wilde, 1953a, pp. 3–4, 21 (one of a group of drawings, perhaps leaves of the same sketchbook, which can be dated with certainty in the period 1501–3. Recto: pose of Virgin related to BM W9/Corpus 138, for Sistine.). Wilde, 1953b, p. 66 (1501–3. The “short, firm, parallel strokes partly following the curve of the form do not occur in earlier drawings by Michelangelo and are characteristic of all Leonardo’s pen studies of this period . . . by giving an entirely eccentric place to the Infant Christ he imparted tension to the structure. The study may well have been intended for a statuary group, for the outlines are as closed as the *Pietà* and the group needs no setting: it is completely isolated. The centre of the greatly increased plastic life has now been lifted to the upper half where the main points lie in the foremost plane.”). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 12 (Recto: 1501–3; may have been inspired by Leonardo.). Parker, 1956, II, no. 291 (With [Cat. 2] and Louvre Inv. 714/J4/Corpus 19, perhaps from the same sketchbook. Datable 1501–2. The recto inspired by Leonardo, but his influence on the verso generally overstated. “[I]mprobable too that the study of a man’s back has any real relation to the marble *David*.”). Dussler, 1959, no. 193 (Recto: 1501. Inspired by Leonardo but more plastic in conception. Verso: contemporary with recto. Types and motifs also inspired by Leonardo. Inscription cannot read *Leardo* but *Le(n)ardo*. Probably part of the same sketchbook as [Cat. 2].). Berenson, 1961, no. 1561 (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1962, p. 4 (Michelangelo; compared with Uffizi 233F/B1/Corpus 37.). Barocchi, 1964a (Recto: reaction to Leonardo, following 1501. Verso: contemporary with recto; connection with AB II–III, 3 verso/B287/Corpus 15.). Brugnoli, 1964, no. 5 (1501–2; influence of Leonardo, but a new energy of mass. “The pen strokes, longer and more widely separated . . . summarize the modeling . . . rapid sketching of Madonna’s left foot characteristic.”). De Tolnay, 1964e, col. 873 (Paraphrase of Leonardo’s *St. Anne*.). Berti, 1965, pp. 392–4, 402 (Both sides contemporary, c. 1501. Recto: influenced by Leonardo, but more energetic and angular; pictorial rather than sculptural. Verso: name read as Leonardo. Ephebic head reminiscent of those in the *Manchester Madonna*.). Goldscheider, 1965, no. 8 recto, no. 7 verso (Alternative readings dropped and *Leardo* apparently accepted as Leonardo; “in parts of the drawing even Leonardo’s left-handed hatching lines are imitated.”). Weinberger, 1967, p. 104 (Recto: c. 1502 “reflects the impression of Leonardo’s cartoon.”); p. 87 (Verso: linked with [Cat. 2] verso and Louvre

Inv. 714/J4/Corpus 19 verso, c. 1502. Studies of “the back of a young male model...not actually used in the *David*, but the wonderfully sharp definition of their anatomical structure aims at the same tactile values that are emphasised in the rear view.”). Wasserman, 1969, pp. 122–31 (Datable c. 1505. Recto: no direct connection with Leonardo’s lost cartoon, closer in arrangement to his National Gallery cartoon. But the pose of the Virgin is most similar to Leonardo’s crouching *Leda* at Chatsworth [Inv. 717/Jaffé, 1994 (3), no. 880]. Perhaps drawn in response to an unknown commission for a painting or a sculpture. Verso: bearded heads close in type to that of *Saint Matthew*; probably of 1506.). Hartt, 1971, no. 9 (Recto: placing together of the Virgin’s knees and the diagonal mantle strap over the left shoulder characteristic.); no. 16 (Verso: studied from same model as Louvre Inv. 714 verso/J4/Corpus 19; this figure drawn first. The bearded head a self-portrait.). Mancusi-Ungaro 1971 (Recto: after Leonardo.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 12 (“[C]learly...inspired by Leonardo.”). Hibbard, 1975, p. 64 (Recto. “Leonardesque group...clearly hatched, like a study for a sculpture...wholly unlike Leonardo’s misty sfumato, which unites figures and their surroundings.” Verso: bearded man “may be a sketch of Leonardo himself.”). De Tolnay, 1974, p. 11 (Recto: probably planned for a sculpture). Keller, 1975, no. 19 (Michelangelo, c. 1501, inspired by Leonardo.). de Tolnay, 1975, p. 15 (As 1951.). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 17 (Recto: second half of 1501; closest to Leonardo’s drawing in the Louvre, Inv. RF460. Verso: pose of A close to that of Leonardo’s drawing at Windsor, 12596/CP p. 120. Heads, especially [F] also inspired by Leonardo, to whom *leardo* might refer.). Macandrew, 1980 (Inscription corrected.). Lamarche-Vadel, 1981, p. 16, no. 4 (1501–2.). Liebert, 1983, pp. 94–5 (Verso: [F] is a self-portrait. [E] “the model for the androgynous nude...is used for the Madonna in...[Berlin 1363/Corpus 27], one of the *Doni tondo* nudes, and the nude triton” [in Cat. 2]). Hirst, 1988, p. 26 (Recto: “the style...would not exclude a dating of around 1504–6.”). Sisi, 1988, nos. 27, 28 (Influence of Leonardo in technique “il volume...descritto tende a compicarsi in un amalgama di luce e ombra lontano dal ‘lume universale’ concreto e definitorio della tradizione toscana. Questo‘aer bruno’rilevato dal Vasari nelle opere di Leonardo, si addenso soprattutto intorno al gruppo di figure sul *recto*...che ripete l’iconografia della Sant’Anna Metterza, soggetto più volte sperimentato da Leonardo.”). Perrig, 1991, pp. 26–7 (Verso: by Cellini.). Bonsanti, 1992, p. 345 (Verso: link between tritons here and on Cat. 2 with wall drawing from Buonarroti Villa at Settignano.”). Nathan, 1992, pp. 95–6 (Recto:

Michelangelo proceeded from left to right; “the sheet, at some point in the drawing process, only contained the infant and his mother...[and]...the composition was extended to the right...through the addition of the St. Anne. This suggests that...we are confronted with a change in subject matter.” Notes that “the unusual manner in which the Virgin holds her child...clearly corresponds to a follower’s version of Leonardo’s design for a kneeling *Leda*” and cites example in Kassel, Staatliche Gemäldgalerie. Concludes “that, before the St. Anne was added, the mother and her infant were really intended to represent a nude *Leda* with one of her children.”). Hirst, 1994–5, pp. 42–3, fig. 32 (c. 1501–5; “the figure of the Virgin reflects that in the *Manchester Madonna*.”). Bonsanti, 1999–2000, p. 220 (Sketches of tritons on [Cats. 1 verso and 2 recto] support the authenticity of the Settignano *Triton*.).

CATALOGUE 2

Recto: A Triton and Three Heads

Verso: Studies of a Back, a Left Arm, a Right Leg
1846.38; R.21; P.II 292; Corpus 18

Dimensions: 235 × 190 mm

Medium

Pen and iron gall ink.

Condition

There are additional narrow strips of paper at the left and lower edges, with a number of pulp infills and repairs at the edges, at the lower right corner, and in the image area where the ink has fractured the paper. There is a repaired tear with ingrained dirt and a small infilled hole in the lower quarter, and the paper is skinned in areas. There are scattered discoloured accretions, local staining, and a severe show-through of the ink to the verso. The ink is worn in places with haloing in the heavily worked areas.

Inscriptions

Recto: Lower left, in pen and ink: *Michel Angelo/di Buona Roti*; the words “Michel Angelo” were added above “di Buona Roti,” which was written first.

Description

Recto

A. A nude male figure seated facing left, his arms and legs terminating in scroll-like fins, wearing a helmet decorated with wings.

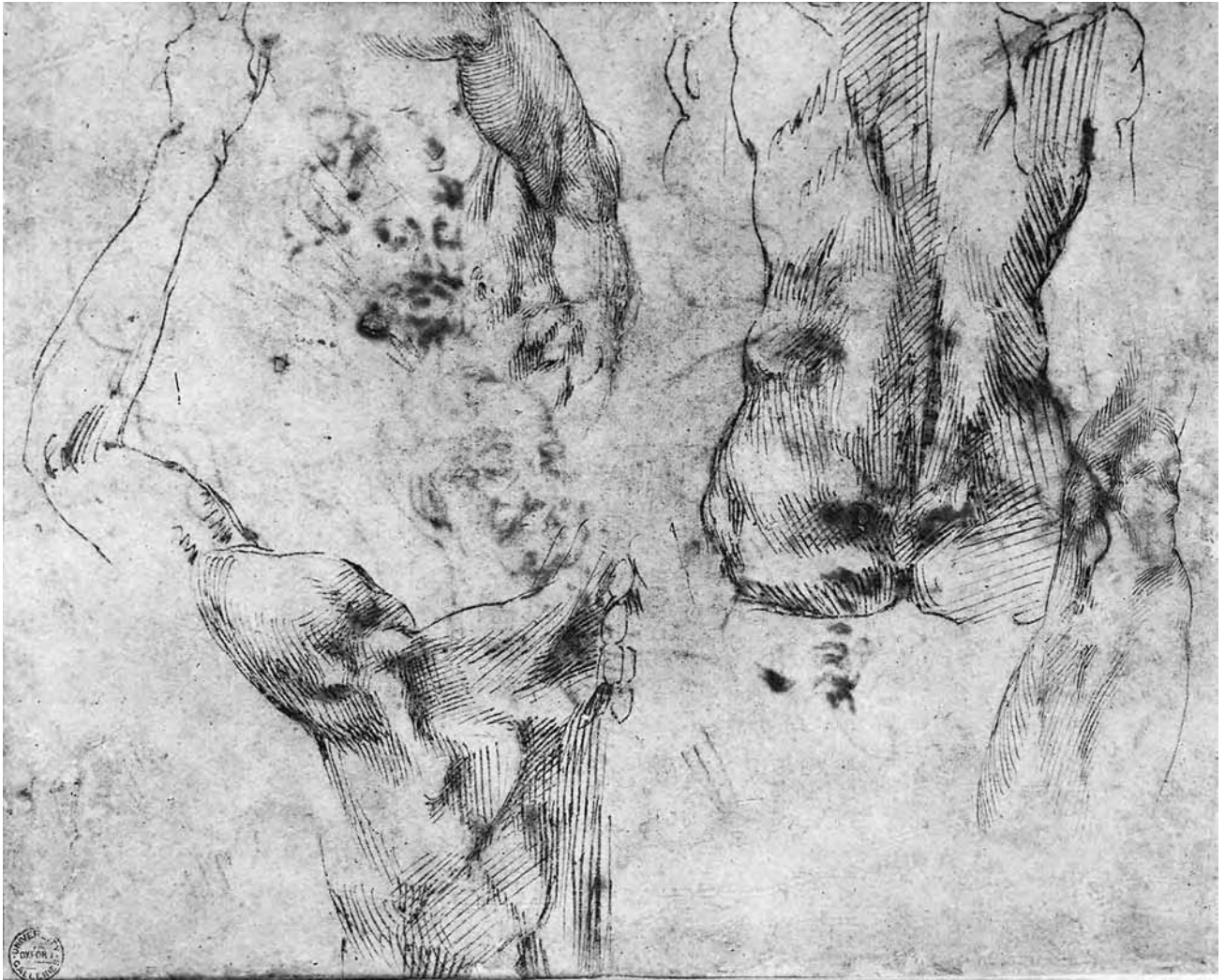


With the left edge as base

B. A man's head turned to his right seen in front three-quarter view and slightly from below (this may be the same head as C and D from which the beard is omitted).

C. A middle-aged man's head, balding and bearded, turned to his right seen in front three-quarter view and slightly from below.

D. The same head as C, wearing a turban, seen in front three-quarter view and slightly from below.



Verso

- A. A very faint black chalk sketch in the lower left corner, which seems to represent a right hand resting on a flat surface with the fingers bent over its edge.
- B. The left shoulder, upper back, and raised arm of a young man, seen from behind.
- C. The left arm pit and raised upper arm of a young man, seen from the side.
- D. The back of a young man, with the arms indicated as lowered; he appears to be seated, since the buttocks are compressed.

With the upper edge as base

- E. The right thigh and knee of a young man, seen in left three-quarter view.

Discussion

Cat. 1 verso and the recto and verso of the present sheet, obviously closely connected in motif and technique,

are linked also with a third sheet in the Louvre (Inv. 714/J4/Corpus 19; pen and ink, 262 × 185 mm) and, a little more distantly, a fourth in the Albertina (BK 132/Corpus 14; pen and ink, 225 × 315 mm). It is not absolutely necessary to suppose that all the drawings on the four sheets were made at the same time, but there are no good reasons for assuming otherwise.

None of the other drawings on these sheets is certainly connected with the group on the recto of Cat. 1, although it is just possible that the two sketches of a female head (B and C on its verso) may be. The studies of male backs and shoulders found on the versos of both Cat. 1 and the present drawing – all probably from the same model – are very similar to a study found on Louvre Inv. 714/J4/Corpus 19 verso and, somewhat less clearly, with a study of a right shoulder and arm seen from the front, on the recto of the same sheet. Two further half studies of backs can be found on another drawing in the Louvre (Inv. 718/J9/Corpus 47 verso; pen and ink, 340 × 180 mm), of

which the recto is generally connected with the *Battle of Cascina*, although the compiler is rather inclined to relate it to an unrealised project for the *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand*. The study of the right thigh and knee on the verso of the present sheet is also close in form to the right thigh and knee of a figure on the verso of Louvre Inv. 714, performing an action variously interpreted as digging or impaling.

The studies of backs and shoulders on Cats. 1 and 2 are often thought to be for the marble *David*, begun by Michelangelo in September 1501 and perhaps completed by mid-summer 1503 (Hirst, 2000), and the forms of that statue's back – in which Michelangelo's freedom of manoeuvre was limited by a shallow block – are obviously similar. However, while a link remains plausible, it was doubted by Parker, and the connection is insufficiently precise for it to be taken as certain. The raised left arm on the verso of Cat. 2, for example, cannot have been intended for the *David*, and the pose of the figure A on Cat. 1 verso is, when analysed, not like that of the *David*. In that drawing, the legs braced wide apart suggest that Michelangelo arranged his model in a variant of the pose of Donatello's *Saint George* and planned to distribute the figure's weight evenly on both legs, not in the contrapposto arrangement of the marble *David* as carved. Indeed, the drawing looks forward in certain respects to an invention by Rosso of c. 1526, engraved by Caraglio (*The Illustrated Bartsch* 28, 38 (78), p. 115) of *Hercules*, legs astride, seen from the rear, one of a series of niched classical gods. Michelangelo's drawing may also have been in part inspired by the torso of one of the *Tyrannicides*, Aristogeiton and Harmodius, of which at least two versions were known in the Renaissance, both fragmentary (see Bober and Rubinstein, 1986, pp. 162–3); Michelangelo was not alone in looking at such a figure; a copy after one of these attributed to the school of Raphael is in the Ashmolean Museum, P.II, no. 622; pen and ink, 210 × 137 mm.

Reinforcement for the dating of these three sheets to c. 1502 is generally thought to be provided by the sketch on Louvre Inv. 714 recto/J4/Corpus 19, for a victorious *David*, which is, with virtual certainty, connected with the bronze commissioned from Michelangelo on 12 August 1502 for Pierre de Rohan, Maréchal de Gié, cast by mid-1503, and whose chasing was completed by Benedetto da Rovezzano in 1508. This figure was certainly drawn after the sketch of a right arm and shoulder seen from the front, and its presence could therefore be used to date the latter somewhat earlier and to connect it with the marble *David*, begun in 1501. However, the sketch of the bronze *David* is so fully realised that, rather than a preliminary *conchetto*,

it probably dates from a moment when Michelangelo was refining details of his model, and, consequently, is datable 1503. If so, while Michelangelo could, in theory, have reused this side of the sheet some two years after he had first drawn on it, this seems less likely than the alternative: that the large study was not made for the marble *David* but for some other purpose that we cannot determine.

Several different heads are drawn on these two sheets. The bearded head with aquiline nose, seen from below, which occurs four times, once with head-gear, was, in the past, often identified as a portrait of Leonardo da Vinci, an identification that can be supported by the much-discussed inscription, *leardo*. This could, in principle, refer to Leonardo da Vinci – and such self-consciousness would not be unknown from Michelangelo who inscribed his leonardesque compositional drawing in the Louvre (Inv. 685 recto/J16/Corpus 26, pen and ink over black chalk, 325 × 261 mm) – *Chi direi mai che sia di mia mano* – and it does not conflict with what may be conjectured of Leonardo's appearance shortly after 1500, at about 50. Nevertheless, it is difficult to believe that Michelangelo would have made a portrait drawing of his detested rival, and it is very far from certain that the inscription refers to the bearded man; it might, for instance, refer to the young man at the right of Cat. 1 recto; or it might be entirely unrelated: Scattered notes of names appear frequently on sheets by Michelangelo, and in no other instance is it probable that the subject of a drawing is named. If the head is to be seen as a portrait, it seems more likely that it was a friend or relation of Michelangelo's. His father, Ludovico, is an obvious candidate or, if the inscription is taken to refer to the name of the person portrayed, his elder brother, Leonardo. It has also been identified as a self-portrait of Michelangelo, but this seems to the compiler wholly implausible physiognomically.

In any case, the low angle from which these heads are drawn would not be appropriate for an image intended as a portrait, and it may be that Michelangelo was here experimenting with facial types for one or other of the twelve Apostles he was commissioned to carve for the Duomo in 1504, which would, of course, have been seen from below. It is worth recalling Goldscheider's interpretation of *leardo* as dappled, for Michelangelo might well have wished to make note of a dappled beard, perhaps with the intention of translating a pictorial effect into sculpture.

The male head in left profile on Cat. 1 recto, loosely executed in a virtuoso contour-mapping pen style, and given a caricatural cast, was probably made from life. It was not made from the same model as the bearded heads, and it depicts a younger man with more hair. It is difficult

to decide whether this head is intended to form part of the same group as the two heads indicated in outline to the lower left. These, however, do appear to be connected, and they may represent the Virgin and Child seen at an oblique angle: Although the head of the putative Child seems unduly large, this is a feature of the Bruges *Madonna*. If so, the male head could be that of Saint Joseph, but it is hard to feel confident of this interpretation since the characterisation is not wholly sympathetic.

Alternatively, this head may have been used in a modified way in the Triton, A on Cat. 2 recto. The Triton is clearly identified as such, and the younger figure on Cat. 1 verso, whose pose is very similar, is probably either a variant of the same figure or a companion: Both are based very loosely on the Belvedere *Torso*, which Michelangelo would have seen during his first Roman sojourn. The subject is specific, but no project is known for which these figures might have been made. Their function might have been as components of a decorative frieze, but none such is known. It should also be noted that there may be a link with a large charcoal drawing made directly on a whitewashed wall of the Buonarroti Villa at Settignano (Corpus 11; 940 × 1,335 mm) but now detached. Although this controversial work was first connected with Michelangelo in print only in 1746, it was known to Andrea Commodi who drew a copy of it (Uffizi 18614F; pen and ink, 153 × 159 mm) probably in the 1580s. The attribution of the Settignano figure, variously identified as a Satyr or a Triton, is disputed. Many scholars accept it, but although it is of strongly Michelangelesque type, it does not seem to the compiler to be autograph. It might be by a pupil or associate working after Michelangelo's ideas: Commodi demonstrably copied pupil drawings as well as originals by Michelangelo. Nevertheless, since the Settignano drawing, whomever it is by, is both Michelangelesque and drawn on property owned by his family, it does support the idea that Michelangelo planned some kind of aquatic composition, perhaps in emulation of Mantegna's famous print, the *Battle of the Sea Gods*. Further – tenuous – evidence that Michelangelo may have contemplated a composition of Tritons is provided by two drawings attributed to Michelangelo recorded in Jabach's posthumous inventory of 1695: *Quatre tritons, à la plume, lavé sur papier bistré, long de 17 et haut de 8 2/3 pouces*, and *Un triton mort et d'autres qui le plaignent, à la plume, lavé sur papier bistré, long de 17 1/3 sur 8 1/2 pouces* (Py, 2001, nos. 765, 766). Trace of these drawings is lost after the mid-eighteenth century, and while there is no means of judging whether they were by, after, or entirely unconnected with Michelangelo, the fact that such scenes were associated with him should not be dismissed too lightly.

Winged headdresses are found again in works by Michelangelo, notably in a drawing of c. 1505–6 in the Louvre (Inv. 688 verso/J13/Corpus 20; pen and ink, 387 × 205 mm), and another of the 1520s in the Uffizi (251F verso/B243; black and red chalk, 279 × 133 mm), which is closely connected with a sketch on Cat. 30 verso, K.

The back view on Cat. 2 verso and the two studies of the raised left arm cannot be connected securely with any work by Michelangelo. However, one reconstruction of the bronze *David* suggests that its right arm was raised, and although this was certainly not true of the statue as executed, this drawing at least shows that Michelangelo experimented with such a motif. Further comparable studies of a right arm are found on the sheet of drawings in the Albertina (BK 132/Corpus 14; pen and ink, 225 × 315 mm). And figures with raised left arms are represented in drawings in the Albertina (BK 118 recto/Corpus 22; pen and ink, 390 × 195 mm) and Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts (Inv. 794.1. 2913/Corpus 632; pen and ink, 350 × 134 mm), a drawing which, although disputed, is in the compiler's view an autograph Michelangelo of c. 1504.

History

Given the nature of the recto inscription, in which Michelangelo's Christian name appears to have been added as an afterthought, the provenance is probably the *Bona Roti* Collector; the Irregular Numbering Collector; Joachim Sandrart; Pieter Van Silvfercroon; Queen Christina; Dezzio Azzolini; Livio Odescalchi, Duke of Bracciano; Pierre Crozat; Jean-Baptiste Wicar (Wicar is the first owner recorded by Woodburn, followed by Robinson and Parker, but it is doubtful that this is correct); William Young Ottley (the drawing may have been part of lot 279 in Ottley's sale of 1804, described as "a sheet with two torsos, etc, free pen, and some of his writing"); Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445 on the verso); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Ottley sale?, 1804, part of lot 279 ("Three – a sheet with two torsos, etc. free pen, and some of his writing, and two others by Salviati etc. after Michael Angelo, one in red the other in black chalk."). Woodburn, 1842, no. 2. Robinson, 1870, no. 21 (Michel Angelo. Recto and verso, c. 1504.). Black, 1875, p. 213, no. 21. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 234. Berenson, 1903, no. 1560 (c. 1505. Verso: A possibly for the figure lifting up his arm in the *Bathers*). Colvin, 1905, III, no. 5A (Recto: about the same date, 1505, as the verso of Cat. 1.); no. 5B (Verso: purpose of Triton drawing conjectural; no close precedent

for it.). Thode, 1913, no. 405 (c. 1504.). Popp, 1925b, p. 72 (With Cat. 1 part of a sketchbook.). Popp, 1925–6, pp. 140, 143 (Recto: not before 1501.). Baumgart, 1937, pp. 36–7 (c. 1501. Recto: Michelangelo. Verso: after Michelangelo?). Berenson, 1938, no. 1560 (As 1903.). De Tolnay, 1943a, p. 181, nos. 11 (Verso: spring–summer 1501; similar study of a male back known in “a copy” [sic] Louvre Inv. 718 verso/J9/Corpus 47 and Louvre Inv. 714 verso/J4/Corpus 19 stylistically identical with this and [Cat. 1].); no. 12 (Recto: same date as verso; Triton’s helmet perhaps inspired by Leonardo.). Goldscheider, 1951, no. 12 (Verso: c. 1501.); no. 11 (Recto: the main figure “derives from an antique statue of *Mercury* . . . fins were an afterthought.”). De Tolnay, 1951, pp. 29, 290 (Verso: spring–summer 1501; evidence of Michelangelo’s interest in the art of Leonardo.). Wilde, 1953a, pp. 3–4 (One of a group of sheets, perhaps leaves of same sketchbook, that can be dated with certainty in the period 1501–3.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 13 (Verso: “possibly connected with the marble *David*.”). Parker, 1956, no. 292 (c. 1501–2). Dussler, 1959, no. 192 (Recto: inextricably linked with Cat. 2 and Louvre Inv. 714/J4/Corpus 19, datable 1501. Copy drawings in Vienna and Montpellier based on originals of same period. Verso: Leonardesque, like [Cat. 1].). Exh. London, 1960, no. 538. Berenson, 1961, no. 1560 (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1962, p. 6 (Michelangelo; compared with CB59F/B2/Corpus 32.). Berti, 1965, pp. 393, 401 (Recto: Triton resembles the Settignano *Triton*. Verso: link with Louvre Inv. 714/J4/Corpus 19.). Goldscheider, 1965, no. 12 verso; no. 11 recto (As 1951.). Weinberger, 1967, p. 87 (Verso: see Cat. 2.). Hartt, 1971, no. 17 (Recto: 1501–2. Same model as [Cat. 1]; another self-portrait.); no. 18 (Verso: 1501–2. Study of raised arm “suggests the later *Dying Slave*.”). LeBrooy, 1972, p. 99 (Verso: studies of back compared with a terracotta model attributed by LeBrooy to Michelangelo in a Montreal private collection.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 13 (with [Cat. 1] “may have formed part of the same sketchbook.”). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 18 (Recto: mid-1501; the style of 1504–5 “appare più disciplinato.” [A] based, according to P. Meller, on torso Belvedere. No immediate links with *David* or *Dying Slave*. Heads at base recall Settignano *Triton*. Verso: contemporary.). Liebert, 1983, pp. 94–5 (Recto: “Michelangelo’s head [i.e., A] with its taut and depressive set, moves sequentially from a position close to the breasts of the Madonna in [Berlin 1363/Corpus 27] to near the undersized penis of the triton. . . . This change in placement suggests a renunciation of the breast and women as sources of nurturance and a tentative movement toward the penis and men as more reliable and

satisfying providers. . . . [T]he figure of the triton bears striking similarities to the Silenus of the Medici [palace] Dionysus tondo . . . [this] suggests . . . Michelangelo’s feeling of kinship with Dionysus, but here in the context of a clear emergence of sexual elements. . . . Perhaps Michelangelo introduced . . . [the triton’s fins] to divert and even ridicule the homosexual implications in the drawing.”). Bonsanti, 1992, p. 345 (Recto: link between tritons here and on [Cat. 1 verso] with wall drawing from Buonarroti villa at Settignano.”). Paoletti, 1992, p. 432 (Heads are self-portraits.). Bonsanti, 1999–2000, p. 220 (Sketches of tritons on Cats. 1 verso and 2 recto support the authenticity of the Settignano *Triton*.).

CATALOGUE 3

A Standing Male Figure

1846.59; R.48.3; P.II 313; Corpus 249bis

Dimensions: 97 × 91 mm

Medium

Pen and ink.

Condition

There are repaired tears, skinning, edge nicks, and ingrained dirt, with general discolouration, local staining, foxing, and surface dirt. The verso is not visible.

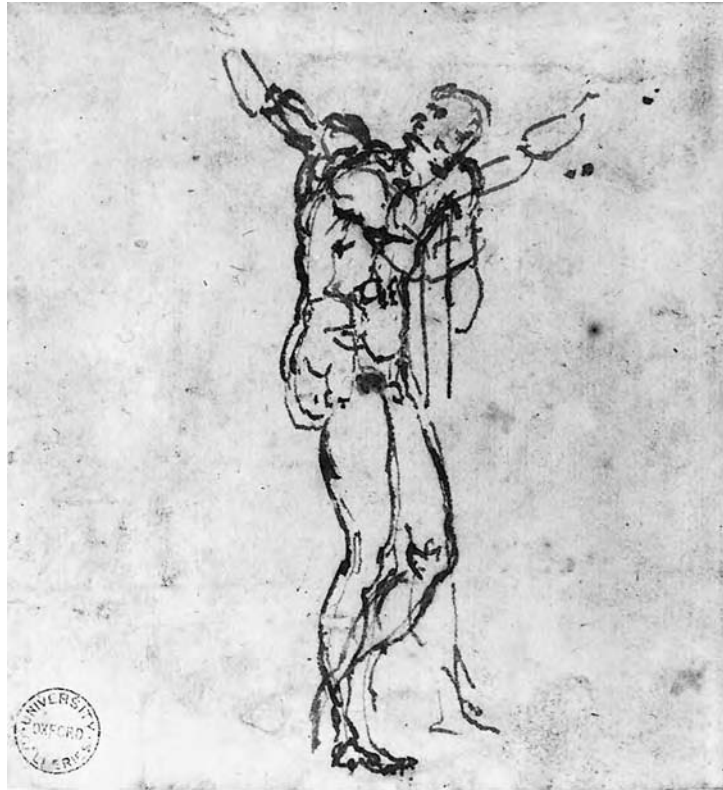
Description

This small drawing of a standing figure shows several superimposed poses. At first, the left leg was crossed over the right leg at the ankle, the right arm was bent across the chest and the figure was leaning on a support braced under the left arm. The head seems to have been tilted down. At this stage, it will be noted, the pose was similar to that here proposed for Michelangelo’s lost early *Hercules* (see Cat. 81). The left leg was then straightened, the arms were raised and outstretched in a cruciform shape, the head was raised and turned to the figure’s right.

To the left of the figure is the trace of a line, largely erased, which runs down the page.

Discussion

The single serious hypothesis about the purpose of this fragment, obviously cut from a larger sheet, is due to Wilde, who thought that it was for a mourning figure in a *Calvary*, such as that in the British Museum (W32/Corpus 87; red chalk, 394 × 281 mm), probably of the first half of



the 1520s. There is certainly some similarity in the angular gesturing, but three arguments may be advanced against Wilde's view. First, the present figure is isolated on the paper with no trace of others around it: Nothing suggests that it was intended as part of a crowd scene. Second, the structure of this figure and those in W32 are unlike: They are thin and geometrical because they are merely blocked-out; this is thin and geometrical because Michelangelo envisaged the figure thus. Third, Michelangelo does not seem to have made many drawings of this *concetto* type in pen in the 1520s, and those that exist display more elastic outlines than this drawing. The apparently squarish chest is in fact created by the fall of drapery, analogous to that of the unfinished statue of *Saint Matthew*.

In the compiler's view, this drawing was most probably made for a statue, more likely niched than free-standing. The figure as first drawn, with its reminiscence of Michelangelo's lost *Hercules*, strongly suggests sculpture, and even though the raised right arm and the gesture might seem less appropriate to marble, they would of course be perfectly plausible to any sculptor who had studied Hellenistic work or, for that matter, Andrea Sansovino's *Saint John the Baptist* of 1504. Perhaps the drawing was made to prepare one or more of the statues of Apostles, commissioned for Santa Maria dei Fiore, the cathedral of Florence, in 1504. Only one was executed, the compact *Saint Matthew*, but autograph sketches exist

for at least two other figures (and copies survive in the Louvre after what were probably more developed studies for two further figures: Inv. 858/J64; black chalk over stylus indications, 295 × 134 mm, and Inv. 702/J47; pen and ink, 401 × 152 mm). The pen work of the present drawing is closely similar to that of the *concetto* of a standing nude male supported by a lectern at the lower left of a sheet in Florence (Uffizi 233F/B1/Corpus 37; pen and ink and black chalk, 272 × 263 mm), whose dimensions are virtually identical with those of the present figure and which was no doubt drawn for another of the Apostles. The first idea in the present palimpsest might have been for Saint James the Greater, holding the club with which he was martyred; the version with raised arms for Saint Andrew holding his X-shaped Cross.

History

Casa Buonarroti; Jean-Baptiste Wicar?; William Young Ottley (his sale?, 11 April 1804, etc., part of lot 270, "Five – various pen studies of figures and architecture – some of his writing on the back of three – from the Bonarroti collection."); Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Ottley sale?, 11 April 1804, part of lot 270 (Five – various pen studies of figures and architecture – some of his

writing on the back of three – from the Bonarroti collection.”). Lawrence Inventory?, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–103] (“Architectural and other studies – pen” [presumably with Cats. 19, 75, plus two other unidentified drawings].). Woodburn, 1842, no. 72 (“Three small studies-upon one mount . . . with the autograph of M. Angelo” with [Cats. 19, 75].). Robinson, 1870, no. 48.3 (Michel Angelo. “slight and unimportant pen study. . . Neither the period of its execution nor its intentions can be determined.”). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 43c. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 234. Berenson, 1903, no. 1567.3 (“[P]robably, but not certainly, Michelangelo’s.”). K. Frey, 1909–11, 138b (Autograph; uncertain purpose.). Thode, 1913, no. 431 (Uncertain purpose, but authentic.). Berenson, 1938, no. 1567.3 (As 1903.). Wilde, 1953a, p. 65 (Mourning figure. Would fit equally well in BM W32/Corpus 87 [*The Three Crosses*], or Haarlem A.34/VT 60/Corpus. 109 [*The Deposition*] both of c. 1523.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 140C. Parker, 1956, no. 313 (“[E]xtensive alterations in the position of the arms and legs which produce a confusing effect . . . originally the figure was leaning on a support under the arm pit with the left arm hanging down and the right passed across the front of the body. The left leg, originally crossed behind the right, was afterwards straightened.” Perhaps “a mere jotting, put to paper without any particular intention in mind.”). Dussler, 1959, no. 198 (Authentic, datable c. 1518 by comparison with [Cat. 19].). Berenson, 1961, no. 1567.3 (As 1903/1938.). Berti, 1965, pp. 433, 437. Hartt, 1971, no. 166 (1517–18?. For *Crucifixion of Saints Cosmas and Damian* on San Lorenzo façade.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 86 (Parker correct to doubt Wilde’s interpretation.). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 249bis (Michelangelo; accepts Wilde’s date of 1528 [sic].). Perrig, 1999, p. 247 (By a pupil of Michelangelo; from via Mozza studio.).

CATALOGUE 4

Recto: Studies of a Horse and a Sketch of a Battle Scene
 Verso: Five Drafts of Poems
 1846.39; R.18; P.II 293; Corpus 102

Dimensions: 427 × 283 mm

Watermark: Robinson Appendix no. 19b. Roberts Fruit D. The single use of this paper in Michelangelo’s work. Not recorded in Briquet.

Medium

Pen and iron gall ink, which has corroded the paper.

Condition

There is widespread discolouration and local staining and some undulation. An additional strip of paper has been added to the left margin covering parts of the original writing, which have been replaced in the writing of Michelangelo the Younger. There is a major pressed-out horizontal fold and crease, with other creasing and some skinned areas. There are major pulp infills and toning and major unsupported fractures where the ink has burned through. There are some repaired edge tears.

Description and Transcriptions

The recto was used first, as a full sheet, oriented vertically; when Michelangelo subsequently employed the verso for poetry, he folded the sheet at the half-way point and used the two half-pages thus obtained for separate verses. On the left-hand half sheet, he inscribed two poems, inverted with respect to each other; on the right-hand page, he inscribed three verses, each oriented differently.

Recto

- A. The body and neck of a stallion, in right profile.
- B. The hind quarters of a stallion, seen from the right rear.
- C. The hind quarters of a stallion, in right profile.
- D. A combat between a cavalryman and foot soldiers.
- E. An indecipherable form, perhaps a fallen infantryman.

Verso

The compiler has endeavoured to transcribe the words as literally as possible – an effort in which he has relied heavily on the work of others, notably Barocchi, 1964c. These transcriptions are followed by the versions of the same poems given by Girardi in his standard editions of Michelangelo’s poetry of 1960 and 1967, modified on occasion by those of Residori in Residori and Baratto, 1998. These clarified texts are supplemented by the translations into English prose published by Christopher Ryan in 1996, which make Michelangelo’s thought immediately accessible to the anglophone reader. In the compiler’s transcriptions an effort has been made to indicate Michelangelo’s abbreviations typographically. Where appropriate signs are unavailable, normal parentheses () have been employed to signal abbreviations; { } to signal missing words or letters due to damage to the paper, within which are inserted conjectural readings.





1. With the left side as base, four lines, probably the beginning of a sonnet.

Colui ch(e) lutto fe, fece ogni parte
e poi del tutto la piu bella scelse
p(er) mostrar quivi le suo cose eccelse
Coma fatto or cholla sua divinarte

Guasti, frammenti XVI; Frey, IV; Girardi, no. 9;
Residori, no. 9

Colui che 'il tutto fe', fece ogni parte
e poi del tutto la più bella scelse,
per mostrar quivi le suo cose eccelse,
com'ha fatto or colla sua divin'arte.

Ryan, no. 9

He who made all made every part and then from all chose
the most beautiful, to show forth here his sublime qualities,
as he has now done with his divine art.

2. With the left side as base.

The reading of this sonnet is particularly difficult, as all scholars have noted. Frey thought that some words had been added and others altered by a later hand with a greyer ink than the original, but his view may have been affected by the condition of the sheet. The additions and variants seem also to have been added in the same colour ink as the first draft, if more diluted, and by the same hand. Some of them,

however, make even less sense to the compiler than the first draft.

Gssngdo in[?] felice catuo pūgiēti serafilis (above: *feroci ma[li]*; at right: *alle tuo veloci ali*)

postargio evīgero mīfus gia cōciessdin
or lasso, inlpecto nos bagnīādo spesspio
chōtrari imie poglia essos quāte permalios
E sse i dannosis e preteristi stralis
chelmie īdurato cor campo lui stesso [line cancelled]
palsegnios delmiu cor non fur mapressori
por puois acholpii vēdichar te stessonior
dique begliochi efie tucti mortali
Da quanti lacci amor [above: *ancor*] *daquāte rete*
vagho uccellecto p(er) malīgnia sorte
champa molti anni p(er) morire po pgg{io}
tal di me donne amor chome vede{te}
p(er) darmi inquesta eta piu c{hrudel} m{or}te
champ{ato} ma molt'anni (cancelled; above: *gran tempo*)
c{home veggio}

Variants

pungienti sera felis
alla tuo veloci
per stare io e vinger io mi fus gia conciesdin
Amore evitar me fu già concesso

Frey, II; Girardi, no. 3; Residori, no. 3

Grato e felice a' tuo feroci mali
ostare e vincer mi fu già concesso;
or, lasso, il petto vo bagnando spesso
contr'a mie voglia, e.sso quante tu vali.
E.sse i dannosi e preteriti strali
al segno del mie cor non fur ma' presso
or puoi a colpi vendicar te stesso
di que' begli occhi, e fien tutti mortali.
Da quanti lacci ancor, da quante rete
vago uccelletto per maligna sorte
campa molt' anni per morire po' peggio
tal di me, donne, Amor, come vedete,
per darmi in questa età più crudel morte,
campato m'ha gran tempo, come veggio.

Ryan, no. 3

To me, grateful and happy, it was once given to resist and conquer your savage evils; now, alas, against my will I often bathe my breast with tears, and I know your true power.

And if previously your fatal arrows never came close to my heart, which was their target, now you can revenge yourself through those beautiful eyes, whose every blow is fatal.

Just as for many years a little wandering bird may escape a host of snares and nets only to die a worse death later through evil fate.

So I, ladies, as you can see, have been allowed by Love to escape for a long time only for him to give me at this age a crueler death, as I can see.

3. With the right side as base, a sonnet (the first two lines and much of the top half of the third line are replaced and made up in the hand of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger).

Signor se vero è alcun proverbio antico
questo è ben quel, che chi può mai non vuole
tuai creduto a' favole e parole
e premiato chi e del ver nemico
Fui [e ssō; cancelled] *io sono gia tuo buō servo antico*
acte sō dato come eraggi al sole
e delmio tēpo nōt'incresce o duole
emēti pinico [?; usually transcribed as 'piaccio] *se più m'*
 [missing, usually transcribed as *afatico*]

Gia sperai ascēder per la tua altezza
el gusto peso e la potēte spada
fussi albisognio etnō la voce decho
Ma alcielo equel chogni virtu disprezza
locarla almōdo si vuol chaltri vada
a prēder frutto dun arbor ch' secco

Guasti, *sonnetti* II; Frey III; Girardi, no. 6; Residori, no. 6

Signor, se vero è alcun proverbio antico,
questo è ben quel, che chi può mai non vuole.
Tu hai creduto a favole e parole
e premiato chi è del ver nimico.
I' sono e fui già tuo buon servo antico,
a.tte son dato come e' raggi al sole,
e del mie tempo non ti incresce o dole,
e men ti piaccio se più m'affatico.
Già sperai ascender per la tua altezza,
e 'l giusto peso e.la potente spada
fussi al bisogno, e non la voce d'ecco.
Ma 'l cielo è quel c'ogni virtù disprezza
locarla al mondo, se vuol c'altri vaa
a prender frutto d'un arbor ch'è secco.

Ryan, no. 6

Lord, if any ancient proverb is true, it is surely this: he who can never wants to. You have believed tales and talk, and rewarded those who are the enemies of truth.

I am and ever was your good and faithful servant. I have been as united to you as rays to the sun; and yet you do not feel concern or compassion for the time I've given, and I please you less the more hard work I do.

I once hoped to rise thanks to your high state. but what I needed was the just scales and the powerful sword, not to hear my own voice echo.

But it is heaven itself that disdains to find a place on earth for any virtue, it asks men to go and take fruit from a withered tree.

4. With the right side as base, a madrigal (the first three lines and much of the top half of the fourth line are lost and made up in the hand of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger).

Come puo esser chio nō sia piu mio
Oddio oddio oddio
Chi m'ha tolto a me stesso (chi mi tolse à me stesso)
Ch'è me fusse piu presso
o piu di me che mi possere [poss'essere] io
o piu di me potessi ch'o possio [interline: o potessi di me]
o dio o dio o dio
come mi passa elcore
chi nō par che mitochi?
Ch' cosa e questo amore
c'al Core entra per gli ochi (e s'aviēche trabo chi)
per poco spatio [as usually transcribed, but incomplete]
dentro par che cres [ca]
...foco... d'acquapar che ?[cancelled] nosca [below]

Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger, p. 8; Guasti, *madrigali* XXV; Frey, VI; Girardi, no. 8; Residori, no. 8

Come puo esser ch'io non sia più mio?
O.dDio, o.dDio, o.dDio,
chi m'ha tolto a me stesso,
c'a me fusse più presso
o più di me potesse che poss'io?
O.dDio, o.dDio, o.dDio,
come mi passa el core
chi non par che mi tocchi?
Che cosa è questo, Amore
c'al core entra per gli occhi,
per poco spazio dentro par che cresca
E s'avien che trabocchi?

Ryan, no. 8

How can it be that I am no longer mine? Oh God, oh God, oh God, who has taken me from myself, that she might be closer to me or have more power over me than I myself? Oh God, oh God, oh God, how can someone penetrate my heart without seeming even to touch me? What is this, Love, that enters the heart through the eyes, and in the small space within seems to grow? And if it should happen to overflow?

5. With the top edge as base, a madrigal

Chi e quel che p̃ forza acte mimena
oilme oilme oilme
legato e stretto e sō libero e sciolto
Se tu incateni altrui sēza catena
e senza mane o braccia mai [mi hai] raccolto
chi mi difendera dal tuo bel volto

Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger, p. 7; Guasti, *madrigali* LIII; Frey, V; Girardi, no. 7; Residori, no. 7

Chi è quel che per forza a.tte mi mena,
oimmè, oimmè, oimmè,
legato e stretto, e son libero e sciolto?
Se tu incateni altrui senza catena,
e senza mane o braccia m'hai raccolto,
chi mi difenderà dal tuo bel volto?

Ryan, no. 7

Who is this who by force of nature leads me to you, alas, alas, bound and fettered, though by nature free and unconstrained? If you enchain people without a chain, and without moving arm or hand have gathered me in, who will defend me from your beautiful face?

Discussion

The studies of the body and rump of a horse presumably fall into the category of practice drawings. As so often in his studies of the male nude, Michelangelo has here concentrated on the body and legs and has provided no more than an outline indication of the head. This would no doubt have been studied in a separate drawing.

It is doubtful if Michelangelo had frequently represented horses in his previous work – although in his *Battle of the Centaurs*, the Centaurs of course have equine bodies – and in these life-drawings he was no doubt both refreshing his memory and establishing the type of horse that he wished to portray. It is by no means inconceivable that Michelangelo made wax models of horses in preparation for his fresco, as did Leonardo, but the compiler can see no justification for Goldscheider's attribution to him of the wax formerly in the Volpi Collection, which had previously been given, still less plausibly, to Leonardo himself.

The small sketch of a combat was developed from a drawing in London (BM W3 recto/Corpus 36; pen and ink, 186 × 183 mm), which shows a clash between two groups of cavalymen. Michelangelo has separated out part of this arrangement and turned it into a grim account of a cavalryman assailed by a group of spear-bearing infantry; this episode was developed in Cat. 4. For further discussion see Cat. 5.

Verso

As noted previously, the poems on the verso certainly post-date the recto drawings, but it is conjectural by how much. In principle, it seems reasonable to think that the sheet remained in Florence; if so, then assuming – as their layout would suggest – that the poems were written over a relatively short period, the summer and autumn of 1506,

when Michelangelo, having returned precipitately from Rome to Florence, may again have taken up work on the *Battle of Cascina*, is a plausible date for them. Otherwise a date around 1516, at the beginning of Michelangelo's long sojourn in Florence would be most likely, although this would be some years later than the dates usually given to the poems. If, on the other hand, the sheet did accompany Michelangelo to Rome, then the dates ranging between 1504 for "Grato e felice . . ." and 1511 for "Signor, e vero è . . ." given by Girardi and others, would be allowable, although 1504 for the first would probably be a little early.

Some clue may be given by the subject-matter. Three of the poems, "Grato e felice . . .," "Che è quel . . .," and "Come può esser . . ." deal with the pains inflicted by Love on one formerly immune to its charms. Whether they reflect Michelangelo's own experience of the helplessness of one suddenly and unexpectedly overcome by love – as the compiler is inclined to think – or whether they are simply poetic exercises, the emphasis on eyes has obvious resonance with Michelangelo's concentration on them in his drawings, and the stress on physical beauty has patent – if general – relation to his painting and sculpture. More specific, perhaps, is the reference to chains and constraint in "Che è quel . . .," which obviously links closely with the theme of the prisoners on the Tomb of Julius II.

"Colui che 'l tutto fe . . ." is a more general meditation on beauty and shows a train of thought akin to the legend of Zeuxis, which Michelangelo would certainly have known, selecting the most beautiful forms out of which to make his "divin'arte," a process paralleled by Michelangelo himself, who strove to idealise his figures. It is, however, a timeless meditation, and could apply to any period in Michelangelo's early career.

It is "Signor se vero è . . ." that seems most specific. It has, from the time of Michelangelo the Younger, been taken to refer to Michelangelo's problems with Julius II, and this is surely correct. The emphasis on the speaker's servitude, on the master's power (but over the speaker's ambitions rather than his affections) but lack of concern, the reference to the symbols of Justice – a fresco of which was commissioned by Julius from Raphael – and above all the reference to the tree (the scrub-oak, the *rovere* of Julius' name) make this a virtual certainty. Indeed, in one of his earliest projects for the Pope's tomb of 1505, Michelangelo had prominently portrayed the oak as a source of nourishment (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. 62931/BT 132/Corpus 489; pen and ink over black chalk, 509 × 318 mm). This motif was reduced in later projects, as it is in the Sistine ceiling, but it would have been very much in Michelangelo's mind in the period immediately following his flight from Rome, which would support a date for that poem and the others of 1506.

Drawn Copies

A on the recto was copied c. 1580 by Andrea Commodi on the recto of Uffizi 18622F, and again, with B from the recto, on the verso of the same sheet.

History

Casa Buonarroti; Jean-Baptiste Wicar?; William Young Ottley (his sale, 6 June 1814, etc., lot 1758, "One – masterly studies of horses; one a skirmish intended probably for the cartoon of Pisa – one of Michel Angelo's sonnets in his own handwriting on the back. From the Buonarroti collection." £23.2.0.); Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Ottley sale, 6 June 1814, etc., lot 1758 ("One – masterly studies of horses; one a skirmish intended probably for the cartoon of Pisa – one of Michel Angelo's sonnets in his own handwriting on the back. From the Buonarroti collection." £23.2.0.). Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–99] ("A very singular sheet being studies for part of a Horse etc., on the back is a Sonnet by M. Angelo."). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 55 ("[T]he horses are evidently drawn from life . . . at the time he was undecided as to the subject for the cartoon of Pisa."). Woodburn, 1842, no. 30 (As 1836.). Woodburn, 1853, pl. 29 (Recto reproduced.); pl. 31 (Verso reproduced.). Fisher, 1862, p. 5, pl. 21 (Recto.). Guasti, 1863, pp. 50, 90, 156, 280 (Poems transcribed from a manuscript copy, Codex XV, by Michelangelo the Younger preserved in Casa Buonarroti.). Fisher, 1865, II, p. 24, pl. 21 (As 1862.). Robinson, 1870, pp. 325–6, no. 18 and (Michel Angelo. Horse studies from nature, made in preparation for *Cascina*; "The small fighting group is doubtless a sketch for a portion of the background of . . . [*Cascina*] representing the attack of the Pisan horsemen on the unprepared Florentines," depicted in [Cat. 5]. Three poems transcribed.). Fisher, 1872, II, p. 22, pl. 21 (As 1862.). Black, 1875, p. 213, no. 18. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 231. Fisher, 1879, p. 11, no. 13 (For *Cascina*). Portheim, 1889, p. 144 (Sketch of cavalryman fighting infantry very close to Leonardo's chalk sketches for *Anghiari*, and shows "dass es schwer wird . . . and die Selbständigkeit . . . [Michelangelo] zu glauben."). K. Frey, 1897, pp. 2–5, 303–6, nos. II–IV (Poems transcribed; dated early. Among the poems [2] is the first and [1] the last. The drawings were made for *Cascina*, by October 1504.). Berenson, 1903, I, pp. 177–8, no. 1558 ("I question whether in the whole range of Italian art, not excepting even Leonardo, we shall find another horse so like to the real animal, and so close to the horse as contemporary art since Géricault has represented him." "[A]s free from convention as a horse by Meissonier – nay by Degas.").

Colvin, 1904, IV, no. 6 (Recto: probably of 1504 for background incidents in *Cascina*; “Michelangelo’s commanding power of eye and hand as a pen-draughtsman in his earlier years is scarcely anywhere better illustrated than here.”). Thode, 1908, I, p. 101 (For *Cascina*). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 141 (Life studies in preparation for *Cascina*. The small battle scene follows [Cat. 7] and prepares [Cat. 5]). Thode, 1913, no. 402 (As 1908. Battle sketch shows technical influence of Leonardo.). Panofsky, 1921–2, col. 52 (Second poem probably dates 1510–11, not 1506.). Popp, 1922, pp. 159–62 (c. 1525–6. [D] a study for [Cat. 5]; both transformed by Michelangelo in the upper part of [Cat. 34]). Zoff, 1923, pl. 18 (Recto.). It. exh., 1930, no. 500. Popham, 1931, no. 209. De Tolnay, 1935, p. 43 (This and [Cat. 5] are, as “Popp has convincingly shown, studies for the upper scene of... the *Brazen Serpent*” [Cat. 34] [which]... are probably designs for the lunettes above the Medici Tombs.”). Baumgart, 1937, pp. 3–5, 29–30 (Horse studies support the view that a cavalry battle was proposed for *Cascina*. D follows the right-hand half of BM W3/Corpus 36 and prepares [Cat. 5]. Competition with Leonardo’s *Anghiari*). Berenson, 1938, I, p. 193, no. 1558 (As 1903.). Bertini, 1942 [ed. 1983], p. 54 (For *Cascina*). De Tolnay, 1948, pp. 49, 215, no. 96 ([D] “a first draft for” [Cat. 34]; c. 1525.). Goldscheider, 1951, nos. 44 recto, 45 verso (Not for *Cascina*. Datable in 1520s, perhaps for a battle scene in the Sala di Costantino, which Sebastiano was attempting to wrest from Raphael’s pupils; sonnets probably connected with Clement VII.). Wilde, 1953a, p. 8 ([Cats. 4, 5] “more elaborate versions of the right half” of W3/Corpus 36.). Wilde, 1953b, p. 74 ([D] is “a more clearly defined variant of the right half of the battle-scene in” BM W3/Corpus 36.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 8 (c. 1506, probably for *Cascina*. Sketch links with BM W3/Corpus 36 and [Cat. 5]). Parker, 1956, no. 293 (About 1505 for *Cascina*. Battle sketch relates to BM W3 recto/Corpus 36 and [Cat. 5]. Reports Goldscheider’s connection of horse studies with a wax model of a horse [ex-Volpi Collection] which he attributes to Michelangelo.). Dussler, 1959, no. 191 (Recto: horse studies drawn first. Battle sketch connected with BM W3/Corpus 36 and [Cat. 5] for *Cascina*. Influence of Leonardo.). Girardi, 1960/1967, pp. 3–6 (Transcriptions of the poems.). Exh. London, 1960, no. 531. Berenson, 1961, no. 1558 (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1962, p. 257. Gilbert, 1963/1970, pp. 4, 6–8 (Verse translations of the poems.). Barocchi, 1964c, no. 14 (1505 seems most likely date. Transcription of poems.). De Tolnay, 1964e, col. 878 (Sketches for cavalry battles; “It may be deduced that at the beginning he tried to harmonise his composition with Leonardo’s *Battle of Anghiari*; but he seems to have realised he could not compete in this field, so he decided to confine him-

self to the representation of nudes... In the last version there appear to have been no horsemen, or, if there were, they must have been in the background.”). Berti, 1965, pp. 408, 411 (Leonardesque in inspiration; for *Cascina*). Goldscheider, 1965, nos. 43, 44 recto, 45 verso (As 1951; “no definite proof that Michelangelo made any studies of horses and cavalry battles for... [Cascina]. Studies linked... sonnet refers to Cardinal Giulio and cancellation of San Lorenzo façade.”). De Tolnay, 1965/1966, pp. 506, 515 (Study of a horse perhaps made in preparation for a bronze handle of an ink stand, designed for the Duke of Urbino in 1537. The script of the poems on the verso suggests a date of c. 1525 and that of the poetical fragments in the margins, c. 1537. The drawing perhaps related to the wax model formerly in the Volpi Collection.). Sutton, 1970, no. 12 (Summary of divergent views.). Hartt, 1971, no. 30 (Recto: “quiet body of a horse is studied as if it were a human nude.” Link with BM W3/Corpus 36.). De Tolnay, 1972, pp. 70–1 (Battle scene not for *Cascina* but related to a design by Michelangelo for a *Conversion of Saul*, planned for the façade of San Lorenzo, c. 1518.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 7 (The small battle scene connects with BM W3/Corpus 36 and [Cat. 5]; the “static poses of the larger-scale horses hardly suggest a connexion with this spirited composition, unless they are studies made from the life in preparation for representing horses in movement.”). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 102 (Recto: c. 1517, connected with project for façade of San Lorenzo. Verso: right-hand column seems to be in handwriting of c. 1506, the other writing c. 1515–20.). Macandrew, 1980, p. 264 (“The principal study on the *recto* was copied by Andrea Commodi on Uffizi 18622F.”). Joannides, 1981b, p. 681 (For *Cascina*; influence of Leonardo.). Hirst, 1988, p. 11 (“Michelangelo was here prepared to follow Leonardo’s example in studying... [horses] from life.”). Ryan, 1996, pp. 3–7 (Transcriptions, following Girardi, and prose translations of the poems.); pp. 259–63 (Notes on the poems.). Ryan, 1998, pp. 43–5 (Discussion of “Signor, se vero è...”). Perrig, 1999, p. 247 (By Michelangelo; from via Mozza studio.).

CATALOGUE 5

A Combat Between a Cavalryman and Six Infantrymen
1846.40; R.16; P.II 294; Corpus 103

Dimensions: 179 × 251 mm

Medium

Pen and iron gall ink, which has corroded the paper, with and over black chalk; traces of stylus indentation.



Condition

The sheet is drummed by the four edges to the backboard of the mount, and the verso is not visible. There are several areas of loss with historic toned infills, and repairs are visible, together with severe pressed-out creases. There is uneven discolouration, local media staining, and ingrained dirt. The medium is abraded, worn, and faded.

Inscriptions

Lower centre, in pen and ink: *Michel Angelo Buonarota*, perhaps recording a previous inscription. The hand responsible is identified by Parker as that of Michelangelo's great-nephew, Michelangelo the Younger, and this is accepted by Barocchi, 1964c, but the handwriting does not seem to the compiler close to that of the restoration of the poems 3 and 4 on Cat. 4 verso, and it is hard to believe that the Younger Michelangelo would have produced so eccentric a spelling of his great uncle's Christian name. Indeed, the compiler is minded to reject this identification. If, however, it could be shown to be correct, and if the inscription replaces an earlier one by the *Buona Rota* Collector, as the truncated number of the Irregular Num-

bering Collector at the lower right edge would suggest, then it would imply that this or these collection(s) was or were dispersed as a whole or in part within the lifetime of Michelangelo the Younger (1568–1647), giving him the opportunity to acquire it.

Lower right edge, the irregular numbering: *no.* (cut by the edge of the sheet).

Description

A cavalryman charging forward in pursuit of a fleeing man, with two others falling below the hoofs of his horse, is assailed by pikemen at left and right.

Discussion

This drawing was clearly developed from the sketch on Cat. 4, which, in turn, was developed from the right side of the compositional drawing on W3/Corpus 36 (pen and ink, 186 × 183 mm), in which the central element is a collision of lance-bearing cavalymen. A series of drawings indicates that Michelangelo was planning a battle between cavalymen and between cavalymen and infantry at this time. It is probable that this was to be a subsidiary part of the *Battle of Cascina*, although not all critics have accepted this hypothesis, and it cannot positively be

proved. It might, for example, be argued that Michelangelo volunteered to take over the *Battle of Anghiari* as well when it became evident that Leonardo would not proceed. Such an argument might be reinforced by repeating the observation made by Clark (see Clark and Pedretti, 1969, p. 34) that the foremost horse and rider on the British Museum drawing – and indeed some other sketches on Michelangelo's sheet – is very similar in form to a group on a drawing by Leonardo in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle (12340/CP p. 34; red chalk, 168 × 240 mm). It could also be argued that these drawings copy groups conceived by Leonardo, but this, while not impossible, seems improbable. It could hardly be denied, however, that the group reflects Leonardo's influence.

A dating of the British Museum sketch to around 1504 seems secure because it is surmounted by a drawing intended for one of the Duomo Apostles – probably Saint John the Evangelist – commissioned from him in April 1503. This sketch shows a clash between two sets of cavalymen, with two pairs on each side, a fallen man and horse on the left, and several infantrymen attempting to engage with the far right-hand horseman. This group, although very lightly sketched, contains a figure running forward, worked out more fully in Cat. 4 and the present drawing, and re-used some twenty-five years later in Cat. 34 recto. The pose of the rider here, incidentally, may reflect knowledge of the same antique to which Michelangelo referred in Cat. 7: the *Discobolus*.

As in Cat. 4, the head of the horse is no more than outlined, but its terrified twist to the right is clearly conveyed and highly expressive, demonstrating Michelangelo's command of animal as well as human body-language.

Drawn Copies

1. A copy in black chalk and charcoal with touches of red chalk, is in the Accademia, Venice (Inv. 78/Valenti Rodinò, 1989, no. 2; 210 × 228 mm). This bears on its verso the number 1663 (probably an inventory number rather than a date), and a nineteenth-century inscription, probably by Bossi, *Siciolante da Sermoneta*, which is clearly incorrect. Valenti Rodinò suggests that it is by a sixteenth-century artist not far from Naldini, which seems plausible to the compiler. Some details of the figures are clearer in the copy than they now are in the original, and it also includes, at the right edge, the head of another horse not (or not now) found in the original.
2. Two partial copies of sections of this composition were made by Sir Edward Burne-Jones in 1866–7, on fols. 40 verso and 41 recto of his sketchbook in the Fitzwilliam

Museum, Cambridge, 1070–2 (see Østermark-Johansen, 1998, pp. 122, 124, fig. 30).

History

Parker gives the provenance as Casa Buonarroti, presumably in the belief that the inscription was made by Michelangelo the Younger, but no other evidence substantiates such a provenance, which is not followed by any later writer. It is possible, but far from certain, that this drawing is *Un Viluppo de cavallini* by Michelangelo, recorded in the posthumous inventory of Antonio Tronsarelli in 1601 as A50, with no mention of medium. If so, then 1601 would be either a *terminus post quem* for the entry of the drawing into the collections of the *Buona Rota* Collector and the Irregular Numbering Collector, or a *terminus ante quem* for the dispersal of the collections of the *Buona Rota* Collector and the Irregular Numbering Collector; William Young Ottley (his sale, 6 June 1814, etc., lot 1759, “One – a masterly pen sketch for a battle or skirmish intended perhaps for the same cartoon [as Cat. 7] – very fine.” £9.9.0.) [In contrast with the immediately preceding drawing lot 1958 [Cat. 4], no provenance is given.]; Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Ottley, 1808–23, p. 27n (“There exists no doubt in my mind as to the introduction of these groups [of cavalymen] in the background; though I consider them to have been represented at a great distance, and consequently in figures of very small dimensions. I possess, indeed, two slight pen sketches which I have always been convinced were made by Michelangiolo for this part of the work. The one [Cat. 5]; the other [Cat. 7] a skirmish between two small bodies of cavaliers.”). Ottley sale, 6 June 1814, etc., lot 1759 (“One – a masterly pen sketch for a battle or skirmish intended perhaps for the same cartoon [as Cat. 7] – very fine”. £9.9.0.). Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonaroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–106] (“An idea for the Fighting of the Standard differently composed to that of L. da Vinci.”?). Woodburn, 1842, no. 10 (“Warriors fighting, for the Cartoon . . . also the Conversion of Saint Paul. . . From the Collection of W. Y. Ottley Esq.”). Woodburn, 1846, no. 23 (As 1842.). Robinson, 1870, no. 16 (Michel Angelo. Probably for *Cascina*; linked with “the smaller and still more rudimentary sketch of fighting soldiers on [Cat. 4].”) Black, 1875, p. 213, no. 16. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 231. Fisher, 1879, p. 4, pl. 12 (Probably for *Cascina*). K. Frey, 1897, p. 305 (*Cascina* included cavalymen; drawings done in second half of 1504.). Berenson, 1903, I, p. 177, no. 1556

("[O]ne of Michelangelo's most spontaneous and brilliant drawings... [impossible] without the impulse given by Leonardo." Probably for *Cascina* but possibly for a Sistine medallion.). Thode, 1908, I, p. 101 (For *Cascina*). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 132 (For *Cascina*; pyramidal composition characteristic of Florentine pictorial organisation.). Thode, 1913, no. 400 (For *Cascina*, but uncertain where it was to be placed; technical influence of Leonardo.). Popp, 1922, pp. 98, 159–62 (c. 1530, follows from [Cat. 4D]. "Aus dem Reiterangriff, den er über dem Giuliano-grabmal geplant hatte, macht er einen Angriff der Schlangen auf des israelitische Volk," in upper section of [Cat. 34].). Zoff, 1923, pl. 21. Baumgart, 1937, pp. 5–6 (Follows the right-hand half of BM W3/Corpus 36 and [Cat. 4D]. These drawings raise the question of how they were to be related to the Bathers.). Berenson, 1938, I, p. 193, no. 1556 (As 1903.). Bertini, 1942 [ed. 1983], pp. 42–3 ("la mischia confusa... in cui il tratteggio a penna crea un effetto di sgorbio o di macchia quasi informe, ma dall'informe massa erompe l'impressione travolgente di un impeto vorticoso... è evidente il... stimolo leonardesco."). De Tolnay, 1948, p. 218, no. 106 (Developed from [Cat. 4], c. 1525. Related in spirit to [Cat. 34], for Medici Chapel lunettes.). Goldscheider, 1951, no. 46 (Not for *Cascina*. Datable in 1520s, perhaps for a battle in the Sala di Costantino, a commission Sebastiano was attempting to wrest from Raphael's pupils.). Wilde, 1953a, p. 8 ("[M]ore elaborate version of the right half of BM W3/Corpus 36."). Wilde, 1953b, p. 74 ("Michelangelo's nearest approach to the world of forms contained in Leonardo's *Anghiari* studies. The rider and the two foot-soldiers on the right may have been borrowed from them; the one fallen on his back with his left leg stretched upwards is... found in three variants on... Venice [Inv. 214; pen and ink over black chalk, 87 × 152 mm]... [T]he violence of the fighting is truly Leonardesque. In this and the fullness of plastic effect the group equals the *Fight for the Standard*. Yet... the arrangement of forms follows the principle... underlying Michelangelo's inventions: on the sides forms which are close to an imaginary ground-plane; between them an articulate mass of bulging but continuous convexity, with a vertical axis or strong accent (the horse's neck and head) in the centre. The square block within which the limits of which this extreme example of high relief has been conceived is tangible."). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 10 (c. 1506, probably for *Cascina*). Parker, 1956, II, no. 294 (For *Cascina*; developed from the composition lightly sketched on [Cat. 4].). Dussler, 1959, no. 190 (c. 1505. Linked with BM W3/Corpus 36 and [Cat. 4], certainly for *Cascina*. Disagrees with Popp's dating, notes that she accepted

an early date for W3; disagrees also with Goldscheider's suggestion.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1556 (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1962, p. 18 (Similarities to CB23F/B9/Corpus 29, for *Doni Tondo*). Brugnoli, 1964, no. 15 (For *Cascina*; inspiration of Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari*). Barocchi, 1964c, no. 13 (1505 seems most likely date. Inscription in the hand of Michelangelo the Younger.). De Tolnay, 1964e, col. 878 (Sketches for cavalry battles; "It may be deduced that at the beginning he tried to harmonise his composition with Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari*; but he seems to have realised he could not compete in this field, so he decided to confine himself to the representation of nudes... In the last version there appear to have been no horsemen, or, if there were, they must have been in the background."). Berti, 1965, pp. 408, 411 (For *Cascina*. Follows from BM W3/Corpus 36.). Goldscheider, 1965, no. 46 (As 1951.). Keller, 1966, II, p. 8 (For *Cascina*). Forlani Tempesti, 1970, no. XII (For *Cascina*). Hartt, 1971, no. 31 (1504. "One of the most powerful battle scenes in Western art." Probably for *Cascina*; developed from W3/Corpus 36 and [Cat. 4].). De Tolnay, 1972, pp. 70–1 (Battle scene not for *Cascina* but related to a design by Michelangelo for a *Conversion of Saul*, planned for the façade of San Lorenzo, c. 1518.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 9 ("Probably connected with... *Cascina*."). Keller, 1975, no. 22 (For *Cascina*, shortly before November 1504.). De Tolnay, Corpus I, 1975, no. 103 (c. 1517: A *Conversion of Saint Paul* or *Expulsion of Heliodorus* for the façade of San Lorenzo.). Keller, 1976, fig. 150 (For *Cascina*, shortly before November 1504.). Joannides, 1981b, p. 681 (For *Cascina*; influence of Leonardo.). Lamarche-Vadel, 1981, p. 27, no. 27 (For *Cascina*, 1504.). De Vecchi, 1984, pl. 10 (For *Cascina*). Hirst, 1986a, p. 48 ("[U]n'idea per un elemento in distanza o di secondaria importanza nella scena; e i larghi tratti 'astratti' a penna, anticipano le larghe pennellate della distante figura di Noe" [in the *Drunkenness of Noah*]). Hirst, 1988, p. 45 (For *Cascina*. "could have been made before he left Florence... in the spring of 1505... Or they may date from after his return, nearly a year later." This sheet "takes up a theme sketched in... [Cat. 4]." "made for a part of the fresco of secondary importance, for figures substantially distant from the front plane... this fact explains its impressionist appearance."). Hirst, 1988–9a, 1988–9b, no. 8 (As 1988. This episode was probably situated to the right. Significance of differential definition in Michelangelo's painting.). Perrig, 1999, p. 247 (By Michelangelo; from via Mozza studio.). Franklin, 2001, p. 69 ("[C]learly intended for a different part of the image – the artist's only formal concession to Leonardo relegated to the deep background.").



CATALOGUE 6

A Cavalryman on Horseback Throwing a Javelin and Other Sketches

1846.41; R.17; P.II 295; Corpus 39

Dimensions: 190 × 258 mm

Watermark: Robinson Appendix no. 4. Roberts Cross B. This watermark is no longer readily visible since the sheet has been laid down. The same watermark is found on Cat. 7.

Medium

Pen and brown ink with stylus indentation, soft black chalk.

Condition

The upper edge is partially torn with an additional strip repair and a repaired tear. The outer margins are wrinkled and discoloured. There is some abrasion, foxing, and discolouration, with black accretions and some surface dirt. The verso is not visible.

Description and Transcriptions

A. A structural sketch of a man's back, in pen. This might be related to D or to H.

B. Above, covered by E: *Amis*, and, immediately below this, *ing*(?)

C. *Amis. ami sarebbe*, in Michelangelo's hand

D. A horseman charging from left to right, probably throwing a javelin.

E. Outlines of an opposing cavalryman (in stylus, visible only in raking light).

It is probable that D and E were the first drawings to be made on this page.

With the left edge as base

F(1). A horse, outlined in left profile, its front legs rising, the head turned back.

F(2). F(1) altered to convey a staggering movement.

G. Erased, above F, probably the sketch of a figure, seen from back.

With the right edge as base

H. The right shoulder and upper arm of a man, seen from the rear.

I. Indecipherable.

J. Traces of an erased and illegible inscription (just below A).

With the upper edge as base

K. Traces of writing, probably the upper sections of an inscription on an old mount, which overlapped it and impinged on the drawing.

Discussion

The compiler can see no justification for Parker's view that this page bears drawings by any hand other than Michelangelo's. The pen and stylus drawings and inscriptions probably came first. The charging horseman was presumably made with a background group in the *Battle of Cascina* in mind. Although the forms indicated by Michelangelo at the lower right corner of the sheet cannot clearly be deciphered, they seem to represent a modified reversal of D, and it is probable that Michelangelo was thinking of showing a battle of opposed cavalrymen, no doubt inspired by Leonardo's complementary scheme. As noted previously, the rapid sketch of a combat found on a drawing in the British Museum (W3 recto/Corpus 36) is an imaginative variant of Leonardo's design.

A further link with Leonardo is suggested by the black chalk sketch of a horse, the first version of which may have been inspired by the rearing mount of Leonardo's leading Florentine cavalryman. Michelangelo overdrew this sketch in order to convert it to a staggering, no doubt wounded horse.

A page of sketches in the British Museum (1946-7-13-635; pen and ink, 172 × 252 mm; see Joannides 2002b, fig. 11), classed with the unmounted drawings attributed to Raffaello da Montelupo, but in the compiler's view not by him, contains two outline sketches of cavalrymen in action, which are similar to – but not copied from – A, plus a fallen horse, which may well be developed from F2 but which, once again, is not a copy of it. It is likely that these drawings are same-size copies of lost autograph sketches by Michelangelo, made at the same time as those on the present sheet and in part developing them. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the British Museum page also contains same-size copies of the pen sketches of fighting men on a sheet by Michelangelo in Haarlem (Teyler Museum A28 verso/VT 31/Corpus 108; pen and ink and red chalk, 285 × 207 mm); even though the date of this drawing is debated, it seems likely to be from around the middle of the first decade.

The compiler is inclined to think that the structural pen study of a back, A, was made for the cavalryman D. If so, although it shows the back from an angle that would not be seen in the final image, it would demonstrate Michelangelo's concern to give his design full anatomical accuracy. However, an alternative suggestion, made to the compiler by W. Dreesmann (personal communication and with reference to the view of Hartt) is that the study is connected with the leftmost nude figure in the *Bathers* group, and the two are close enough to make this plausible. Dr. Dreesmann further suggests that H was also made with reference to this figure; as he notes, H “displays the three peculiar rounded shapes for back muscles, an indication of the triceps on the upper arm, and the marked tip of the elbow. All . . . distinct features [that] appear in the leftmost nude of the Holkham *Cascina*.” If this interpretation is correct, then the fact that Michelangelo made studies for this figure on the same page as sketches for a cavalry clash may suggest that he thought of the two as especially related. In the Holkham panel, the leftmost figure turns his head towards his left: Perhaps he was intended to be looking at a clash of cavalry in the background.

Drawn Copies

D was copied by Andrea Commodi c. 1580 on both the recto and the verso of Uffizi 18620F, and F(1) was copied on the recto.

History

Casa Buonarroti by c. 1580; Jean-Baptiste Wicar?; William Young Ottley his sale?, 6–13 July 1807, part of lot 376, “Two – a fight of cavaliers, black chalk and pen CAPITAL; and a group of five figures, half length, pen and bistre, fine” bought in ?; his sale, 6 June 1814, etc., lot 1681, “one – a man on horseback defending himself – fine pen – intended perhaps for the cartoon of Pisa; – another horse in black chalk – from the Buonarroti collection – most spirited”; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Ottley (his sale?, 6–13 July 1807, part of lot 376 “a fight of cavaliers, black chalk and pen CAPITAL.”). Ottley, 1808–23, p. 27n (“There exists no doubt in my mind as to the introduction of these groups [of cavalrymen] in the background; though I consider them to have been represented at a great distance, and consequently in figures of very small dimensions. I possess, indeed, two slight pen sketches which I have always been convinced were made by Michelangiolo for this part of the work. The one represents a combat between two

cavalrymen; the other” [Cat. 5].). Ottley (his sale, 6 June 1814, etc., lot 1681, “one – a man on horseback defending himself – fine pen – intended perhaps for the cartoon of Pisa; – another horse in black chalk – from the Buonarroti collection – most spirited” £5.10.0.). Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti, Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–112] (“Sketches for the *Battle of the Standard*”?). Woodburn, 1842, no. 67 (“Study of Horses etc. – for the Horse in the great Fresco in the Sistine Chapel [sic] of the *Conversion of Saint. Paul*.”). Woodburn, 1846, no. 18 (As 1842.). Robinson, 1870, no. 17 (Michelangelo. “The charging horseman is apparently one of the Pisan soldiers attacking the bathing Florentines. The stumbling horse is very similar to the horse in [Cat. 4] but it is turned in the contrary direction.”). Black, 1875, p. 213, no. 17. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 226. Berenson, 1903, I, p. 178, no. 1557 ([D] probably for *Cascina*; the “scrawls in black chalk . . . do not seem to be Michelangelo’s.”). Thode, 1908, I, p. 101 (For *Cascina*). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 142 ([D] authentic for *Cascina*, perhaps linked with W3 recto/Corpus 36; [F and H] doubtful; [A and E] by another hand; inscriptions not autograph.). Thode, 1913, no. 401 (For *Cascina*; all four sketches authentic. The fallen horse re-used later in the BM *Fall of Phaeton* drawing/W55/Corpus 340.). Baumgart, 1937, p. 31 (Not by Michelangelo; school of Leonardo.). Berenson, 1938, no. 1557 (As 1903.). Wilde, 1953a, p. 8 ([Cat. 6] is a “variant of the left-hand rider” in BM W3/Corpus 36. Also contains a sketch in lead point, now hardly visible, for one of the bathers.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 5 (1503–4, probably for *Cascina*). Parker, 1956, no. 295 (Drawing raises some difficult points. That two riders are tilting at one another argues against a connection with *Cascina*, in which the combat was of cavalrymen against foot soldiers. The black chalk study of a horse, which is probably not by Michelangelo, should be seen with the top edge as base in which it becomes clear that the hatching is left handed and perhaps by Montelupo imitating a horse in Michelangelo’s *Fall of Phaeton*. But the pen sketch is superior to Montelupo’s work.). Dussler, 1959, no. 603 (Rejected. Chalk sketches came first.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1557 (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1962, p. 316 (Type of horse reflected in Uffizi 605E verso/B269 [given by Hirst, 1961, p. 239, to Salviati]). Hartt, 1971, no. 34 (1504; probably “intended for the scene at the upper left of the final composition” of *Cascina*; D for “the figure climbing out of the water” in the Holkham panel.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 5 (“Probably connected with . . . *Cascina*”; Parker’s view of chalk studies cited.). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 39 (Michelangelo, for *Cascina*. Inscriptions in Michelangelo’s handwriting, c. 1504–5.). Sisi, 1988, no. 44. (For *Cascina*.).

CATALOGUE 7

Recto: The Torso of a Bending Figure, Seen from the Back

Verso: A Groom? Assisting a Cavalryman to Mount His Horse

1846.42; R.19; P.II 296; Corpus 41

Dimensions: 262 × 173 mm, torn diagonally and made up substantially at the upper left and lower right

Watermark: Roberts Cross B; not recorded in Briquet (this watermark is found also on Cat. 6).

Medium

Recto: Pen and ink over black chalk, perhaps modified in black chalk.

Verso: Black chalk over traces of stylus indentation.

Condition

There are many nicks and some tears on the edges, plus a small hole and major historic toned infills. The sheet has inherent creasing and other horizontal pressed-out folds with ingrained dirt, running into the image. The paper is fractured in the areas of heavier ink application. There is discolouration, local staining, and fibrous accretion; tissue repairs are visible on the verso. There is severe show-through to the verso of ink from the recto.

Inscriptions

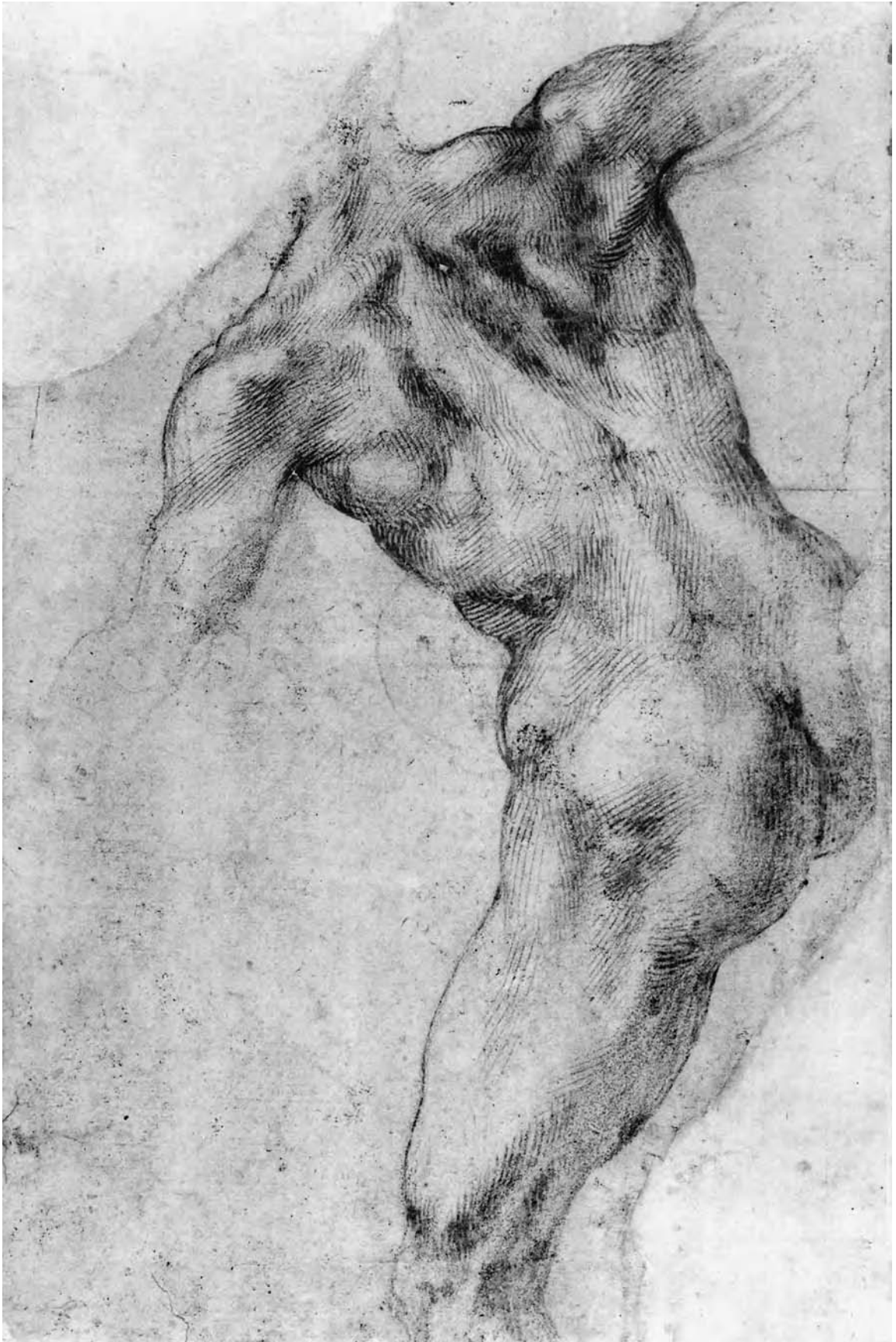
Verso: Upper left: *de micaelangno/e* (?) and, below *cliii*?

Upper right: *Michaelangilo/2.3* on a made-up section

Discussion

The verso drawing, certainly the original recto, in soft black chalk, Michelangelo’s characteristic technique at this period for the initial establishment of figures and groups, was no doubt made before the recto. It shows a man helping another to mount a horse and exemplifies Michelangelo’s capacity to turn a minor anecdotal detail into a profound statement about endeavour and assistance. It is probable that this was one of the episodes in the *Battle of Cascina*, but the fact that both figures are nude does not prove the link because they might simply be studied in the nude for subsequent draping.

Between this chalk drawing and the recto study, where the back, shoulders, and buttocks of the supporting figure are studied in detail, would have intervened a drawing in the Casa Buonarroti (9F/B5/Corpus 40; pen and ink over black chalk, 284 × 210 mm), where the structure of this form, in the same pose, is analysed in rapidly penned outline, close to an *écorché* mode. It is possible that CB9F and the present sheet might once have been one.





The recto, the original verso, of the present sheet is one of the four surviving developed figure studies in pen that Michelangelo certainly made for figures in the *Cascina*; the three others are: Louvre Inv. 712 recto/J7/Corpus 42; pen and ink over black chalk, 248 × 95 mm; BM W6 recto/Corpus 52; pen and ink with white heightening over black chalk, 420 × 285 mm; and Albertina BK123 recto/Corpus 53; pen and ink over black chalk, 266 × 194 mm. These three are all studies for foreground or pivotal figures in the central group of the *Bathers* as it is known from the fullest and what seems to be the most accurate surviving copy, that by Aristotile da Sangallo at Holkham Hall. The other surviving figure drawings that may certainly be connected with the scheme are in chalk. This could be merely accident of survival, but it may be that Michelangelo executed in pen those figures where an emphatic plasticity was most necessary. Among the developed figure-studies in pen, only the present one is not found in the scheme as we know it, but the inference would be that this group, too, of a cavalryman being assisted to mount, was part of, or near to, the foreground, and it suggests that the composition was more elaborately worked out to the left and the right of the central *Bathers* group than is sometimes supposed. Indeed, the present study provides the best evidence for this, given that the other drawings associable with subsidiary parts of *Cascina* are sketchier.

Both CB9F and the drawing on the recto of the present sheet concentrate on the back of the torso of the assisting figure, the former establishing the underlying structure and the latter, the surface modulations. The pose shows knowledge of some version of the antique *Discobolus* and demonstrates Michelangelo's alternation between study of the antique and of life. Whether there is a direct connection can only be conjectural, but the recto drawing and CB9F bear a strong resemblance to the torso of the murderer in Titian's destroyed *Assassination of Saint Peter Martyr*, a painting in which St. Peter's fleeing companion is derived from Michelangelo's Sistine *Haman*. Titian was certainly aware of at least one drawing by Michelangelo, and he might well have known others, in the original or in copy.

Drawn Copies

A copy of the verso was made by Sir Edward Burne-Jones in 1866–7, on fol. 39 recto of his sketchbook in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1070–2.

History

That given by Woodburn and following him, Robinson and Parker includes Sir Peter Lely which, while not impossible is unlikely. His stamp is not to be found on the

drawing. The inscription at the upper left of the verso is very similar to that on the upper left of the verso of a drawing in the Louvre, Inv. 706/J1/Corpus 3, once thought to be that of P. Le Tessier de Montarsy, whose collection was dispersed in 1712, but which, it now appears, was made by an unidentified French collector of, no doubt, a somewhat earlier date. If so, this would have given William Gibson, whose annotation and pricing code are found at the upper right of the verso, the opportunity to acquire it. Gibson's inscription is on a made-up section of the sheet; consequently, it must have been repaired – either by himself or a previous owner – before he inscribed it. The sheet's provenance after Gibson is derived from Robinson and is presumably correct, but it should be noted that Richardson's stamp cannot now be found, which would suggest either that the drawing has been trimmed or that the stamp was placed on a now-lost mount: Jonathan Richardson Senior; Benjamin West (L.419); Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Lawrence Inventory, 1830 M. A. Buonaroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–98] (“Study on [sic of?] the back of a Figure, on the reverse is the same in small, with more of the Composition.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 5 (Provenance includes Sir Peter Lely.). Robinson, 1870, no. 19 (Michel Angelo. “Exact resemblance in style to” British Museum W3/Corpus 36. Is a “study from nature for the horse in this very composition. The group is obviously one of those prepared for, and in all probability actually introduced into, the background of the Cartoon: it represents a man-at-arms, assisted by his groom or esquire, hurriedly mounting his horse, naked as he had rushed out of the river, and hastening to repel the sudden onslaught of the Pisan forces.” For *Cascina*; linked with “the smaller and still more rudimentary sketch of fighting soldiers on” [Cat. 4].). Black, 1875, p. 213, no. 19. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 234. Berenson, 1903, I, p. 178, no. 1559 (Probably for *Cascina*. Recto: “rough and spirited.” Verso: “one of Michelangelo's best pen sketches.”). Colvin, 1906, V, nos. 9A, 9B (Verso and recto: for background of *Cascina*.). Köhler, 1907, pp. 142–3 (Sketch for one of the background groups; provides stylistic support for the ascription to Michelangelo of Uffizi 613E/B4/Corpus 45.). Thode, 1908, I, p. 101 (For *Cascina*.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 202 (Recto: study for the verso figure; influence of Roman marbles. Overworked by a later hand in black chalk.); no. 201a (Verso: for *Cascina*.). Thode, 1913, no. 403 (As 1908; sketch for CB 9F verso/B5/Corpus 40.). Panofsky, 1922, p. 8 (1504–5, studies for background episodes in *Cascina*. Verso: the pose indebted to Myron's *Discobolus*, known c. 1500. Recto: moves away from antique under

the influence of nature.). Brinckmann, 1925, no. 7 (Verso: Rejects Panofsky's link with *Discobolus*.). Popp, 1925a, p. 74 (Recto: "echt." Verso: questionable; the horse type is of the mid-sixteen century, various examples cited.). It. exh., 1930, no. 519. Popham, 1931, no. 210 (Verso: for *Cascina*.). Baumgart, 1937, p. 131 (Verso: Daniele da Volterra.). Berenson, 1938, I, pp. 193–4, no. 1559 (As 1903; CB 9F verso/B5/Corpus 40 is a copy of torso.). Delacre, 1938, p. 533. Bertini, 1942 [ed. 1983], p. 43 (Verso: typical of example of broader style "dal quale risulta un effetto piú fluido e morbido."). De Tolnay, 1943, p. 188, nos. 27, 28 (Recto and verso: copies; cites Panofsky on *Discobolus* motif.). Goldscheider, 1951, p. 29 (Recto and verso: copies after Michelangelo.). Wilde, 1953a, p. 8 ("[F]or a third group, representing the assembly of the Florentine cavalry."). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 11 (Verso scene no doubt for *Cascina*; "Cf. also the figure in the back row of [the Holkham grisaille]."). Parker, 1956, no. 296 (Both sides authentic, for *Cascina*. CB 9F verso/B5/Corpus 40 also autograph. Inscription identified as Gibson's.). Dussler, 1959, no. 344 (Verso: developed from CB 9F verso/B5/Corpus 40. Questionable attribution but not by Daniele; uncertain which version of *Discobolus* Michelangelo might have seen.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1559 (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1962, p. 11 (Verso: prepared by CB 9F verso/B5/Corpus 40.). Barocchi, 1964b, p. 8 (As 1962.). Berti, 1965, pp. 406, 410–11 (Both sides authentic, for *Cascina*. Verso: style developed from CB 73F/B6/Corpus 49; relation to *Discobolus* noted by Panofsky. Reminiscences of *Battle of Centaurs*.). Goldscheider, 1965, no. 23 (Verso: "I am convinced now that my former doubts were not justified." Recto: developed from CB 9F/B5/Corpus 40.). Hartt, 1971, no. 35 (Recto: 1504, "apparently from a nude model but possibly after a piece of ancient sculpture."); no. 32 (Verso: 1504. Probably for the upper left side of *Cascina*.). Salvini, 1971, p. 142. De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 41 (Recto: development of CB 9F verso/B5/Corpus 40: Probably for *Cascina*. Proportions of horse Uccellesque.). Lamarche-Vadel, 1981, p. 27, no. 29 (For *Cascina*, 1504.). Sisi, 1988, no. 43 (Recto: probably for the group of horsemen ready to "cominciare la zuffa" ricordato dal Vasari.); no. 52 (Verso: developed from CB 9F/B5/Corpus 40.). Perrig, 1991, p. 147 (By Cellini.).

CATALOGUE 8

Recto [formerly verso]: Drapery Study; An Inscription
 Verso [formerly recto]: Head of a Laughing Boy
 1846.121; R.39; P.II 42 (recto) and 375 (verso); Corpus 7
 Dimensions: 204 × 156 mm

Medium

Recto: Pen and ink.

Verso: Red chalk.

Condition

Double-sided solid museum mount.

Recto: There is vertical cockling. There are various historic repairs such as filled losses, some of which have been toned. There is brown-black staining along the left edge.

Verso: There is skinning at the top and bottom edges, and staining near the centre of the top edge. There is a horizontal tear between the eyebrows. Show-through from the recto is visible.

Inscription with the right edge as base

Recto: In Michelangelo's hand [*i*]n se [...] ne duco (?) in chasa circha sei dî inâzi e navevo d(ato) [du]chati e un terzo allodovichio assectigniano di grossi di ra[agione] a mo(n)agniola sopra decta grossoni vêtî nove p(er) chôto di suo salario

Discussion

This, among the most problematic sheets in the Ashmolean's run of drawings attributed to Michelangelo, has elicited radically different opinions from the scholars who have discussed it. What has not been doubted is that the inscription on the recto is in Michelangelo's hand and is datable 1523–4. The provenance from Casa Buonarroti, which there is no reason to query, implies that the sheet remained in Michelangelo's possession.

Parker, followed in 1968 by Degenhart and Schmitt, gave the drapery study in pen on the recto to Jacopo della Quercia (1367–1438), a view questioned by Gardner, 1972. Very few pen drawings can plausibly be attributed to Jacopo (for a survey of these, see Degenhart and Schmitt, 1968). The compiler is reluctant to discount the views of scholars of such expertise, but he cannot see that it is by the same hand as those, although he would admit that it is not violently incompatible with them. In principle, the recto drawing could be by another artist of Jacopo's generation; Michelangelo did on occasion use old paper, as Louvre Inv. 685/J16/Corpus 26 (pen and ink, corrected in black chalk, 324 × 260 mm) demonstrates, but that was a century-old page from an account book that had descended in his family. It was not a drawing by a quattrocento master whose only plausible reason for preservation was precisely that it was a drawing by a quattrocento master and next to which, one hopes, Michelangelo would not casually have jotted down an



account. Of course, Vasari and Condivi recount that in his youth Michelangelo made replicas of earlier drawings, artificially aged them, and returned them to their owners as the originals; in principle, this drawing might be an example of that practice. But such an explanation would

again presuppose that the style of the drawing is that of the early quattrocento, and in the compiler's view it seems closer to the world of Ghirlandaio in its flexible and quite dense cross-hatching. Nevertheless, because the young Michelangelo copied work by Masaccio and Giotto, and



because he was demonstrably influenced by Quercia – his *Creation of Eve* on the Sistine ceiling is based on Quercia's treatment of the same subject on the façade of San Petronio in Bologna – a link with that sculptor could be maintained by arguing that the drawing is a copy by the

youthful Michelangelo after a lost relief carving of drapery by Quercia.

However, if the drawing is a copy, the source, rather than Quercia, might be Antonio Federighi, whose work was of demonstrable interest to the circle of Michelangelo

(see the drawing, attributed by the compiler to Piero d'Argenta, in the Louvre, Inv. 687/J44/Corpus 12). Indeed, although the compiler has not found an exact source, the movement of the drapery in the present drawing does come close to certain motifs in Federighi's figures. But whether or not the drawing is a copy of an earlier work – and on balance the compiler is inclined to think it is not – he has, after considerable hesitation, come to accept the attribution to Michelangelo maintained by Wilde and Gardner. The handling, while employing a finer pen and a scratchier line than usually found in his drapery studies, comes very close to certain passages in the *Standing Draped Woman* (formerly at Castle Howard, Yorkshire; sold at Sotheby's London, 11 July 2001, lot 81; pen and ink with white body colour, 260 × 164 mm; see Ongpin, 2001) – a drawing famous in the sixteenth century – which the compiler is inclined to date c. 1506. Michelangelo seems to have been fascinated at this time by complex organisations of drapery, a fascination that would be productive when he came to fresco the Sistine vault, and both the *Standing Draped Woman* and the present drawing may have been connected with some painting projected during the six months or so passed by Michelangelo in Florence in 1506.

In any case, whatever is believed about the date and authorship of the recto, of its startling difference from the verso there can be no doubt, and no recent student has believed both to be by the same hand. The last to accept the verso as by Michelangelo seems to have been Berenson. It has subsequently been attributed to Florentine draughtsmen active in the second half of the sixteenth century, namely Battista Naldini (1535–91) and Francesco Morandini, called il Poppi (1545–97), attributions which – if the recto drawing were accepted as by Jacopo della Quercia – would entail accepting that a sheet first used before 1440 subsequently passed into Michelangelo's hands to be annotated some three-quarters of a century later, then migrated to one of two artists born after Michelangelo left Florence permanently, and with whom he is not known to have had any connection, to be drawn upon once more, and that still later it returned to Casa Buonarroti. Such a scenario is improbable. Even to assume that a sheet passed from Michelangelo to Naldini or Poppi – and was used by one or the other rather than preserved as a precious relic – and then returned to Buonarroti possession strains credulity.

Neither of the proposed attributions of the Faun's head – a derivation from some Hellenistic sculptural model such as the Satyr in the so-called *Invitation to the Dance* – to Naldini and Poppi has been argued in any detail, and to the compiler neither seems convincing. Much more is now known about the drawings of both

artists than in 1956, and neither of them handles chalk in this manner. Of the two, Poppi's work comes closest, and he made many copies after antique and modern heads and other body parts in red and black chalk. But Poppi's drawings of this type are generally arranged half a dozen or more to a page, are highly self-conscious, and are of a stony virtuosity of execution. In fact, the chalk style of the present study, although softer than that employed by Michelangelo in most of his drawings of comparable type, is nevertheless not too distant from his: It comes closest to his *Ideal Head of a Woman* in the Louvre (Inv. 12299/J28/Corpus 321; red chalk, 313 × 246 mm). Similarly, even though the emotion does not seem immediately Michelangesque, parallels can be found in his work for such smiling heads, such as the Faun accompanying his 1497 *Bacchus* and the *ignudo* to the right above *Esaïas* on the Sistine ceiling, for which a study exists in the Louvre (Inv. 860/J19/Corpus 143; black chalk with touches of white heightening, 307 × 207 mm). The fact that so sensitive a critic as Berenson could accept this head as by Michelangelo is not without significance. It would obviously be tempting to see it as by a pupil, but it seems too fine to be by Mini and, furthermore, not in the style associated with him even at his best. It might, in principle, be by Pietro Urbano, according to Vasari – who presumably got the information from Michelangelo – a more accomplished pupil, but there is no good reason for an attribution to him.

In the compiler's opinion, the drawing is by Baccio Bandinelli, c. 1516, but he would admit that no example of Bandinelli's undisputed draughtsmanship is sufficiently close to prove the attribution. Part of the difficulty rests on the fact that the present drawing is more subtle and supple in its modelling, richer in its evocation of surface texture, and more evanescent in its emotion than the majority of Bandinelli's comparable studies, which aim for simplified planes and constructional fixity. However, such features are more characteristic of his later work and it is clear from the drawings that he made during his teens and early twenties that he was then an artist more sensitive to mobility of form and expression than is generally supposed. Thus, the present drawing shares strongly Leonardesque formal qualities with Bandinelli's masterly pen and ink copy after Leonardo's lost *Annunciatory Angel* (Christie's, London, 1 July 1969, lot 119, pen and ink, 356 × 265 mm; see Ward, 1988, Fig. 5) and a surface treatment with Bandinelli's red chalk portrait of a woman (generally identified as his future wife Jacopa Doni; Paris, Louvre, Inv. 81, 243 × 190 mm), in which the description of the eyes is similar. The shading setting off the head is a device found frequently in Bandinelli's drawings. The sculpturesque simplification of the waves of

hair, particularly clear at the left side of the drawing, is also found in Bandinelli's drawings. It is instructive, furthermore, to compare the present drawing with Jacopo Pontormo's study for the head of the Christ Child for his San Michele Visdomini altarpiece of 1517 (Uffizi 654E/Cox-Rearick 36; black chalk, 215 × 168 mm): The similarity argues for approximate contemporaneity, and Bandinelli was certainly acquainted with Pontormo. It may also be recalled that Thode was reminded of Andrea del Sarto.

It is often forgotten that Baccio Bandinelli was for a period favoured by Michelangelo. He was preferred over Jacopo Sansovino to assist Michelangelo on the façade of San Lorenzo in 1516, a decision that earned Michelangelo a bitter rebuke from the disappointed Jacopo. Around this time, Bandinelli seems to have had privileged access to the master's studio. His copy of the *Bearded Slave* (Florence, Uffizi 6960F; red chalk, 360 × 98 mm), generally dated late, seems to the compiler to be of c. 1520. As Michaël Amy has pointed out, Bandinelli also knew a design by Michelangelo, probably for one of the Duomo *Apostles*, recorded in a copy in the Louvre (Inv. 858/J64; black chalk over stylus indications, 295 × 134 mm), and it is difficult to imagine where he might have encountered this other than in Michelangelo's studio: Baccio made use of it in his *modello* in the Accademia di Bellas Artes di San Fernando, Madrid, of c. 1530 for a double tomb for Popes Leo X and Clement VII (Inv. 163; pen and ink, 293 × 275 mm). Bandinelli also made a large drawing and, from it, a painted portrait – dated 1522 – of Michelangelo (both Paris, Louvre; for discussion see Cat. 107).

It is uncertain what sculptural tasks for the façade Michelangelo allocated to Bandinelli, but it may be possible to advance an hypothesis. It seems to the compiler likely that a sheet of drawings with C. Riley-Smith on the London art market in 1999, whose attribution to Bandinelli by the compiler was confirmed by Dr. Roger Ward, is also relevant. Its recto is a copy in red chalk over traces of black chalk (282 × 160 mm) after the leftmost Saint in Fra Bartolommeo's *Virgin and Child with Saint Anne and Other Saints* (Florence, Museo di San Marco) painted for the Sala del Gran Consiglio and left unfinished in 1512. Its verso carries what seems to be the offset of an offset, in red chalk, of a broad sketch for an executioner in a *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*. This figure's pose corresponds to one of the executioners in the relief of that subject placed above the left-hand doorway in Michelangelo's *modello* of 1516 for the San Lorenzo façade in Casa Buonarroti (CB 45A/B245/Corpus 497; pen and ink, brush and wash, over black chalk, 724 × 870 mm). It seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that Michelangelo intended Bandinelli to execute this relief. This initial encounter

with the subject may have encouraged Bandinelli to return to it. In the mid-1520s, he designed but did not in the event execute a highly ambitious multifigure *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* as a fresco in the choir of San Lorenzo, a composition engraved by Marcantonio Raimondi. Somewhat later, he also produced a more modest version of the subject to be executed as a relief. This second design, seen in a *modello* in the British Museum (1895-9-15-548; pen and ink, over red chalk and stylus, 313 × 344 mm) may be connected with some alternative project at San Lorenzo, or, perhaps more likely, for the projected tomb of Clement VII (to be paired with that of Leo X) for which Bandinelli was preparing designs in the mid-1530s. This second design, like others by Bandinelli, was known to Alessandro Allori who reproduced it in a small painting on panel now in the Uffizi (Lecchini-Giovannoni, 1991, no. 37, fig. 73).

In short, the compiler would propose that the verso drawing was made by Bandinelli in Michelangelo's studio on a sheet on which Michelangelo had previously drawn, and that the sheet remained with Michelangelo to be employed a few years later to note down an account.

History

Casa Buonarroti; Jean-Baptiste Wicar; Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830-110] ("Study of the head of a Faun highly finished red chalk, on the reverse is a slight sketch and his writing."). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 6 (Recto: "probably a study for the head of the celebrated statue which he had interred at Rome, in order to be discovered and taken for antique workmanship. This head is perfectly in the Greek taste."). The *Athenaeum*, 16 July 1836 ("[A]ppropriate expression, modelling, and breadth of manner."). Woodburn, 1842, no. 26 (As 1836.). Fisher, 1862, p. 5, pl. 22, right (Verso: as Woodburn.). Fisher, 1865, p. 24, II, pl. 22, right (As 1862.). Robinson, 1870, no. 39 (Michelangelo. Recto: "probably after an antique marble of indifferent Roman work." Memorandum on verso suggests a date c. 1518.). Fisher, 1872, II, p. 23, pl. 23 (As 1852.). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 36. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 236. Fisher, 1879, p. 32, no. 29 (Verso: as 1862.). Berenson, 1903, no. 1564 (Recto: "Carefully and elaborately modelled in a way which suggests . . . that it must have been done for execution in bronze." Recalls drawings for Cavalieri and datable c. 1534. Verso: not Michelangelo, but memorandum his.). K. Frey, 1909-II, no. 222 (Recto: not Michelangelo; no certain antique source. Not by Mini or Sebastiano, but verso proves that by someone close

to Michelangelo.); no. 223 (Verso: drapery study neither by Michelangelo nor the author of the recto. *Ricordo* establishes date 1523–4.). Thode, 1913, no. 422 (Why should recto not be by Michelangelo? The only other Florentine artist that it recalls is Andrea del Sarto. Verso: hard to judge, but inscriptions are autograph.). Berenson, 1938, no. 1565 (As 1903.). Kleiner, 1950, p. 25 (Recto: school of Michelangelo, after head of *Boy on a Dolphin*. *Ricordo* attaches sheet to his studio and demonstrates relevance of recto for the *ignudo* left above *Erythraea* and for the faun accompanying the *Bacchus*). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 131 (Verso: by Michelangelo: the drawing may be considerably earlier than the inscription; purpose unknown.). Parker, 1956, no. 375 (Recto: somewhat reworked. “The elaborate modelling recalls the Cavalieri presentation drawings, but it seems out of the question that Michelangelo or indeed any of his close followers could have been the draughtsman. P. M. R. Pouncey hesitates between Naldini and Poppi.”); no. 42 (Verso: style of Jacopo della Quercia “essentially ‘early’ and primitive in character . . . a work of about 1430.” The *ricordo* is in Michelangelo’s hand and of 1523–4.). Dussler, 1959, no. 618 (Recto: by a follower of Michelangelo. Verso: by a quattrocento artist, near Quercia.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1565 (As 1903/1938.). Degenhart and Schmitt, 1968, I, 1, no. 116 (Verso: by Jacopo della Quercia?). Gardner, 1972, pp. 33–4 (“[W]e are asked to imagine that Michelangelo was so cavalier as to scrawl over the century-old drawing, while the recto was later used for a study after the antique.” Compares recto with Michelangelo’s *Standing Prophet* in the BM, W1/Corpus 6.). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 7 (Verso: by Michelangelo, 1494–1500, after Quercia, perhaps done in Bologna. Recto: by or after a dilettante student of Michelangelo’s c. 1532.). Macandrew, 1980, p. 267 (Recto: “P. M. R. Pouncey is now convinced that this is by Francesco Morandini.”). Sisi, 1988, no. 6 (Verso: drapery study related to mantle of *Madonna* on Jacopo della Quercia’s Bentivoglio Monument in San Giacomo Maggiore, Bologna.). Perrig, 1999, p. 247 (By a pupil of Michelangelo; from via Mozza studio.). Weil-Garris Brandt et al., 1999–2000, p. 339 (Recto: attributed to Jacopo della Quercia.).

GENERAL DISCUSSION

9–16

These eight sheets, which contain some sixty sketches, were thoroughly and excellently analysed by Robinson and Thode and, more recently, and still more exhaustively

by de Tolnay in the *Corpus*, supplemented and in places corrected by Hirst in several closely observed contributions. The attribution of these drawings to a pupil first made by Berenson and followed by several scholars, including Baumgart, who considered them to be by Daniele da Volterra, now seems obviously a misjudgement, based largely on a misconception of these drawings’ function: They are not developed studies but rough and vigorous *primi pensieri*.

The drawings on these pages relate to the later section of the Sistine vault, which was painted following the interruption of the work in 1510–11. They prepare figures found in the ninth and last narrative bay of the crown of the vault, *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness*, for one or more of the *ignudi* surrounding this episode, for the final Prophet to be painted, *Ionas*, and perhaps for *Libica*, and for a number of the Ancestors of Christ in the lunettes (but *not* those in the severies). The drawings for Ancestors are by far the most numerous and those with which the drawings can be connected are all to be found below the second half of the vault, from the *Asa-Iosaphat* lunette on the south wall of the chapel and the *Roboam-Abias* lunette on the north wall, to the lost lunettes on the altar wall, which were destroyed nearly a quarter century after they were painted to make way for the *Last Judgement*. This distribution of drawings, in which the Ancestors of Christ receive so much attention, must in part be the result of an accident of survival. No more than one of the drawings on these pages can at all confidently be connected with the pendentives of *Haman* and the *Brazen Serpent*, which must have occupied much of Michelangelo’s intellectual energies during the last months of painting, and which must have required many drawings. Nor can the very limited number connected with the *ignudi* and the Prophets and Sibyls be at all representative. However, although allowances must be made for arbitrary survival – this sub-set itself is incomplete, as is demonstrated by the offset of a lost sketch visible on Cat. 9 recto – and even though accident may create a distorted picture of Michelangelo’s design sequence, the present sketchbook does suggest that the Ancestors in the second half of the vault were mostly designed after the histories and the majority of the *ignudi* in the crown of the vault had already been planned.

The order in which Michelangelo painted the different parts of the vault has been controversial. In the past many scholars believed that the entire series of the Ancestors in the lunettes – which occupy the tops of the walls rather than the vault and are on flat, vertical, surfaces – was painted after *all* the work on the curved part of the vault had been completed. Wilde, on the other hand, held that

the Ancestors in the lunettes were painted concurrently with the frescoes above them on the curved part of the vault. The restoration of the 1980s and consequent close examination of the vault seems to have substantiated this second view. However, some flexibility is not to be excluded. It need not be assumed that the sequence of execution was an invariable series of north–south “slices” across the upper part of the chapel, comprising the histories at the top of the vault, the *ignudi* around and below them, the Prophets and Sibyls in the pendentives, the Ancestor groups in the severies, and the Ancestors in the lunettes. It may be that more than one lunette on either side was executed at the same time, after work on the corresponding curved parts of the vault above them had been completed. The present group of sketches could support such an hypothesis; taken at face value, they would suggest that the Ancestors in the lunettes at the west end of the vault were conceived as a group following the preparation of *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness*, the only history to be found among them. And if this is so, then the four lunettes at the end of the chapel – comprising the two lost lunettes on the altar wall and those at the ends of the north and south walls – might have been executed as a group, following the completion of the curved part of the vault.

It was characteristic of the artist to make the initial designs for individual figures and compositions both in painting and sculpture in small scale drawings, *conceppi*. In the first part of his career, he generally made these in pen, but examples also survive in chalk, which seems to have taken over entirely from about 1530. The present drawings do not differ greatly from the small sketches made in preparation for the *Madonna* in Bruges (Uffizi 233F recto/B1/Corpus 37; black chalk and pen and ink, 271 × 261 mm). Although they are much less finished, they also bear some resemblance to figures found in the slightly later *modelli* for the façade of San Lorenzo (CB45A/B245/Corpus 497; pen and ink, brush and wash over black chalk, 705 × 870 mm) or for an altar (Oxford, Christ Church, JBS 64/Corpus 280; pen and ink and brush and wash, 350 × 291 mm). In the majority of the drawings on the present sheets, Michelangelo drew angular, even jagged forms, suitable for figures designed to make an impact from a distance. Indeed, in their self-conscious roughness – which contrasts with the more flowing *conpetto* style of the *Cascina* or even the pen sketches for the Sistine *Flood* – Michelangelo seems to have intended an effect of harshness: Supremely capable, when he chose, of designing rhythmical and close-knit groups, he aimed here at ruggedness. Indeed, many of these sketches show Michelangelo moving from

more rhythmical to more severe, and from forms seen at angles to forms seen strictly in profile or strictly frontally.

Michelangelo seems to have swivelled only two of these pages, Cats. 12 recto and 13 recto, as he worked on them, to pen a single figure. In every other instance, he retained the base of the sheet as determinant. It would seem that the paper he used was always approximately the present size and that the sheets were not originally joined.

The sheets show Michelangelo mixing modes among Ancestors, Prophets, *ignudi*, and even narratives, transferring ideas generated in one area to another, and they show him habitually reversing figures. As was already pointed out by Ottley, it seems that the larger sketches both in pen and in black chalk found on some of the pages were executed from life as were, no doubt, those studies of figural details, whereas the initial *conceppi* would have been the product of Michelangelo’s imagination.

These eight sheets also contain drawings that do not seem to have been made expressly for the vault, such as Cat. 14 recto, as well as others where Michelangelo’s imagination clearly took wing and he developed ideas in directions that the project at hand did not require. In some cases, such sketches anticipate later work by him.

History

Casa Buonarroti; the sketches on Cats. 9 verso, 13 recto, and 14 verso were copied by Andrea Commodi when these sheets were in Casa Buonarroti, and although this does not prove that all the drawings in this sequence were then there and remained there, any other reconstruction of events would entail too many complexities to be plausible. It is therefore probable that the sequence remained together in Casa Buonarroti until the 1790s. At this point, it seems likely that they were split up, and that one group of four leaves was acquired by Ottley, was discussed in his *Italian School of Design*, and was offered by him in his sale 6 June 1814, and following days, lot 264, “One – a sheet with two leaves of his sketch book containing pen studies on both sides, for the vault of the Capella Sistina – most interesting. From the Buonarroti collection.” £5.5.0, and lot 265, “One – a sheet with two ditto, for ditto, ditto.” £5.5.0; pencil annotation Clark, £10.0.0. The other group of four leaves was presumably acquired by Wicar, was among the drawings bought from him by Woodburn in 1823, and rejoined the four that had been owned by Ottley in Lawrence’s collection. Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445 on Cats. 11, 14, 15); Samuel Woodburn.

General References

- Ottley, 1808–23, p. 29 (“[A] fragment, in my possession, of four leaves of a small pocket sketch-book, . . . containing the first thoughts for many of the figures which we admire in the vault of the Sistine Chapel; some of them hints taken hastily from nature in the streets of Rome.”). Ottley sale, 1814, lot 264 (“One – a sheet with two leaves of his sketch book containing pen studies on both sides, for the vault of the Capella Sistina – most interesting. From the Buonarroti collection.”) and lot 265 (“One – a sheet with two ditto, for ditto, ditto.”). Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti, Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–53i, ii, iii, iv] (“A very interesting sheet composed of Four Sheets from his Sketch Book containing studies for the Sistine Chapel.”) [and 61 a,b,c,d] (“A Sheet of four leaves of his Sketch Book containing designs for the Sistine Chapel and some words written by himself.”). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 2 (“Four leaves of his pocket book – pasted together; on which he has drawn several small figures, which have served for his grand works in the Sistine Chapel. These first thoughts are particularly interesting; they show the progress of his method of art; slightly sketched from nature, merely as attitudes.”); no. 50 (“These finely executed sketches are particularly interesting, as shewing from what trifling origin the finest work in the pictorial art was imagined.”). The Athenaeum, 16 July 1836 (“‘Leaves from M. A.’s Pocket Book’ for the cognoscenti.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 47 (As 1836, no. 2.); no. 66 (As 1836, no. 50.). Fisher, 1852, p. 1, pls. 1–9. Fisher, 1865, pp. 15–16, I, pls. 1–9. Robinson, 1870, pp. 28–31 (For details, see individual entries.). Fisher, 1872, I, pp. 13–14, pls. 2–10 (As 1852.). Black, 1875, p. 214, nos. 24, 25. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 222. Springer, 1878, pp. 115–16 (“Fragmente eines Skizzenbuches. Acht kleine Blättchen.”). Fisher, 1879, XVI–XVII. Springer, 1883, I, p. 159 (As 1878.). Portheim, 1889, p. 145 (Demonstrates that at this period Michelangelo used pen for “die ersten entwürfe oder für die Bewegung der einzelnen Figuren.”). Berenson, 1903, I, p. 249 (“That they ever could have been attributed to the great master, witnesses to a sad state of ignorance regarding his manner and style as a draughtsman.”); nos. 1702, 1703 (“These sketches are positively not Michelangelo’s, but by some pupil who naturally took up the master’s mannerisms and tricks of shorthand. It is conceivable that some of these scrawls were made after Michelangelo’s own sketches which would of course have been accessible to the pupil . . . [but] the author may have entered Michelangelo’s service just when the ceiling was finished, and, after attaining to a certain mastery, been put for practice in rapid dawning to make these hasty notes after the frescoes. The sketch book . . . must have been given to his apprentice by Michelangelo himself, for” there are two inscriptions in his hand. The pupil may have been Silvio Falconi, mentioned on [Cat. 11 recto].). Steinmann, 1905, II, pp. 603–4 (Notes Berenson’s rejection; chalk work by Michelangelo, penwork by a pupil.). K. Frey, 1909–11, under nos. 151–4, p. 74 (“Von Michelangelo nun können diese Zeichnungen nicht stammen; dafür sind sie zu geringwertig.” But “stehen die skizzen in unmittelbarer Beziehung zu Michelangiolo, schon der Schrift halber.” Done by an associate after whatever drawings by Michelangelo lay before him. Perhaps, but not certainly Silvio Falconi.). Thode, 1913, pp. 184–9 (Opposes Berenson’s dismissal and Frey’s doubts. All are autograph sketches by Michelangelo, primarily for the lunettes. “Die Skizzen verrathen in keinerlei Weise die Hand eines ungeübten Schülers . . . sondern die eines sehr geistreichen, mit wenigsten Strichen Bewegungsmotive charakteristisch verdeutlichenden Künstlers, eine Meisterhand.”). Popp, 1925a, p. 27 (Probably by Silvio Falconi, who is also responsible for the ex-Wauters drawing [K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 249a recto; pen and ink, 220 × 160 mm], and the verso of the study for the Minerva *Christ/Corpus* 94.). Baumgart, 1935a, p. 349 (All by Daniele da Volterra.). Berenson, 1938, I, p. 252, nos. 1702, 1703 (As 1903.). Delacre, 1938, 121–4 (Critique of the dismissal of these drawings by Berenson and Frey. Observations on their qualities and the differences between them and the frescoes. “La grandeur d’un dessin ne se juge pas à sa dimension et ces . . . croquis microscopique sont réellement grands.”). De Tolnay, 1945, pp. 214–15, no. 28A (The inscriptions by Michelangelo are in his handwriting of the 1520s; that on [Cat. 11 recto] is by a pupil, probably Silvio Falconi who joined Michelangelo only after the completion of the Sistine ceiling. Two different hands discernible but even the drawings of higher quality – those in chalk – are copies after, not studies for the lunettes.). Wilde, 1953 exh., nos. 19, 22 (“All [these sheets] contain studies for figures in the Sistine ceiling.”). Dussler, 1959, pp. 276–7 (All rejected. No logic to organisation of drawings: “es fehlt ihm eine bestimmte Vorstellung der Körperstruktur, der plastischen Formierung, er ist unsicher im Proportionalen und in den Verkürzungen.” Done in Michelangelo’s workshop and with annotations by him, but no corrections “die Skizzen stammen von einer Hand.” Silvio Falconi a possibility, but disagrees with Popp’s and Baumgart’s suggestions.). Berenson, 1961, nos. 1702, 1703 (As 1903, 1938, but with detailed account of the

drawings.). Barocchi, 1962, p. 292 (“povertà di fattura del tutto simile” to CB 24F/B242/Corpus 160 [attributed by Hirst, 1963, to Michelangelo]). Levie, 1962, p. 162 (Attributed to Daniele.). Berti, 1965, p. 421 (Copies of the lunettes, but with geometrical qualities akin to those of Uffizi 17379–80F/Barocchi 13, 14/Corpus 151, 152.). Hartt, 1971, p. 87 (1511. “[p]robably deriving from a single large sheet of paper folded three times to make an octavo signature.... All but one of sixteen pages relate to the Sistine Chapel, but not all the sketches are by Michelangelo’s hand... some sketches appear to be by a pupil, apparently Silvio Falconi... majority of the drawings make sense only as Michelangelo’s original sketches.” Greatest concentration of sketches relates to the destroyed lunettes formerly above the altar, and to those in the immediately adjacent bays.). Gere and Turner, 1975, p. 34 (“Great majority of these sketches are connected with the Ancestors of Christ.”). Wilde, 1978, p. 73 (“The riches of Michelangelo’s notebook seem to be inexhaustible... eight leaves of a small sketchbook which he used when he started preparing the second half of the Ceiling... they contain more ideas for *Antenati* than he could dispose of in the eight lunettes still to be painted.”). Barolsky, 1979, p. 149 (Notes Baumgart’s attribution to Daniele.). Hirst, 1986a, pp. 208–17 (Detailed discussion of sketchbook; the individual observations listed later.). Hirst, 1988, pp. 35–7 (“Answering... closely to Vasari’s category of ‘*primi schizzi*’... Fifteen of the sixteen pages contain studies devoted to the inventing or developing figure motives for the decoration. Michelangelo made these invention drawings only very shortly before he resumed work in the Chapel in the early autumn of 1511... he never made his designs until he had to... [T]he little studies... display a spontaneity of invention and speed of execution difficult to match among Michelangelo’s other figurative drawings.”). Hirst, 1988–9a, under no. 12 (As 1988.).

CATALOGUE 9

Recto: Sketches for Parts of the Sistine Ceiling and Lunettes

Verso: Sketches for Parts of the Sistine Ceiling and Lunettes

1846.45; R.24.1; P.II 299; Corpus 166

Dimensions: 140 × 132 mm

Medium

Recto: Pen and ink with traces of an offset in black chalk.
Verso: Pen and ink and black chalk.

Condition

There is a pressed-out horizontal fold, about 4.5 cm from the top, skinned edges with numerous nicks, discolouration and local media stains, and a show-through of ink. Repair tissue of small infilled holes is visible.

Description/Discussion

Recto

A. Inscription in Michelangelo’s hand: *di quidici di sectebre*; a horizontal line crossed by three short diagonals

The year is not given but it is presumably 1511, when painting seems to have recommenced, following an interruption.

B. A draped seated figure in right profile, slumped forward, in pen.

This must be a first idea for the figure at the right of the *Roboam-Abias* lunette; it was pursued on Cat. 10 verso D and Cat. 12 recto A.

C. A nude seated figure in right profile with the left leg bent under him, writing in a large book whilst looking inwards, in pen.

This powerful figure seems much more likely to be a sketch for a Prophet than an Ancestor, although there are some similarities with Cat. 10 recto D. Michelangelo did not pursue this design, and it is conjectural which figure he was planning.

D. A seated figure in right profile, with legs crossed at the calves?, looking outwards, in pen.

This figure might be a first idea for an *ignudo*, either that right above *Daniel* or that left above *Hieremias*.

E. An upright seated figure, facing half left, with legs crossed at the knee, in pen.

This figure might be an early idea for an *ignudo*. Michelangelo did not pursue this design, and it is conjectural which figure he may have been thinking about.

F. A nude seated figure facing half right, his left leg raised and his hands folded across this knee, leaning forward on his hands in a pensive pose, in pen.

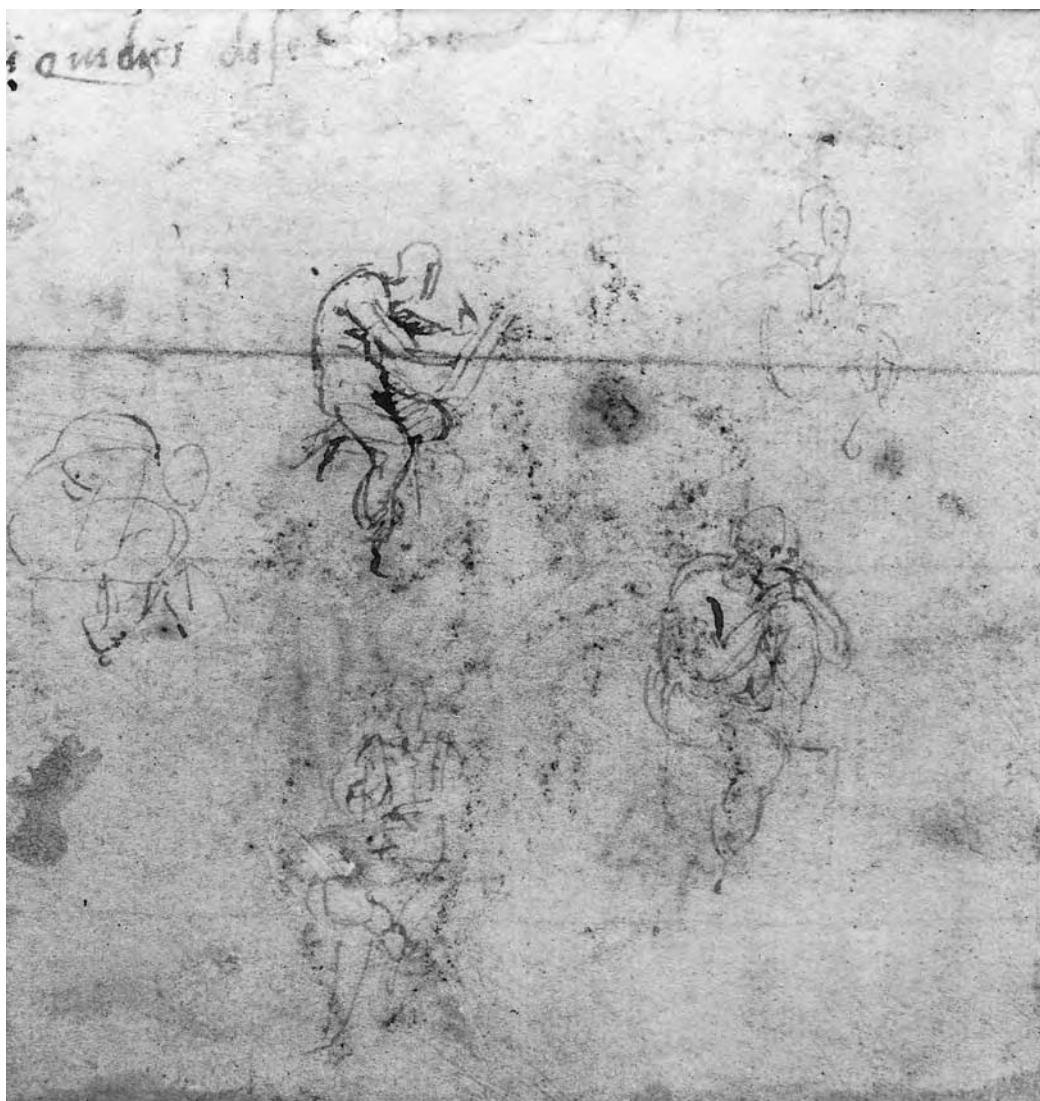
Michelangelo did not pursue this design, and it is conjectural which figure he may have been considering.

G. Offset of a seated figure in left (originally right) profile leaning forward, in black chalk.

The original of this sketch is lost; the figure may be related to Cat. 12 verso D.

Verso

The sketches in black chalk were no doubt drawn before those in pen.



A. A seated figure in left profile, in pen.

This figure was no doubt conceived for an Ancestor; it seems to have been pursued further on the verso of the study for the *Libica* in the Metropolitan Museum (Inv. 24.197.2 verso/Corpus 156; black chalk, 288 × 213 mm).

B. A figure walking forward from right to left, in black chalk, intersected by a pen line.

This sketch, which could well be for a narrative composition, might prepare the figure moving through the door in the *Haman*.

C. A seated figure seen from the front, studying a book, his left leg slightly raised above his right leg, in pen. This is probably a revision of Cat. 14 verso D.

D. A forward-facing figure seated on the ground, leaning against a vertical element to his/her right, turning and extending his/her hand to his/her left, in pen.

Perhaps a preliminary idea for the figure seated in the doorway in the *Haman*.

E. A standing figure seen frontally, with both arms raised to shoulder height and his right leg bent as though moving forward, in black chalk.

Perhaps a first idea for the telamon *putto* below *Persicha*.

F. A standing figure, in left? profile, in black chalk; perhaps another version of B.

G. A seated figure on a block seen frontally, with his right leg raised, reading, in pen. This version was no doubt drawn before C and H, which reduce its vigour. It is difficult to know whether this sketch was intended for a Prophet or an Ancestor, since the curved line to the left could indicate either the profile of a pendentive or the arch of a window, in which case the vertical that intersects it would be the name board. On balance the compiler is inclined to think it a sketch for a Prophet. This figure was tried again on Cat. 14 verso D.

H. A three-quarter length, seated figure seen frontally, reading, in pen. Probably a revision of G.



Copy

C on the verso was copied in pen c. 1580 by Andrea Commodi on Uffizi 18654F recto.

References

Ottley, 1808–23, p. 29 (“Upon the top of one of the pages is this date, written by Buonaroti’s own hand: *’il quidici disectebre*, followed by a horizontal stroke of the pen, which is intersected by three perpendicular strokes, followed by a fourth which reaches only to the top of the horizontal line; . . . a memorandum doubtless made on the day specified, and, perhaps, relating to some small debt incurred by him for an article of housekeeping.”). Woodburn, 1836b, included in no. 50. Fisher, 1852, p. 1, pl. 6, left (Recto); pl. 7, right (Verso). Fisher, 1865, p. 16, I, pl. 6, left (Recto); pl. 7, right (Verso). Robinson, 1870, no. 24.1 (Michel Angelo. Recto: for window lunettes.

Verso: principal figure [G] “may have been a first idea for . . . *Ioel*. . . Two other slight sketches of the same figure seem to show that it was intended to be further developed.”). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 14, pl. 6 left (Recto); pl. 7, right (Verso) (As 1852.). Fisher, 1879, XVI.1/13 left (Recto); XVI.1a/14 right (Verso). Justi, 1900, p. 132 ([C, G, and H] preliminary ideas for *Ioel*). Steinmann, 1905, II, pp. 424–5, 604, no. 61A, left (Recto: date must refer to 1511. Five sketches for the lunettes; inscription in Michelangelo’s hand.); no. 61B, right (Verso: sketches for lunettes including seated man at right of *Roboam* lunette.). Thode, 1908, I, p. 270 (Michelangelo. Recto and verso: no specific connections can be established with executed figures.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 151.2 (Verso [now recto]: inscription autograph. Resemblance to lunette figures but no links specified.); no. 152.5 (Recto [now verso]: analogous figures in *Aminadab*

and *Naason* lunettes; no connection with *Ioel*.); Thode, 1913, no. 408 (Verso [now recto]: Robinson incorrect to link [G] with *Ioel*; framing lines demonstrate that it was prepared for an ancestor. Recto [now verso]: as 1908). Delacre, 1938, p. 123 (Michelangelo. Man reading could not be after *Ioel*). De Tolnay, 1945 p. 214, no. 28A (Verso: “sketches... of a better quality but also seem to be only copies after the lunettes and not studies for them.” D “perhaps for a slave on the Julius tomb... seems to have been made by Michelangelo.”). Parker, 1956, no. 299 (Recto: [B] resembles figure on right of *Roboam-Abia* lunette; notes offset [G]. Verso: figures suggestive of Prophets.). Dussler, 1959, no. 604 (Recto and verso: description only, no links suggested.). Berenson, 1961, 1702 a (School of Michelangelo. Recto: B resembles the sleeping woman in the *Roboam-Abias* lunette.). Hartt, 1971, no. 121 (Recto: writing in Michelangelo’s hand, possibly the date when he began composing the lunettes. Sketches for *Roboam-Abias* [A], *Azor* and his mother? [lower left]; possibly *Josaphat* [left centre] and possibly *Sadoc* [lower right]); no. 117 (Verso: perhaps for *Naason*. Two coarse chalk sketches perhaps by Falconi.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 24 (Recto: inscription in Michelangelo’s hand.). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 166 (Recto: [B] a *primo pensiero* for the the woman at the right of the *Roboam-Abias* lunette; taken up on [Cat. 10 verso D] and again on [Cat. 12 recto A]. [C] probably for a prophet. [D] Some similarity with woman at left of *Zorobabel-Abiud-Eliachim* lunette and to a barely legible sketch on Haarlem A20 verso/VT49/Corpus 135. [E] not used; similarity with figure at right of *Eleazar-Matham* lunette. [F] probably for a prophet, but not used; the motif first appears in drawings by Leonardo, Paris, Louvre, Inv. 1978 verso, 2258 recto. [G] is the offset of a lost drawing linked by G. Bonsanti with the motif of the verso figure [A], thus for the woman in the *Manasses-Amon* lunette. Verso: [A] perhaps for the woman in the *Manasses-Amon* lunette. [C] probably for a prophet but adapted for the *Aminadab* lunette. [G, H], restudies of [C], perhaps related to *Daniel*. [D], perhaps related to *Brazen Serpent* pendentive. [E, F], perhaps for a telamon *putto*.). Hirst, 1986a, pp. 212, 213 (Recto: offset of a lost chalk study; “the seated figure reading [C, G, H] studied also on [Cat. 14 verso D], may have been intended for one of the altar-wall lunettes; in the event the motif of the figure holding the book with both hands appears in a part of the decoration for which no preparatory material appears in the sketch book, in the corner spandrel of the *Crucifixion of Haman*, and then in a subordinate role.”).

CATALOGUE 10

Recto: Sketches for Parts of the Sistine Ceiling and Lunettes

Verso: Sketches for Parts of the Sistine Ceiling and Lunettes

1846.46; R.24.2; P.II 300; Corpus 167

Dimensions: 135 × 145 mm

Medium

Pen and ink.

Condition

There is a pressed-out horizontal fold, about 4.5 cm from the top with ingrained dirt. The edges are abraded, there is some skinning, and there are small holes with ink burn-through. Fractures are repaired at the fold and heavily inked areas; there is localised staining.

Description/Discussion

Recto

A. A left arm holding a staff, detailed study for D.

B. A right hand, detailed study for D.

C. A Seated figure facing front, holding a child?.

This figure is loosely reminiscent of the severely frontal left-hand figure in the *Aminadab* lunette, but it seems to be female rather than male. The curve to the left suggests that this figure was at first envisaged as on the right-hand side of a lunette rather than the left. As painted, the relation of C (if it is connected with the *Aminadab* lunette) and D are reversed.

D. An elderly man seated in right profile holding a staff.

This is a preliminary sketch for the figure on the right of the *Booz* lunette. The pose becomes more angular in the larger sketches A and B, probably from life, which focus upon his right hand and left forearm and hand. Developed in Cat. 12 recto B.

Verso

A. Torso of seated figure in right profile, head turned in and slumped on left hand; right arm hangs down.

This drawing, which obviously modifies D, seems to be an abbreviated life sketch. It straightens the back and makes the form more angular.

B. A Seated figure facing half right, accompanied by two *putti*.

This was presumably drawn with a Sibyl or Prophet in view, but it bears little resemblance to any executed. It might, at a guess, be a first idea for *Jonas*: The curved line presumably indicates the profile of a pendentive.

C. A figure seated in right profile, leaning forwards, perhaps reading (the curved line presumably doubles as the lunette frame).



D. A seated figure in right profile, head turned in and slumped on left hand and right knee, which is raised; right arm hangs down.

This was obviously drawn for the right-hand figure in the *Roboam-Abias* lunette; see also Cat. 9 recto B.

E. Seated female figure seen from front, leaning to her left, with child.

This was certainly drawn for the left-hand figure in the *Salmon-Booz-Obeth* lunette; because the frescoed figure corresponding to D is on the right and the frescoed figure corresponding to E is on the left of their respective lunettes, the positioning of the figures in the ceiling is close to that seen here. This suggests that Michelangelo was thinking about the figures in relation to each other.

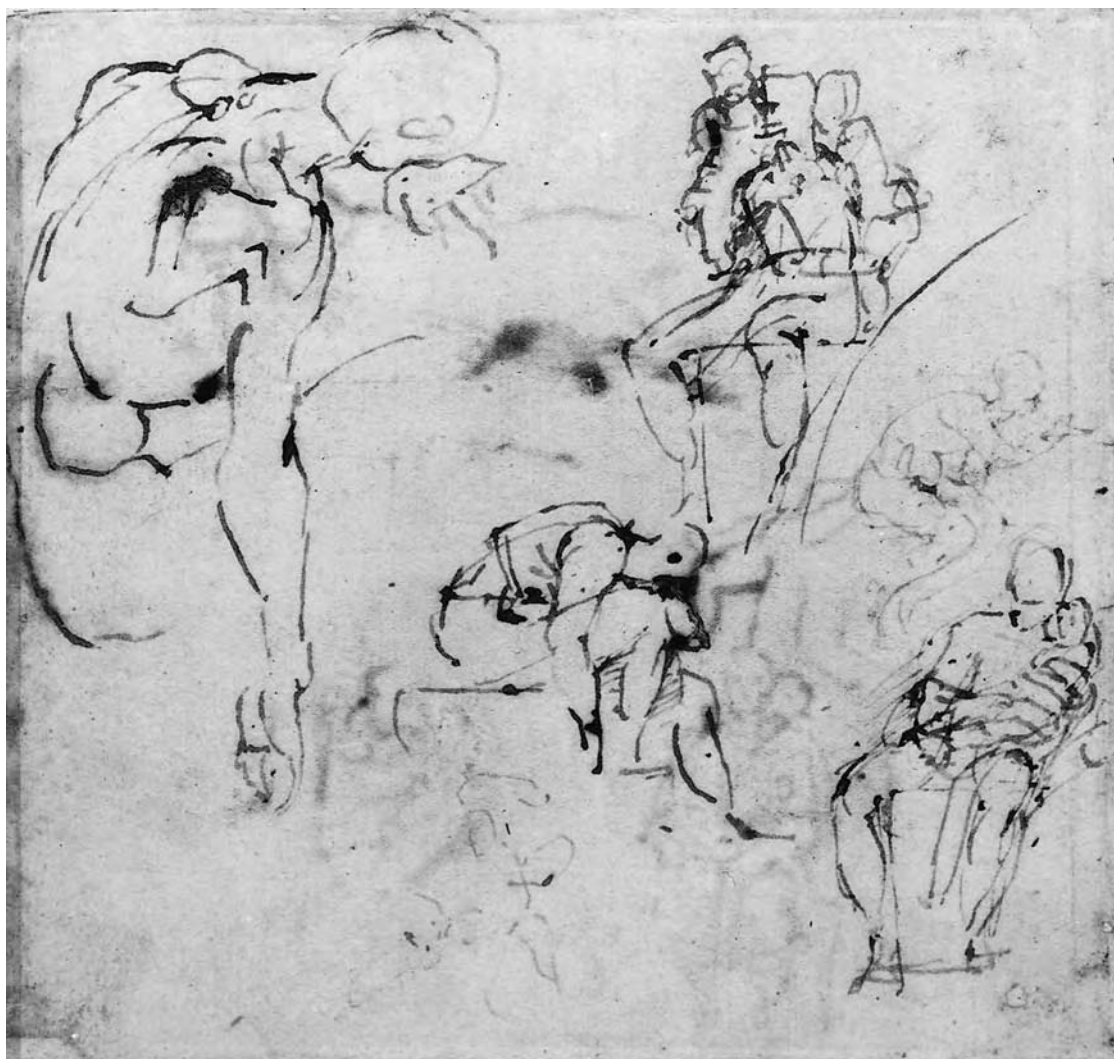
F. The torso for figure in right profile who seems to be striking something below him.

This seems to be for a figure in a scene of action and the only suggestion that the compiler can make is that it might be a preliminary idea for Abraham in a *Sacrifice of Isaac*, a composition found in the simulated bronze roundel directly above the

Libica, although the scene as painted is represented much more stiffly.

References

Ottley, 1808–23, p. 29. Woodburn, 1836b, included in no. 50. Fisher, 1852, p. 1, pl. 6, right (Recto); pl. 7, left (Verso.). Fisher, 1865, p. 16, I, pl. 6, right (Recto.); pl. 7, left (Verso.). Robinson, 1870, no. 24.2 (Michel Angelo. Recto: one figure [D] immediately recognisable as Patriarch Boaz; the other [C] probably for Amīnadab. Verso: sketches for Persicha [B], Roboam-Abias [D], and Salmon-Booz-Obeth [E]. “The three are disposed in the sketch in the same positions relative to each other, which they occupy in the fresco.”). Fisher, 1872, p. 14, pl. 6, right (Recto.); pl. 7, left (Verso.) (As 1852.). Fisher, 1879, XVI.2/13 right (Recto); XIV.2a/14 left (Verso.). Steinmann, 1905, II, p. 604, no. 61A, right (Studies for Amīnadab and Salmon-Booz-Obeth.); no. 61B,



left (Verso: studies for *Roboam-Abias* lunette.). Thode, 1908, I, p. 269 (Michelangelo. Verso [now recto]: man with staff and woman with child, for *Salmon-Booz-Obeth* lunette. Other figures cannot be connected with executed painting; Recto [now verso]: sleeping man sketched in two positions for *Roboam-Abias* lunette.). K. Frey, 1909–11, 152.6 (Verso [now recto]: weak drawings; [C] related to *Aminadab* and [D] to *Salmon-Booz-Obeth* lunettes; [A and B] after the fresco.); 151.1 (Recto [now verso]: [A and D] related to man in right half of *Roboam-Abias* lunette; woman [E] related to that in *Salmon-Booz-Obeth* lunette.). Thode, 1913, no. 409 (Verso [now recto]: [A, B, C] for old man in *Salmon-Booz-Obeth* lunette; [D] for man in *Aminadab* lunette; two *putti* not included. Recto [now verso]: [A, D] for *Roboam*, [E] for *Salmon-Booz-Obeth* lunette; [B] for an unexecuted lunette figure, not *Persicha*, as Robinson thought.) Delacre, 1938, p. 123 (Verso: [A] could in principle be a copy after the *Roboam* lunette figure, but [E] could not be after mother and child in *Salmon-Booz-Obeth* lunette.). De Tolnay, 1945, p. 214, under no. 28a, figs. 248

detail, 250 detail (Recto and verso: “sketches . . . of a better quality but also seem to be only copies after the lunettes and not studies for them.”). Parker, 1956, no. 300 (Recto: [C, A, B] for the figure on the right of the *Salmon-Booz-Obeth* lunette; [D] corresponds with figure on left of *Aminadab*, but segment of circle suggests that it was to be placed on right.” Verso: [D and A] resemble figure on right of *Roboam-Abias* lunette; [E] resembles woman on left of *Salmon-Booz-Obeth* lunette; [B] is reminiscent of *Persicha*.). Dussler, 1959, no. 605 (Recto: links with *Aminadab* and *Salmon-Booz-Obeth* lunettes. Verso: links with *Salmon-Booz-Obeth* and *Roboam* lunettes.). Berenson, 1961, 1702 b (School of Michelangelo. Recto: [D] resembles figure in *Salmon-Booz-Obeth* lunette; [C] resembles figure at left of *Aminadab* lunette. Verso: [B] resembles *Persicha*; [A, D] resemble figure at right of *Roboam-Abias* lunette.). Hartt, 1971, no. 119 (Recto: for *Aminadab* with attendant figures later eliminated [lower left] and *Boaz* [lower right] plus sketches for *Boaz*’s hands); no. 122 (Verso: for *Abiah* and probably for *Abiud* [upper right]



and *Joram* and his mother [lower right].). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 25 (Recto.). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 167 (Recto: [D, A, B] for figure on right of *Salmon-Booz-Obeth* lunette; [C] for *Aminadab*. Verso: [A, D] for figure at right of *Roboam-Abias* lunette also studied on [Cat. 9 recto, B] and [Cat. 12 recto A]; [E] for woman at left in the *Salmon-Booz-Obeth* lunette; [C] perhaps for bronze nude above *Salmon-Booz-Obeth* severy; [F] perhaps for the *Spirit Moving over the Waters*; [B] for a Prophet.). Hirst, 1986a, pp. 214, 215–16 (Recto: [D] for figure on right of *Salmon-Booz-Obeth* lunette, developed from [Cat. 13, recto H], but “now in the direction of the painted figure.” On both the recto and verso of the present sheet, Michelangelo elaborates on a larger scale motifs first sketched in small. On the recto [A, B] develop [D]; on the verso [A] develops [C]; Michelangelo returns to this design on [Cat. 12 recto A]. The larger studies probably made from life and the contrast between these and the smaller sketches,

which show the figures clothed “is particularly striking on” the verso of the present sheet.). Hirst, 1988, p. 36 (Recto: [A, B, D] life studies for bent “pilgrim” on right of *Salmon-Booz-Obeth* lunette. Verso: [D] for slumped woman at right of *Roboam-Abias* lunette drawn first, then studied nude in [A]; Michelangelo returns to this motif [in Cat. 12 recto A].).

CATALOGUE 11

Recto: Sketches for Parts of the Sistine Ceiling and Lunettes

Verso: Sketches for Parts of the Sistine Ceiling and Lunettes

1846.47; R.24.3; P.II 301; Corpus 168

Dimensions: 140 × 142 mm



Medium

Recto: Pen, faint offset traces in black chalk.

Verso: Pen and ink and black chalk.

Condition

There is a repaired tear; the edges are discoloured, bruised, and nicked. The surface is disturbed and is fracturing. There is a strong vertical crease and skinning, small indentations, and fibrous accretions. Discolouration and staining are visible, particularly at the lower right and right edge, and there is some ink show-through. The recto of this page has suffered more than the others in this series from over-exposure to light.

Description/Discussion

Recto

A. *M...fer (Messer?) roma Silvio i roma falconi da magliano
silvio di mesfere... ma Damagliano in roma*

The inscription is given to Michelangelo by some students and not by others. The compiler tends to think it is not autograph.

B. A seated figure in right profile (very faint).

C. A seated figure in right profile with the right arm outstretched.

This may be a first idea for the woman at the right of the *Lesse-David-Salmon* lunette; in the fresco, however, it is her left arm that is stretched forward. This figure seems to have been drawn after D; it is revised in G.

D. *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness.*

Michelangelo does not seem to have turned the sheet to draw this figure. Robinson's remark deserves quotation: "This majestic impersonation was very little altered in the fresco, and the difference which exists is perhaps to the disadvantage of the latter; for it was impossible to surpass, or even to retain, in a finished work, the fervent energy displayed in every touch or rather scratch of the pen in this admirable sketch."

E. Seated nude figure facing forward, his right leg bent up, his left stretched down.

This seems to have been drawn in preparation for an *ignudo*, but it was not used in a recognisably connected form on the vault. It does, however, possess the energy of the later *ignudi*. It appears to have been drawn after H.

F. Seated figure seen frontally, turning round to his left.

This might have been drawn in preparation for an *ignudo*, but it could also be a first idea for the figure at the left of the *Phares-Esron-Aram* studied on a larger scale, and probably from life, on Cat. 16 recto.

G. A seated figure in right profile with the left arm stretched out

This is presumably a revision of C.

H. *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness*, upper torso.

I. *God the Father separating Light from Darkness*, upper torso, more lightly sketched.

It seems probable that the three sketches for *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness* were made before the other drawings on this page.

Verso

A. A reclining nude figure, in foreshortening, turned to right and reaching upwards and backwards, in pen.

The purpose of this figure is uncertain. Seen in strong foreshortening and in a complex, sensuous, pose, it is immediately reminiscent of Eve in the *Fall*. However, the *Fall* was part of the first campaign, and no other sketch in this series of drawings antedates the second campaign, so this figure presumably reprises rather than prepares the Eve. Robinson and others thought of it either as a sketch for the *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness* or as *God the Father Moving Above the Waters*, but neither view appears tenable to the compiler. The pose also seems improbable for an Ancestor or for a Sibyl – although it is identified by Hirst as a sketch for *Libica* – and, if it must be connected with an executed fresco, it is more likely to be for one of the stricken in the *Brazen Serpent*, which does contain female figures in complex poses.

B. Perhaps a modification of the head position of D, in pen.

C. (Located immediately below B.) Detail of the head and upper arm of A, in pen.

D. Seated figure seen frontally, with legs spread, leaning backwards to his right, in pen.

This is clearly an idea for *Ionas*, the figure in the vault brought into closest proximity with God the Father in the *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness*.

E. Seated figure in right profile, left leg raised and bent at the knee and left arm brought across chest, in pen.

This figure is probably a first idea for an *ignudo*, which was not pursued further on the vault. It anticipates, in reverse, the reclining youth in the *Dream of Human Life*, datable c. 1530. It is interpreted by Winner, 1994, as a first idea for *Ionas*, but the compiler does not find this convincing.

F. Seated figure seen from the front, leaning to his left with head resting on his hands, in black chalk.

This large sketch, which was no doubt the first to be made on this side of the sheet, clearly prepares the Ancestor at the left of the *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette, the left-hand lunette on the altar wall, destroyed in the 1530s to make way for the *Last Judgement* and known from engravings. It was developed in reverse from the sketch on Cat. 13 verso D, which was further developed, in the same direction, on Cat. 15 recto A.

G. A nude figure in profile to left, his right leg raised and bent at the knee, and his back turned inwards, in pen.

This figure, which is clearly standing rather than seated, may nevertheless be a preliminary idea for the *ignudo* to the right above *Libica*. This sketch or, more likely, a drawing developed from it, seems to have inspired, in reverse, a drawing by Bandinelli in the British Museum (1946-7-13-268 recto/Ward, 1988, no. 35 recto; red chalk 404 × 277 mm). Although placed by Ward in the 1540s, the compiler is inclined to think that Bandinelli's sketch was made shortly after the time of his closest association with Michelangelo, in the 1520s.

H. (Located to the right of G.) A light sketch of the upper part of G, in pen.

I. (Located immediately below and to the right of G.) A light sketch of the upper part of G, in pen.

J. A seated nude figure in profile to the right, turned outwards toward the viewer, his right leg folded over his left knee.

This may be a preliminary idea for the *ignudo* to the right above *Hieremias*. Alternatively, it may prepare an Ancestor.

K. Standing figure seen frontally (lightly outlined); this may have been intended for a figure in the *Haman* pen-dentive.

Copies

The recto was etched in facsimile in Ottley, 1808–23, p. 30, 148 × 153 mm. This etching is undated and unsigned.

References

Ottley, 1808–23, pp. 29–30 (Recto etched in facsimile. “[T]hree sketches for the outline representation of the Almighty disentangling Chaos, and two design for the admired figure of the female winding thread [one of them as executed in the fresco] which is painted in the compartment under . . . *Daniel*.”). Woodburn, 1836b, included in no. 50. Fisher, 1852, p. 1, pl. 8, left (Recto.); pl. 9, right (Verso.). Fisher, 1865, p. 16, I, pl. 8, left (Recto.); pl. 9, right (Verso.). Robinson, 1870, no. 24.3 (Michel Angelo. Recto: same identifications as Ottley: [D, H, I] for “the Almighty disentangling chaos.” [C] for the Jesse lunette. Verso: larger sketch [F] for figure now destroyed painted under *Ionas*; two of the others [D and E?] “seem to be very rudimentary sketches for . . . *Ionas*” [A] “in all

probability . . . for the foreshortened flying figure of the Almighty dividing light from darkness.”). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 14, pl. 8, left (Recto.); pl. 9, right (Verso.) (As 1852.). Springer, 1878, p. 116, pp. 501–2 (“Das Wunderbarste dürfte die Darstellung Gott Vaters, der das Licht von der Finsterniss scheidet sein. Trotz aller Kleinheit der Verhältnisse erkennt man die majestätische Kraft Jehovas, der wie in Sturme das Chaos durchsaut.” Reproduction of recto on p. 502.). Fisher, 1879, XVI.3/15 left (Recto); XVI.3a/16 right (Verso.). Springer, 1883, I, pp. 159–60 (As 1878. Reproduction of recto on p. 159.). Justi, 1900, p. 158 (Sketches for *Ionas* and *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness*). Steinmann, 1905, II, p. 604, no. 62A, left (Recto: studies for *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness* and for the Spinner at the left of the *Iesse* lunette.); no. 62B, right (Verso: studies for God the Father, *Ionas*, and Jacob in lost *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette.). Thode, 1908, I, p. 242 (Michelangelo. Recto: sketches for the *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness* “für ein Hochbild, nicht für ein Breitbild”; [C and G] for woman with spindle in *Iesse* lunette. Verso: [A] a small sketch perhaps for the *Spirit Moving over the Waters*; [D and ?E] for *Ionas*; [F] for sleeping man in *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette, in reverse from [Cat. 15 recto D]). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 152.7 (Verso [now recto]: inscription by Michelangelo. [D, H, I] after *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness*, Thode’s interpretation rejected; [C and G] adapted from woman in *Jesse* lunette); no. 151.4 (Recto [now verso]: [F] from figure in *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette. Motif of [A] recalls *Cascina* cartoon, no connection with the *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness*; [D] relates to *Ionas* but [E] does not; figures resemble motifs of the slaves and the *ignudi*, but no direct links.). Thode, 1913, no. 410 (Verso: [now recto]: [D, H, I] for the *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness*; it is uncertain whether the figure should be interpreted as horizontal or vertical. [C and G] for woman with spindle in *Iesse* lunette. Recto [now verso]: [F] for sleeping figure in *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette; [A] a link with God the Father doubtful; [D] link with *Ionas* doubtful; [E] not for *Ionas*; [G] perhaps for an *ignudo*; [H] for a lunette figure or an *ignudo*). Delacre, 1938, p. 123 (Michelangelo. Verso: [E] “est pour *Jonas*. Il serait peut-être difficile de nous désigner un artiste qui, d’un oeuvre qui ne serait pas la sienne, puisse donner un croquis aussi nerveux, aussi personnel et aussi différent.”). Parker, 1956, no. 301 (Recto: [C and G] correspond with woman on right of *Iesse* lunette. [D, H, I] variants of *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness*. Verso: [F] in reverse for figure on left of *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette. [D, E] perhaps for *Ionas*; [A] perhaps linked to *Separating*). Dussler,

1959, no. 606 (Recto: link with *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness*. Verso: links with *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette, *Separating* and *Ionas*). Berenson, 1961, no. 1702c (School of Michelangelo. Recto: [D, H, I] variants of the *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness*; [C, G] correspond to woman on right of *Iesse-Salmon* lunette. Verso: [F] for figure at left of *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette; four? sketches perhaps for *Ionas*; upper left three weak sketches perhaps for *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness*). Hartt, 1971, p. 87 (Recto: mainly by Falconi; two faint sketches by Michelangelo.); no. 114 (Verso: “Black chalk sketch for *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette; nudes in ink probably by Falconi.”). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 26 (Recto: inscription not in Michelangelo’s hand.). Hartt, 1975, no. 110A (Recto now accepted.). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 168 (Recto: [D, H, I] for the *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness*; [C] certainly, [G] probably for woman at right of *Iesse-David-Salmon* lunette; [F] probably for man at left of *Iesse-David-Salmon* lunette. Verso: [A] probably for the *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness*; [D, E] probably for *Ionas*, also sketched on [Cat. 13 recto, A]; [G] perhaps point of departure for nude to right above *Libica*; [H] perhaps for *ignudo* left above *Hieremias*; [F] for figure in *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette, studied again in [Cats. 13 verso D and 15 recto A]). Hirst, 1986a, p. 214 (Recto: [D, H, I] for the *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness*: in two of them God the Father is drawn vertically and the hatching lines show that Michelangelo did not turn the page: “the artist experimented with a figure drawn along the axis of the chapel before establishing the final lateral design drawn at the upper right.” Verso: [E] developed from [D] on [Cat. 13 verso] and [A] on [Cat. 15 recto]. Two studies for *ignudi*, one to the right of *Libica* flanking the first Creation scene; a sketch for *Ionas* [D], developed further on [Cat. 13 recto A]; the study upper left for *Libica*). Hirst, 1988, p. 37 (Recto: [D] “an astonishingly complete little draft for the mural scene as painted; even the framing lines are drawn in.”). Mancinelli, 1992, p. 45 (Recto: sketches for God the Father and Spinning Woman in lunette immediately below.). Hirst, 1990, no. 4 (Recto: three sketches for old woman spinning thread on the right of the *Iesse-Salmon* lunette; two studies for the *ignudo* at the right above *Hieremias*; three studies for God the Father. Direction of lower one suggests that Michelangelo thought of arranging the figure longitudinally. Sheet offers proof that all parts of the decoration conceived simultaneously.). Hirst, 1992, p. 11 (Recto: “the artist seems to have adopted this kind of small-scale *pensiero* mostly for single-figure inventions.”). Winner, 1994, p. 196 (Verso: E a first idea for *Ionas*; D shows *Ionas*



closer to final form, but with the left leg still raised above the right. The study F was made for a figure intended to be seen in relation to *Ionas*.).

CATALOGUE 12

Recto: Sketches for Parts of the Sistine Ceiling and the Lunettes

Verso: Sketches for Parts of the Sistine Ceiling and the Lunettes

1846.48; R.24. 4; P.II 302; Corpus 169

Dimensions: 140 × 142 mm; a strip some 4 mm wide made up at the left edge

Medium

Pen and ink.

Condition

A narrow additional strip is adhered along the length of the left edge, with its left edge cut. There are three pressed-out vertical folds with associated ingrained dirt; there is skinning, a small hole, and edge abrasion. Uneven discolouration, local staining, and embedded dirt are visible, with a show-through of ink.

Description/Discussion

Recto

A. The torso of a seated man in right profile, leaning forward, his head turned inwards supported on his hand upon his knee.

Another study for the right-hand figure in the *Roboam-Abias* lunette; developed from 9 recto B.

B. The legs of a seated man, in right profile.

A study for the legs of the right-hand figure in *Salmon-Booz-Obeth* lunette, developed from Cat. 10 recto D.



C. A right foot.

The right foot of B, re-studied.

D. A curved line rising from a horizontal.

Perhaps the indication of a window.

With the top edge as base

E. A seated man facing half left, his right leg raised and bent at the knee, and writing.

Perhaps a preliminary idea for the left-hand figure in the *Asa-Iosaphat-Ioram* lunette. It may be that Michelangelo inverted the page in order to remind himself that this lunette was on the opposite side of the vault from the *Roboam-Abias* lunette. This figure was developed further on Cat. 17.

Verso

A. A seated figure in right profile, resting against the curve of the window, half turned inwards, looking at something on his crossed legs.

Presumably an idea for an Ancestor that was not pursued.

B. A seated figure in right profile bending forward.

Perhaps Michelangelo's first idea for the right-hand figure in the *Roboam-Abias* lunette; developed further in Cat. 9 recto B and in A on the recto of the present sheet.

C. A seated figure in right profile, resting against the curve of the window, the right leg drawn back.

Perhaps a sketch for the right-hand figure in the *Salmon-Booz-Obeth* lunette.

D. A standing figure in left profile, his right knee raised on a block, reading a sheet of paper, facing into the curve of the window.

Perhaps a preliminary idea, employed in reverse, for the standing figure at the left facing inwards in the *Naason* lunette.

References

Ottley, 1808–23, p. 29. Woodburn, 1836b, included in no. 50. Fisher, 1852, p. 1, pl. 8, right (Recto.); pl. 9, left (Verso.). Fisher, 1865, p. 16, I, pl. 8, right (Recto.); pl. 9, left (Verso.). Robinson, 1870, no. 24.4 (Michel

Angelo. Recto: [A] sketches for “the back and upper part of right-hand figure in *Roboam-Abias* lunette . . . [B] the legs of . . . *Boaz* [and] . . . [E] perhaps for *King Joram*.” Verso: sketches for *Boaz*, *Joram*, and the Woman with a winding-reel.). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 14, pl. 8, right (Recto); pl. 9, left (Verso) (As 1852.). Fisher, 1879, XVI.4/15 right (Recto); XVI.4a/16 left (Verso). Steinmann, 1905, II, p. 604, no. 62A, right (Recto: sketches for the sleeping man at the right of the *Roboam* lunette); no. 62B, left (Verso: fleeting sketches for lunettes.). Thode, 1908, I, p. 266 (Michelangelo. Recto: [A] for sleeping man in *Roboam* lunette; [B, C] for man with staff in *Salmon* lunette; [E] two? small studies for writing man in *Asa* lunette; other sketches cannot be connected with existing frescoes.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 152.8 (Verso [now recto]: [A] related to *Roboam* lunette; [B, C] to *Salmon*; [E] possibly to writing figure in *Asa-Joram* lunette.); no. 151.3 (Recto [now verso]: poorly drawn and unrelated to frescoes.). Thode, 1913, no. 411 (Verso [now recto]: [A] as 1908; [B, C] as 1908; [E] for man in *Asa* lunette.). Parker, 1956, no. 302 (Recto: [A] for man on right of *Roboam*; [B, C] for man at right of *Salmon-Booz* lunette; [E] resembles man on left of *Asa*. Verso: no direct connections.). Dusler, 1959, no. 607 (Recto: connection with *Asa* lunette. Verso: description; unconnected.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1702d (School of Michelangelo. Recto: [A] for sleeping man in *Roboam-Abias* lunette; [B] legs of man at right of *Salmon-Booz* lunette; [E] for man at left in *Asa-Josaphat* lunette. Verso: sketches for lunettes.). Hartt, 1971, no. 123 (Recto: for arm of *Abiah* and legs of *Boaz*; tiny sketch for *Josaphat* [upside down].); no. 110 (Verso: sketch for *Boaz* [lower centre]; probable sketches for *Bathsheba* [upper left] and destroyed *Jacob* [lower centre].). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 27 (Recto). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 169 (Recto: [A] for man at right of *Roboam-Abias* lunette, previously sketched on [Cats. 9 recto B, 10 verso A, D]; [B, C] for figure at right of *Salmon-Booz* lunette; [E, inverted] perhaps for figure at right of *Asa-Iosaphat-Ioram* lunette. Verso: [A] perhaps for woman at right of *David-Salmon* lunette; [B] perhaps an embryonic sketch for man at right of *Roboam-Abias* lunette; [C] taken up in reverse from left-hand figure in *Achim-Eliud* lunette; [D] for a Prophet or Ancestor? some relation to [Cat. 9 recto C].). Hirst, 1988, p. 36 (Recto: [A] studied from life takes up [Cat. 10 verso A, D, Cat. 13 verso D, Cat. 15 recto A].).

Verso: Sketches for Parts of the Sistine Ceiling and Lunettes
1846.49; R.25.1; P.II 303; Corpus 170

Dimensions: 138 × 143 mm

Medium

Pen and ink.

Condition

There is a major triangular pulp infill, numerous skinned patches with toned infills, and a minor torn hole. There is widespread uneven discolouration and major staining. There is skinning, a vertical score line, a major inherent diagonal crease, and adhesive and paper remnants on the edges. The medium is blurred.

Description/Discussion

Recto

A. A seated figure seen frontally and upright, apparently within a pendentive, the legs spread wide, the right arm raised across the torso and the head bent to the left, accompanied by two *putti*.

An early idea for *Ionas*, perhaps antedating Cat. 11 verso D, which is inclined to the viewer's left, as in the fresco.

B. (Located immediately above and to the right of A.) Indecipherable.

C. (Located immediately to the right of B.) This sketch is difficult to interpret, but it seems to show the lower torso and legs of a figure in a seated pose. It is tempting to think that it is a variant of A, but if so, it would have to precede it, and the layout of the page does not support this. It could be a sketch for an *ignudo*, but the pose is less complex than those of the *ignudi* in the last two bays of the ceiling, and it is more likely to have been made for an Ancestor, not developed further.

D. A seated figure in left profile, apparently reclining against a shallow curved form.

This seems to be for an Ancestor, but it was not pursued.

E. (Located in the upper centre of the sheet.) A seated woman, her legs angled to her right, facing forward, with a partly visible child, perhaps developed further on 14 verso A.

F. (Drawn with the top of the sheet as the base.) A standing nude figure in left profile, his left leg extended, his right knee raised, his head supported in his right hand, looking outwards or forward?.

This is perhaps a first idea for the *ignudo* right above *Libica*; it is drawn over G.

G. An inscription *Dagli bere* (Da gli bere) in Michelangelo's hand.

This no doubt refers to the action of E.

CATALOGUE 13

Recto: Sketches for Parts of the Sistine Ceiling and Lunettes



H. An elderly man seated in left profile within a lunette, his legs crossed, a bundle and a wide-brimmed hat slung over his back, his right forearm tried in two positions, bent across his lap and supporting his head.

Hirst 1986a suggests that this figure was further developed in Cat. 10 recto D, which is in reverse; although there are similarities between the figures, a direct linking seems doubtful to the compiler.

I. A partly draped seated man seen from the front, turning round to his right and reaching upwards.

This is perhaps a first idea, in reverse, for the figure at the left-hand side of the destroyed *Abraam-Isaac-Jacob-Iudas* lunette, developed further, reversed and stiffened in Cat. 16 recto. A very similar pose, reversed, was employed by Raphael for the Adam in the *Fall* of the vault of the Stanza della Segnatura.

J. A seated woman in left profile, bending down towards the base of a winding spool?, accompanied by an apparently mature man and two children.

The curve to the right is the window. This drawing seems to have been the inspiration for the woman on the right-hand

side of the *Iesse-David-Salmon* lunette. However, her pose is not identical, and there she only works a spindle and is unaccompanied by children. Michelangelo may have felt that the pose sketched here was too close to that in Cat. 10 verso C to be pursued.

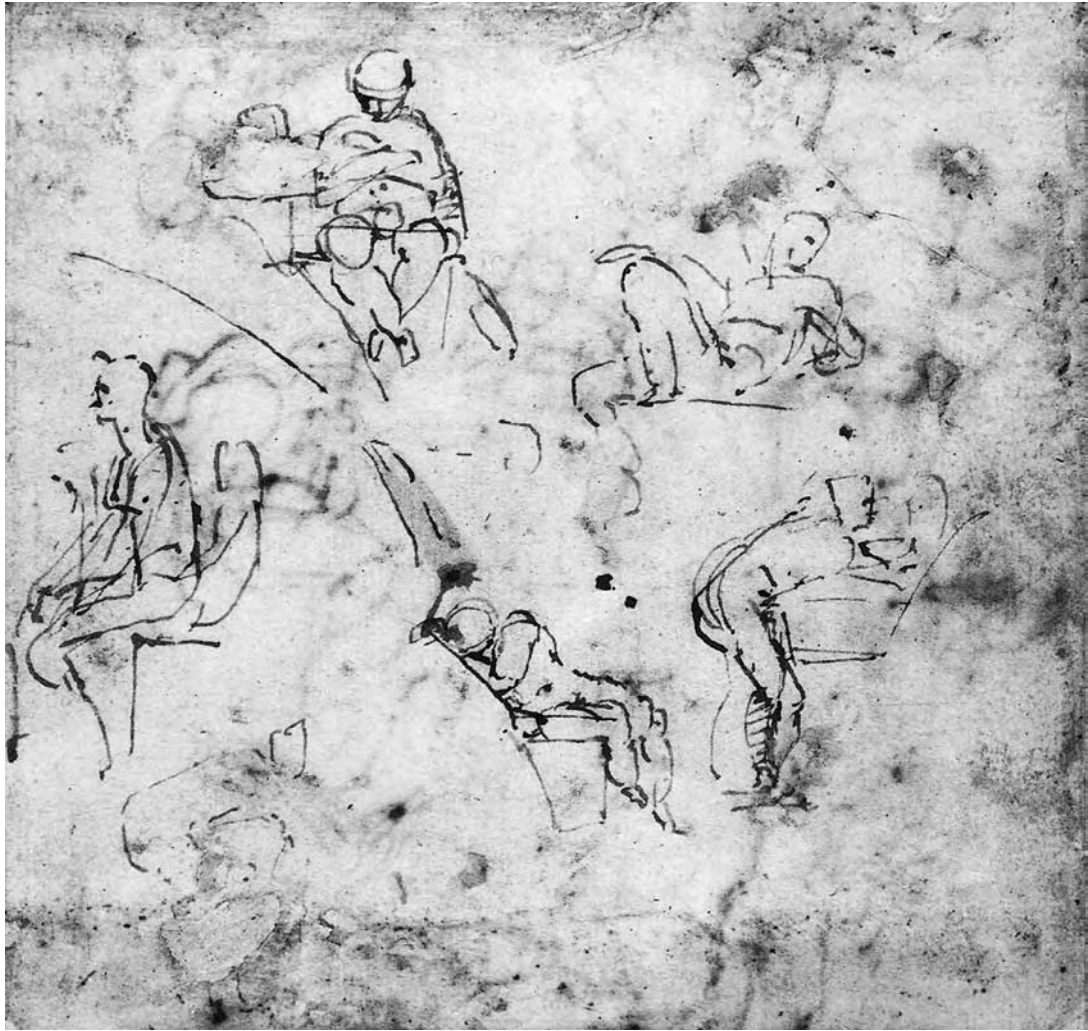
Verso

A. A seated figure seen frontally, his/her arms folded across the torso, looking down to his/her right; the object at the left side may be a cradle.

Aspects of the pose resemble that of the left-hand figure in the *Aminadab* lunette, but there is no close correspondence, and the figure is probably female. Perhaps pursued in Cat. 16 verso B.

B. A reclining figure seen from half left, with his/her left knee raised and right leg hanging down, resting on the left arm and looking out to his/her left.

It is conjectural for what purpose this figure was intended: The obvious answer would be that it was drawn for one of the bronze nudes in the interstices of the architecture, but this pose was not used in any of them: It was recalled over a decade later in the *Dawn* in the New Sacristy.



C. A seated figure in left profile, tried in two positions: the first leaning back; the second upright and stiff.

The curved line above this figure to the right would suggest that Michelangelo considered momentarily setting a figure against the prevailing outward facing poses of the ancestors.

D. A seated nude male figure seen frontally, leaning to his right against the curve of a window.

A first idea for the sleeping figure on the left of the *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette, taken further in reverse on Cat. 11 verso F and reversed again on Cat. 15 recto A to the original pose as here, and as finally executed.

E. A standing nude figure in right profile with legs crossed at the calves, perhaps holding a cup, leaning against the upper curve of the window.

Perhaps a first idea for the female figure at the left of the *Naason* lunette; developed further in a drawing in Florence (CB24F/B 242/Corpus 160; black chalk, 150 × 122 mm; this sheet, although similar in size to those of the present sketch-book, did not form part of it; as noted by Hirst, 1986a, p. 216, the paper texture and chain-lines differ) in which, however,

the figure is male. Another drawing in Florence (CB39F/B 234/Corpus 303; pen and ink over black chalk, 278 × 197 mm), which represents a standing female figure in right profile bending forward, was erroneously connected with this fresco by the compiler, but it was no doubt made somewhat earlier for an unidentified project and in part reprised in the *Naason* figure.

F. A lighter sketch of E.

Copy

F on the recto was copied in pen c. 1580 by Andrea Comodi on Uffizi 18654F recto.

References

Ottley, 1808–23, p. 29. Woodburn, 1836b, included in no. 2. Fisher, 1852, p. 1, pl. 2, left (Recto); pl. 3, right (Verso). Fisher, 1865, p. 16, I, pl. 2, left (Recto); pl. 3, right (Verso). Robinson, 1870, no. 25.1 (Michelangelo. Recto: only [A] a sketch for *Ionas* recognisable. Verso: one sketch [A] “seems to correspond with

Aminadab.”). Fisher, 1872, p. 13, pl. 2, left (Recto); pl. 3, right (Verso) (As 1852.). Fisher, 1879, XVII.1/17 left (Recto); XVII.2a/18 right (Verso). Steinmann, 1905, II, no. 59A, left (Recto: sketches for the Spinner and the Old Man in the *Salmon* lunette.); no. 59B, right (Verso: sketches for lunettes including the sleeping Jacob for the lost *Phares-Esron-Aram*). Thode, 1908, I, pp. 263, 267, 269, 270, 271 (Michelangelo. Recto: J for woman with spindle in *Iesse* lunette. Verso: [A] for figure in *Aminadab* lunette; [B]? for the *ignudo* left above *Hieremias*, in reverse; [D] for sleeping man in *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette. The remainder cannot securely be connected with existing frescoes.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 153.9 (Recto: inscription autograph; figures not specifically related to frescoes; [A] not related to *Ionas*.); no. 154.14 (Verso: [A] related to *Aminadab*; [D] related to *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette.). Thode, 1913, no. 412 (Recto: as 1908. Verso: as 1908.). De Tolnay, 1945, p. 214, under no. 28a, fig. 249 (Recto: “sketches . . . of a better quality but also seem to be only copies after the lunettes and not studies for them.”). Parker, 1956, no. 303 (Recto: [A] reminiscent of *Ionas*; [J] similar to woman on right of *Iesse*; [H] reminiscent in reverse to man on right of *Jesse*. *Dagli bere* perhaps relates to [E]. Verso: [D] for *Phares-Esron-Aram*; [A] similar to figure on left of *Aminadab*; [B] vaguely comparable to *ignudo* left above *Hieremias*.). Dussler, 1959, no. 608 (Recto: description; no relations noted. *Dagli bere* must relate to sketch [E]. Verso: description; no relations noted.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1703a (School of Michelangelo. Recto: lunette figures. Verso: [D] the sleeping figure in the *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette.). Hartt, 1971, no. 120 (Recto: sketches of woman nursing, possibly for Ruth [centre] “Michelangelo’s comment, *Dagli bere* [give him to drink] recalls his ambivalent concern with the activity of nursing”; for Bathsheba, in reverse [lower centre] and, possibly, for Boaz, in reverse [centre right].); no. 113 (Verso: nude related to *ignudo* left above *Hieremias*; also for figure in *Phares-Esron-Aram* and wife of *Naason*.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 28 (Recto; inscription in Michelangelo’s hand.). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 170 (Recto: [A] and perhaps [C] for *Ionas*; [E] perhaps for woman in *Manasses-Amon* lunette, as is perhaps [D]; [F] perhaps for a figure in *Iosaphat-Ioram* lunette; [G] not taken further but recalled in the *Penseroso* of the New Sacristy; [I] sketch in reverse for the left-hand figure in *Abraham-Isaac-Iacob-Iudas* lunette, taken further in [Cat. 16 recto A]; [J] motif of spindle appears on right in the *David-Salomon* lunette, but the present group of figures is not retained. Verso: [A] for *Aminadab*; [B] Parker’s linking perhaps correct, but could also be for a bronze nude, such as that above *Ezechias*; the pose anticipates the River Gods planned

for the New Sacristy; [C] proportions recall those of the left-hand figure in the *Azor-Sadoch* lunette, but the pose differs; [D] sketch for sleeping figure in *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette.). Hirst, 1986a, p. 215 (Verso: [D] light sketch for sleeping figure in *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette, taken up in [Cat. 15 recto A] and, in the final direction, in [Cat. 11 verso F]; [F], perhaps related to woman on right of *Azor-Sadoch* lunette but abandoned [F] perhaps a sketch for [E], as suggested by G. Bonsanti.). Hirst, 1988, p. 36 (Verso: [E, F] for woman with mirror in *Naason* lunette; taken further in [Cat. 15 verso].). Hirst, 1988–9a, no. 12 (Verso: [B] “anticipates design of Medici chapel allegories. Only the three lower sketches relate unmistakably to figures carried out.” [D] for *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette; [E, F] as 1988.). Winner, 1994, p. 196 (Recto: A for *Ionas*, following from Cat. 11 verso D; head shown in three positions. Verso: D another study for the sleeping Ancestor, respecting the final direction of the fresco.).

CATALOGUE 14

Recto: An Old Man

Verso: Sketches for Parts of the Sistine Ceiling and the Lunettes

1846.50; R.25. 2; P.II 304; Corpus 171

Dimensions: 135 × 148 mm. This sheet appears to have been made up at the bottom.

Medium

Recto: Soft black chalk.

Verso: Pen and ink and black chalk (rather than lead-point as Parker thought); traces of offsetting in black chalk.

Condition

There is a major darker-toned infill, several smaller infills, widespread skinning and fractures, a number of small holes and punctures, and ink burn-through. The sheet displays uneven discolouration, paper remnants, nicks with ingrained dirt, minor tears and skinning, particularly around the edges, and general foxing.

Description/Discussion

Recto

An old man in right profile, bent forward, supporting himself on a stick, accompanied by a dog who barks at a figure facing him who seems to be offering him something.



This small scene does not occur on the Sistine ceiling, but it is related in broad terms to the figure on the right of the *Salmon-Booz-Obeth* lunette. There is a curved line running across the sheet parallel to the figure's bent back, which reinforces the connection with a lunette. Michelangelo seems to have recalled the form of the bent old man in the early 1520s in a sketch of an elderly man carrying an infant on his shoulders (Florence, Uffizi, 621E recto/B131/Corpus 70; black chalk and pen and ink, 238 × 214 mm; the other drawing on this sheet, of a *putto* urinating into a cup, was probably prepared for the *Bacchanal* commissioned from Michelangelo by Alfonso d'Este of Ferrara but never executed; it inspired a figure in the *Infant Bacchanal* at Windsor [see Cat. 66] drawn in 1533). Michelangelo adapted the recto again in 1560–1 for the reverse of the portrait medal struck of him by Leone Leoni.

Verso

A. A seated woman in left profile in two slightly varied positions, notably in the head and right leg, looking at a

child lying across her lap, in pen; perhaps a more developed version of Cat. 13 verso E.

It has been suggested that this sketch is a first idea for the woman on the right of the *Ezechias-Manasses-Amon* lunette, which, if correct, would imply that this lunette was executed during the second campaign, but this view is rejected by Hirst 1986a, no doubt correctly.

B. A seated or standing figure turned half right, his right leg raised and bent at the knee, his left arm bent forward across his chest, looking forward, in pen.

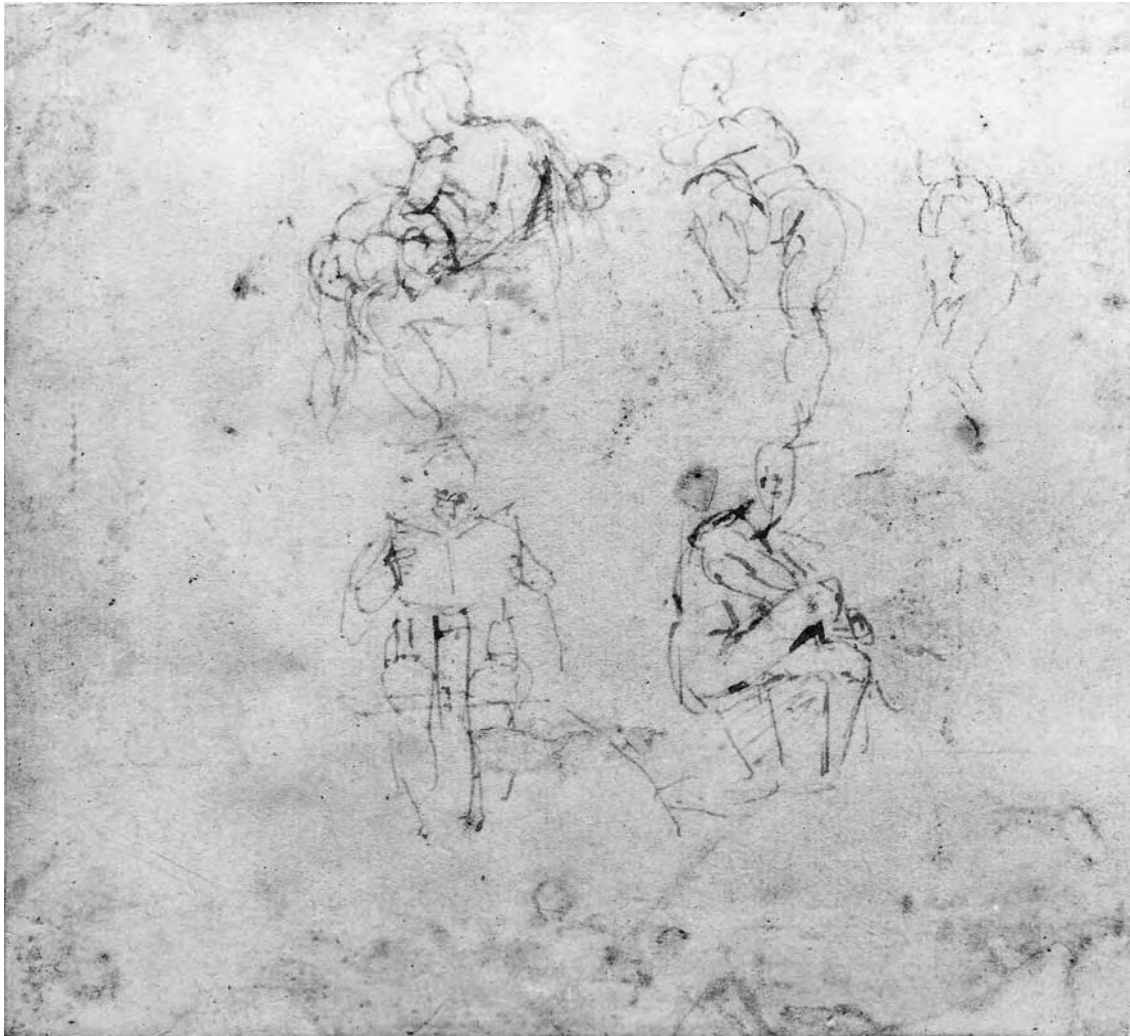
This virile, dramatic figure does not seem a likely preparation for one of the Ancestors, but it may be an early unused idea for one of the *ignudi*.

C. A lighter sketch, probably related to B, with the figure's right leg lowered, in black chalk.

D. A seated figure, seen frontally, reading a book opened across his chest, in pen.

This is another version of the figure sketched on Cat. 9 verso G; these sketches presumably prepare a Prophet.

E. A seated figure in right profile, his right leg bent over his left knee, his ankle held by his right hand, looking out



to his right; the right leg also tried in a kneeling pose, in pen.

This is probably a first idea for an *ignudo*; it bears some relation to that to the left above *Hieremias*.

F. Indecipherable offset traces from a black chalk drawing.

Copy

B on the verso was copied in pen c. 1580 by Andrea Comodi on Uffizi 18654F recto.

References

Ottley, 1808–23, p. 29. Woodburn, 1836b, included in no. 2. Fisher, 1852, p. 1, pl. 2, right (Recto); pl. 3, left (Verso). Fisher, 1865, p. 16, I, pl. 2, right (Recto); pl. 3, left (Verso). Robinson, 1870, no. 25.2 (Michelangelo. Recto: “has considerable resemblance to the well-known figure, on the reverse of the medal of Michelangelo in his eighty-eighth year, executed by Leone Leoni of Arezzo, upwards of fifty years after the probable date of the present drawing.” Verso: [A] “apparently...for the

lunette figure on the right side, beneath... *Cumaea*.”). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 13, pl. 2, right (Recto); pl. 3, left (Verso) (As 1852.). Fisher, 1879, XVII.2/17 right (Recto); XVII.2a/18 left (Verso). Steinmann, 1905, II, pp. 450, 604, no. 59A, right (Recto: reading man perhaps a first idea of *Naason*, later switched to profile view; the old man in the *Salmon* lunette, standing.); no. 59B, left (Sketches for lunettes including sleeping Jacob from lost *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette.). Thode, 1908, I, pp. 266, 267, 271 (Michelangelo. Verso: [A] woman with child on her knee for *Ezechias* lunette; [B] the woman with the mirror for the *Naason* lunette, in reverse; other sketches cannot be precisely related to frescoes.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 153.10 (Recto: “für Michelagnoliol viel zu schwach gezeichnet.”); no. 154.13 (Verso: [A] related to *Ezechias* lunette; if [B] is related to woman in *Naason* lunette, it is in reverse.). Thode, 1913, no. 413 (Michelangelo. Recto: old beggar; verso: as 1908.). Berenson, 1938, no. 1703, note (Recto corresponds in design to the reverse of Leoni’s medal of 1561. Is “this sketch...the copy of a drawing from his

earlier years that Michelangelo had kept for 40 years and then gave to Leone?"). Parker, 1956, no. 304 (Recto: an anomaly; the only drawing "unconnected with . . . motifs occurring in the Sistine ceiling." Any link with the reverse of Leoni's medal "may safely be dismissed." Verso: [A] resembles figure on left of *Ezechias* lunette; [D] similar to Cat. 10 verso [C].). Dussler, 1959, no. 609 (Recto: link with reverse of Leone's Portrait medal rejected. Verso: description; no links noted.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1703b (School of Michelangelo. Recto: as 1938. Verso: [A] resembles woman in *Ezechias-Manasses* lunette.). Hartt, 1971, no. 118 (Verso: for *Manasses-Amon* lunette [upper left]; possibly for *Naason* [lower right] "the same reading figure as in no. 117" [Cat. 9].); p. 390 (Recto: rejected.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 29 (Recto: link with the reverse of Leone's medal; exceptionally not connected obviously with the ceiling; but the wife of *Naason* is shown standing, with her back to the curve of the lunette.). Hartt, 1975, no. 123A (Recto accepted.). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 171 (Recto: contrast of age and youth; curve of back perhaps employed in *Salmon-Booz-Obeth* lunette; recalled in Michelangelo's design for the reverse of Leone Leoni's portrait medal. Verso: [A] resembles woman in *Ezechias-Manasses* lunette. [B] perhaps a first idea for the figure at right of *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette. [D]: sketch for a Prophet; three other versions on [Cat. 9 verso]. [E]: first position of legs found in right-hand figure in *Eleazar-Matham* lunette, but the torso and right arm are different.). Hirst, 1986a, p. 216 (Recto: relation to *Salmon-Booz-Obeth* lunette can "scarcely be coincidental"; agrees with Ottley that it was sketched from life.); pp. 212–13 (Verso: linking of [A] with *Ezechias* . . . lunette "unconvincing, for the drawing shows a figure turned towards us, not away in *profil perdu*, the action of the left arm is different and pentimenti in the drawing have been misinterpreted as the sleeping child. . . . This little sketch, in fact, was never employed in the painted programme."). Hirst, 1988, pp. 10, 36 (Recto: "a piece of observation committed to paper in the street. But even this brief, Rembrandt-like vignette of outdoor life seems to have been made with the purpose of transcribing it into a monumental figure.").

CATALOGUE 15

Recto: Sketches for Parts of the Sistine Ceiling and the Lunettes

Verso: Sketches for Parts of the Sistine Ceiling and the Lunettes

1846.51; R.25.3; P.II 305; Corpus 172

Dimensions: 135 × 148 mm

Medium

Recto: Soft black chalk and pen and ink.

Verso: Soft black chalk.

Condition

There are minor repairs, an unevenly discoloured margin, small nicks, ingrained dirt, skinning, and fibrous accretions around the edges. There is a small indent, a skinned hole, a horizontal scratch across the centre, and two punctures. The sheet displays uneven discolouration, extensive foxing, and local staining.

Description/Discussion

Recto

A. A seated man, facing forward, his legs drawn together at the ankles, leaning sideways to his right, in black chalk.

A is a project for the *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette, developed from Cat. 13 verso D and, in reverse, from Cat. 11 verso F.

B. (Located against the right edge of the sheet.) Apparently drawn with the left edge as the base, a lightly sketched figure probably for the *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness*, in pen.

C. Illegible scribble in pen.

D. A figure in a contorted pose, in pen.

Perhaps a first idea for a figure in the *Brazen Serpent*.

Verso

A standing draped female figure in right profile leaning forward into the lunette with a child facing her reclining on the curve of the window. No doubt an idea for the *Naason* lunette. A faint offset of this figure is on Cat. 16 verso C.

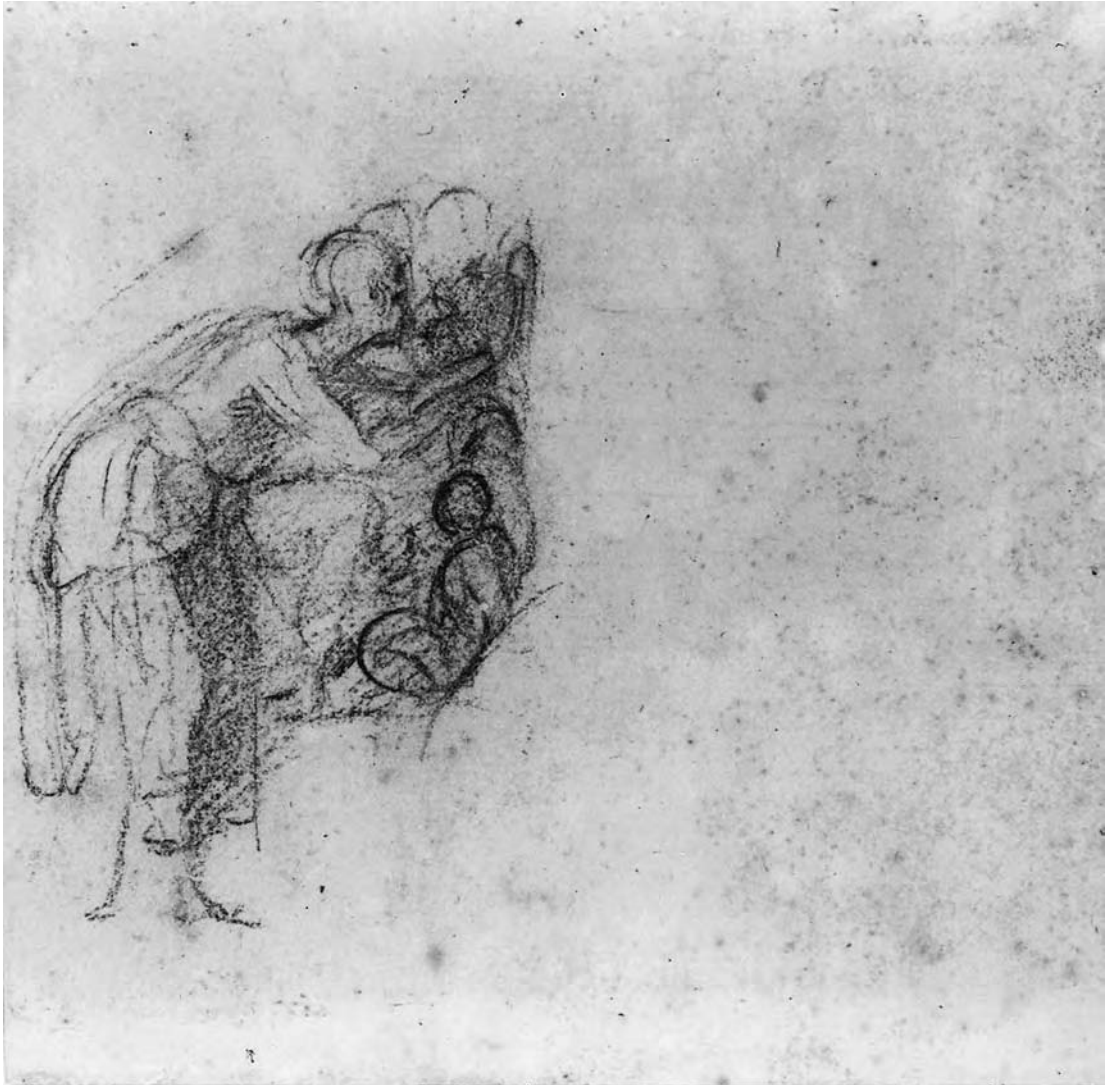
References

Ottley, 1808–23, p. 29. Woodburn, 1836b, included in no. 2. Fisher, 1852, p. 1, pl. 4, left (Recto); pl. 5, right (Verso). Fisher, 1865, p. 16, I, pl. 4, left (Recto); pl. 5, right (Verso). Robinson, 1870, no. 25.3 (Michel Angelo. Recto: [A] "study for destroyed lunette figure." Verso: "This figure, although greatly changed in the working out, is evidently one of those ultimately executed in the lunette under the triangular space containing the *Brazen Serpents*."). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 14, pl. 4, left (Recto); pl. 5, right (Verso) (As 1852.). Fisher, 1879, XVII.3/19 left (Recto); XVII.3a/20 right (Verso). Steinmann, 1905, II, pp. 455, 603, no. 60A, left (Recto: sketch for sleeping Jacob in lost *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette.); no. 60B, right



(Verso: study of standing woman with two children, for left of *Naason* lunette.). Thode, 1908, I, p. 266 (Michelangelo. Recto: [A] for *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette. Verso: woman with two children linked with *Naason* lunette.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 153.11 (Recto: [A] related to sleeper in *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette.); no. 154.16 (Verso: similarities with woman in *Naason* lunette.). Thode, 1913, no. 414 (As 1908.). Parker, 1956, no. 305 (Recto: [A] for *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette. Verso: woman resembles figure on left of *Naason* lunette, but children there are omitted.). Dussler, 1959, no. 610 (Recto: link with *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette. Verso: link with *Naason* lunette.). Berenson, 1961, 1703 c (School of Michelangelo. Recto: [A] resembles left-hand figure in *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette. Verso: resembles woman in *Naason* lunette.). Hartt, 1971, no. 115 (Recto: “powerful” for *Phares-Esron-Aram*; sketches after *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness* probably

by Falconi.); no. 116 (Verso: for *Naason*’s wife with attendant figures later eliminated.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 30 (Recto). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 172 (Recto: [A] for left-hand figure in *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette; in reverse like [Cat. 13 verso D] but unlike [Cat. 11 verso F], which must be later. [B, C, D] sketches for the *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness*, probably made before those on [Cat. 11]. Verso: for woman in *Naason* lunette; light comes from the opposite direction in the fresco; children omitted in fresco.). Hirst, 1986a, p. 212 (Notes that [Cat. 15] verso originally faced [Cat. 16] verso.); pp. 214–15 (Recto: [B, C, D] “seemingly inchoate jottings for the *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness*, preceding those on [Cat. 11]; [A] lit from right.); p. 216 (Verso: idea for *Naason* lunette, developed further on CB24F/Corpus 160 which, although similar in size, was never a leaf



from this sketchbook. “[S]triking resemblance...” to figure of Melpomene from a muse sarcophagus in the Louvre.). Hirst, 1988, p. 36 (Verso: follows from [13 verso E, F] for woman in *Naason* lunette; “the self-contemplative pose has been established and the mirror already included.”).

CATALOGUE 16

Recto: Sketch for the Left-Hand Figure in the *Abraam-Isaac-Iacob-Iudas* Lunette

Verso: Sketches for the Sistine Lunettes?
1846.52; R.25.4; P.II 306; Corpus 173

Dimensions: 140 × 145 mm

Medium

Soft black chalk and pen.

Condition

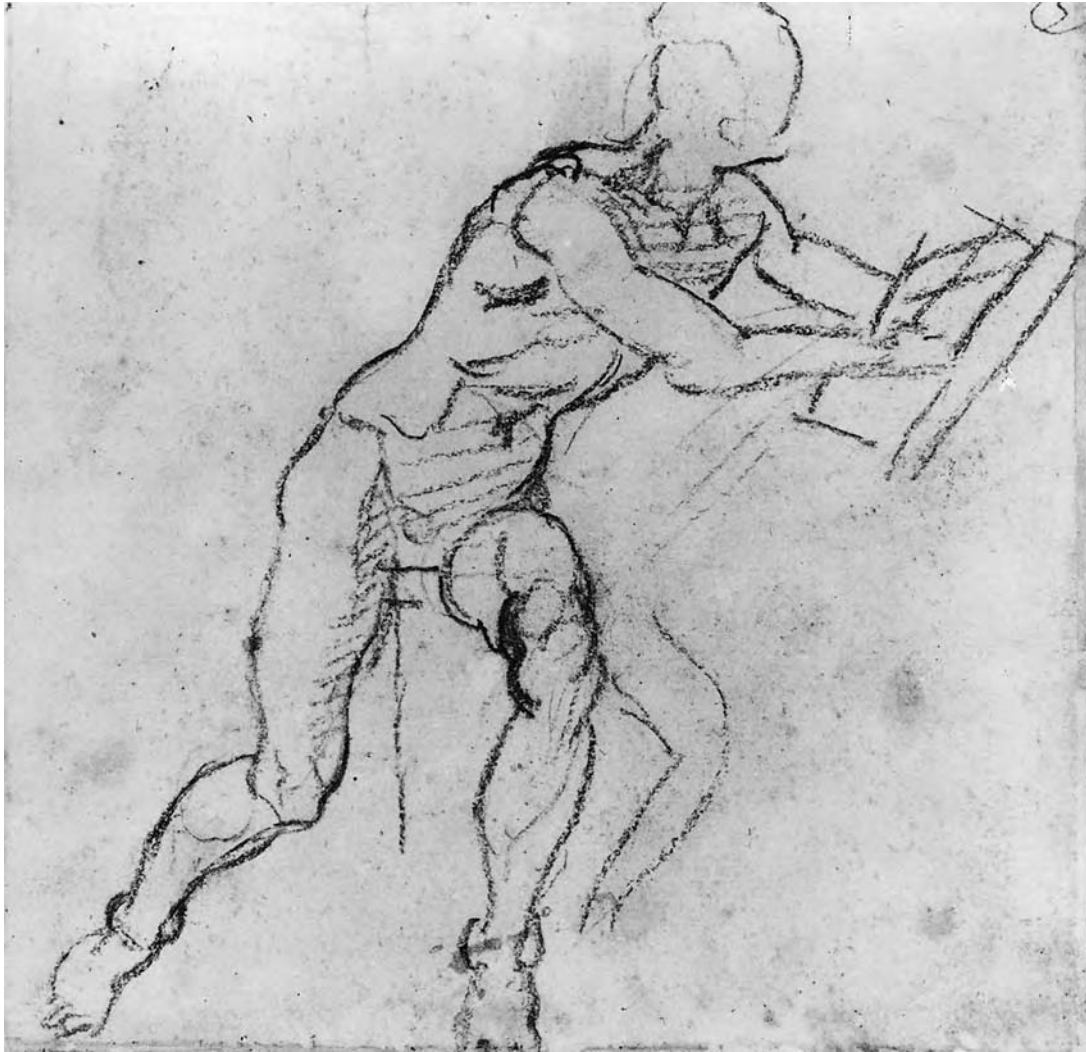
There is a repaired tear, skinning with some repair, abrasion, two small punctures, some edge creasing, and fibrous accretions. The sheet displays uneven discolouration, local staining, foxing, ingrained surface dirt, and medium offset.

Description/Discussion

Recto

A. A nude male seated, turning to his left to study a book; his left leg sketched again in abbreviated form further to his left.

A study for the figure at the left of the *Abraaham-Iacob-Iudas* lunette, executed draped in the fresco.



B. (Located in upper right corner.) An indecipherable form, perhaps a number, in pen and ink.

Verso

A. A seated headless male figure seen from the front, the left leg raised on a step or block, the right leg extended.

B. A figure in outline seen from the front, his/her arms folded across his/her chest.

Perhaps another version of the figure Cat. 13 verso A.
C. An offset from Cat. 15 verso.

References

Ottley, 1808–23, p. 29. Woodburn, 1836b, included in no. 2. Fisher, 1852, p. 1, pl. 4, right (Recto); pl. 5, left (Verso). Fisher, 1865, p. 16, I, pl. 4, right (Recto); pl. 5, left (Verso). Robinson, 1870, no. 25.4 (Michelangelo. Recto: study for another destroyed lunette figure. Verso:

“not recognisable.”). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 14, pl. 4, right (Recto); pl. 5, left (Verso) (As 1852.). Fisher, 1879, XVII.4/19 right (Recto); XVII.4a/20 left (Verso). Steinmann, 1905, II, pp. 455, 604, no. 60A, right (Recto: study for man holding book in lost *Abraam* lunette.); no. 60B, left (Verso: two studies, not taken further.). Thode, 1908, I, pp. 263, 268 (Michelangelo. Recto: study for figure holding book in destroyed lunette fresco. Verso: [A] perhaps for the *ignudo* right above *Hieremias*.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 153.12 (Recto: related to figure in *Abraam* lunette. “Swache, in den Extremitäten fehlerhafte Studie nach der Gestalt im Fresko.”); no. 154.15 (Verso: no direct links; too vague to link with a slave.). Thode, 1913, no. 415 (As 1908.). Parker, 1956, no. 306 (Recto: for man on left in *Abraam* lunette. Verso: no relations) Dussler, 1959, no. 611 (Recto: link with *Abraam* lunette. Verso: description, no relations.). Berenson, 1961, 1703d (School of Michelangelo. Recto: resembles left-hand



figure in *Abraam* lunette.). Hartt, 1971, no. 112 (Recto: for *Iacob*.); no. 111 (Verso: probably for arms and legs of *Iacob* [left] and *Aram* [right].). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 31 (Recto). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 173 (Recto: sketch for the left-hand figure in the lost *Abraam-Isaac-Iacob-Iudas* lunette, also studied in [Cat. 13 recto H]. Verso: [A], motif reappears, reversed, in [Cat. 9 verso H]; [B] perhaps a first idea for figure with staff in *Phares-Esron-Aram* lunette.). Hirst, 1986a, p. 212 (Notes that [Cat. 16] verso was once a recto, originally facing [Cat. 15] verso.).

Dimensions

205 × 212 mm

Watermark: A bird perched on a mount within a quatrefoil; Robinson Appendix, no. 6; very close to Briquet 12252 (Bologna, 1512–36); not in Roberts.

Medium

Red chalk.

CATALOGUE 17

Study for the Left-Hand Figure in the Lunette of *Asa-Iosaphat-Ioram* (Sixth Bay)

1846.44; R.27; P.II 298; Corpus 161

Condition

There is inherent creasing, a hole repair, and edge disruption. Edge nicks and ingrained dirt are visible. Shiny spattered deposits, possibly wax, can be seen in raking light. There is uneven discolouration, a dirty stain and skinning, and in-drawing in places.



Discussion

This figure, probably Josaphat, was drawn quite quickly. He was first depicted reading and then, by the addition of two feathery strokes of the chalk to place a pen between the thumb and forefinger of his right hand, writing, the action adopted in the fresco. The change may have been motivated by Michelangelo's desire to introduce a link between the preceding Sibyl, *Cumaean*, who is reading, and the succeeding Prophet, *Daniel*, who writes in one codex a commentary on another. Michelangelo also considered lifting Josaphat's head, in a hair-line pentimento drawn across the turban and behind the rear of the head, and extending the

jaw downwards, but in the event decided against these changes.

In the fresco, the forms of the drapery are somewhat simplified and given a rectilinear emphasis, the extended left leg is set at a slightly steeper angle, the right thigh protrudes at a lower – but equally improbable – angle from the body, and the right calf is somewhat elongated. The shape of the parchment, which rests on the knee, is also altered.

Despite the differences from the fresco and the clear evidence of creativity, this drawing has frequently been questioned. It is similar in this respect to a drawing in Florence (CB 24F/B242/Corpus 160, black chalk,

150 × 122 mm), for the standing woman at the left of the *Naason* lunette, also often doubted. That drawing, whose authenticity was strongly defended by Hirst, 1963, although looser and rougher than the present sheet in handling, shares with it the employment of hair-line pen-timents. The facial type here may also be compared with that of the head study for *Cumaesa* in the Biblioteca Reale, Turin (Inv. 15627 recto/Corpus 155; black chalk and white heightening, 230 × 315 mm) and of those of the two studies for female Ancestors on the verso of the same sheet.

The treatment of red chalk in this drawing is unusual in Michelangelo's work. Different types of rapid hatching – long regular strokes, thinner strokes at sharper angles, and thicker vertical strokes, are overlaid to establish the varying depths of shadow and varying tones of colour in the drapery. The head is established broadly and roughly, whereas the breeches are smoothly treated, the chalk stumped, to emphasise the long ridged folds, a feature Michelangelo would exploit greatly in his later work and which would appeal to artists of the generation of Fuseli and Ottley.

Aspects of this type of drawing affected Andrea del Sarto, who seems to have been on friendly – if not intimate – terms with Michelangelo. It is clear that Andrea knew some drawings by the master and his handling of red chalk bears considerable similarities to the manner adopted by Michelangelo here. It might be remarked that a drawing in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille (Brejon de Lavergnée, 832 recto, red chalk, 179 × 113 mm) attributed to Andrea by the compiler, which copies the two *putti* in the left throne-arm of *Libica*, can have been made only in close proximity to the fresco or from a drawing for or after it, and its handling suggests awareness of such drawings by Michelangelo as the present study.

Lafranconi (1998 and 2003) has identified this drawing with that recorded as A48 by Michelangelo in the 1601 post-mortem inventory of the collection of Antonio Tronsarelli and has established firmly that much of Tronsarelli's collection eventually passed into that of the Borghese. The present drawing would therefore have one of the earliest recorded starting provenances outside Casa Buonarroti.

Copy

The version of this figure reproduced by Ottley (1808–23), plate following p. 32, etched by Thomas Vivares, dated 1819, 272 × 223 mm, is stated by Ottley to have been “formerly in the collection of Richardson and . . . at present the property of Samuel Rogers Esq.” This drawing, which was no doubt made after the fresco rather than Cat. 17, appeared in Samuel Rogers' posthumous sale at Christie's on 28 April 1854 and following days, as lot 954,

“M. ANGELO. A MAN IN A CLOAK, seated, reading – *black chalk. A noble design; engraved in Ottley's School of Design.*” Its present whereabouts are unknown to the compiler.

History

Antonio Tronsarelli in 1601, A 48; Prince Borghese; Sir Thomas Lawrence (no stamp); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Woodburn, 1836b, no. 4 (“This fine study is evidently from nature . . . and has served . . . for the King Joram.” Provenance given as Prince Borghese, Rome.). The Athenaeum, 16 July 1836 (“this study for the *King Joram* is much nearer nature than that given in Ottley, which has been idealised to its present state of noble abstraction on the Sistine vault. Michael's spirit, however intolerant of meanness, is manifest even here, giving somewhat of monarchical grandeur to every fold and trait in the mendicant sitter before him.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 83 (As 1836.). Woodburn, 1846, no. 47 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1852, p. 2, pl. 18 (Michelangelo.). Fisher, 1865, p. 17, I, pl. 18 (Michelangelo.). Robinson, 1870, no. 27 (Michel Angelo. “Another study in black chalk for this same figure, formerly in the collection of the poet Rogers, is engraved in facsimile in Ottley's *Italian Schools of Design.*”). Fisher, 1872, p. 15, pl. 18 (Michelangelo.). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 27. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 221. Fisher, 1879, XIX/22. Berenson, 1903, I, p. 184; no. 1563 (“[A]lmost an Andrea del Sarto in quality and handling.” “[I]n the fresco, scarcely executed by Michelangelo himself, the figure has lost much of its dignity and refinement, and the action has undergone the very slight change from reading to writing.”). Steinmann, 1905, II, p. 603, no. 54 (Michelangelo.). Borough Johnson, 1908, p. 10, pl. XLII (Michelangelo.). Thode, 1908, I, p. 267 (Michelangelo.). Thode, 1913, no. 416 (Differences from fresco noted.). Berenson, 1938, I, p. 199; no. 1563 (“[C]uriously like Andrea del Sarto in touch.”). Delacre, 1938, pp. 447–8 (Michelangelo?. Perhaps over-detailed.). Wilde, 1953a, p. 30 (Michelangelo.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 26 (c. 1510–12). Parker, 1956, no. 298 (“An element of doubt remains” about the authorship.). Dussler, 1959, no. 612 (Rejected.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1563 (As 1938.). Berti, 1965, p. 420 (Doubtful authenticity.). Hartt, 1971, p. 390 (Rejected.). Joannides, 1975, pp. 261–2 (By Michelangelo; queries the omission of this drawing from the 1975 exhibition.). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 161 (Probably a copy of a lost original.). Joannides, 1981b, p. 682 (Michelangelo; notes pentiments; influence of this type of drawing on Sarto.). Hirst, 1986a, p. 217 (Reproduced as by Michelangelo,

but remarks: “Doubts have been raised that this drawing is in fact autograph.”). Lafranconi, 1998, p. 544 (Identified with the drawing recorded in the Tronsarelli inventory in 1601 as A48.). Lafranconi, 2003, p. 99 (As 1998; demonstration that much of the Tronsarelli Collection was subsequently acquired by the Borghese.).

CATALOGUE 18

Study for the Sistine Ceiling and Sketches for the Julius Tomb

1846.43; R.23; P.II 297; Corpus 157

Dimensions: 286 × 194 mm

Medium

Recto: Red chalk and pen.

Verso: Pen and ink and black chalk.

Condition

A major pressed-out horizontal fold, just below the centre, is supported by tissue on the recto. Fractures and minor vertical tears run across the horizontal fold, and a major vertical tear is repaired. There is creasing along the upper edge, a small hole, and some edge abrasion. The sheet has uneven discolouration and local staining, with show-through and bleeding of some of the ink.

Description

Recto

A. One of the *putti* accompanying *Libica*.

B. The right hand of *Libica*.

C. A *prigione* seen in left profile, attached to a herm pilaster, his arms bound behind his back, his right leg raised and supported on a helmet?, a cuirass behind his legs, his head turned to his left. This figure is obviously related to the *Rebellious Slave*, but there are substantial differences from the figure as executed.

D. A standing *prigione* seen frontally, attached to a herm pilaster, his arms folded across his chest, his head turned left, his legs crossed at the calves and bound.

E. A standing *prigione* seen frontally attached to a tapering herm pilaster, the right arm bound by his side, the left folded behind his head, his legs crossed at the ankles and bound.

F. A *prigione* in half right view, with his head turned back to his right; both arms are raised (bound?) above his head, his legs are crossed at the knees.

G. The counterpart of F, but not a mirror-image.

H. A standing *prigione* seen frontally, his hands bound behind his neck, his head bent forward, his legs crossed at the calves.

With the left side of the sheet as the base

I. A section of a highly decorated cornice.

Verso

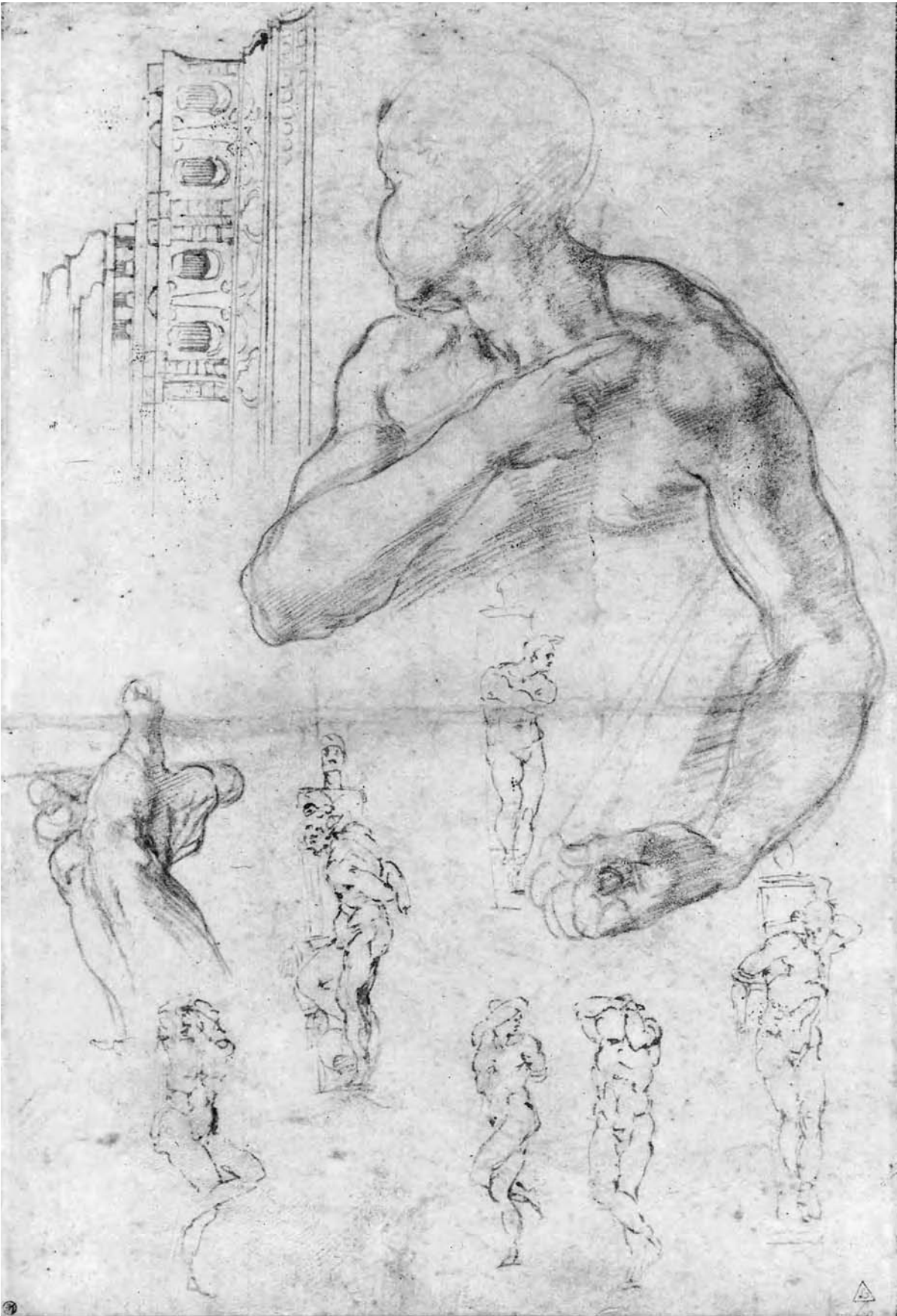
A. A left knee and part of a thigh, seen frontally.

With the right side of the sheet as the base

B. A left knee and foot; while the foot is seen frontally, the knee seems to be seen in left profile, which creates an (exaggerated) effect of strain.

Discussion

It has been suggested by de Tolnay and others that the present sheet originally formed one with that in the Metropolitan Museum, on whose recto is Michelangelo's famous drawing for *Libica* (Inv. 24. 197.2 recto/BT 131/Corpus 156; red chalk, 288 × 213 mm). This suggestion is supported by the fact that a study of *Libica*'s right hand, very like the study of the left hand on the Metropolitan page, is found on the present sheet, but it cannot be regarded as certain. In any case, if the two sheets were once joined, they were probably divided by the artist himself. The verso drawings are quite discontinuous, and the fold that runs across the present sheet, but not across that in the Metropolitan, could well have been made by Michelangelo when he came to use the verso of the present sheet for two studies, placed with different orientations and separated from one another precisely by the fold. By the time Biagio Pupini saw the present sheet (or a copy of it; see following discussion), it was undoubtedly separate from the other. The provenances of the two sheets are also very different, and when, around or before c. 1600, an unidentified draughtsman made a same-size copy of the Metropolitan recto, the two may not even have been in the same collection because the copyist made no reference to any of the drawings on the present sheet. (The copy in question, Uffizi 2318F/B268; red chalk, 287 × 215 mm, is in detail a near facsimile of Michelangelo's original, but the individual drawings are re-arranged on the page, there are some omissions, and it contains a study of *Libica*'s right foot, not found on the Metropolitan recto, which was no doubt copied from a fragment of that sheet now lost; for further discussion of this copy, see the Introduction, n. 113).





The difference in precision and definition between this and the Metropolitan study for *Libica* exemplifies Michelangelo's extreme sensitivity to depth of field in his paintings, establishing even at the stage of the preparatory drawing the different levels of definition that he intended to incorporate in the fresco.

The pen studies of six *prigioni* and, at a different angle, of a richly decorated cornice were certainly placed on the page after the red chalk drawings had been made. They illustrate Michelangelo's habit of crowding his pages and making new, smaller, drawings, often in a different medium, around a pre-existing larger central one. Perhaps he was stimulated by the constraint of adjusting his new drawings to an apparent obstacle. Furthermore,

Michelangelo frequently planned more than one project in more than one medium on the same page: Thus, here are found studies for painting, sculpture, and architecture.

Even though the sketches of *prigioni* are clearly preparatory for those Michelangelo planned to carve for the Tomb of Julius II, to the compiler they do not appear to be preliminary *concetti* generated on the page. Even a draughtsman of Michelangelo's genius could hardly be expected to devise half-a-dozen nude figures in complicated poses and get them all right at the first attempt. It seems most likely that these drawings, which display minimal *pentimenti*, are worked up versions of less tidy sketches, perhaps intended to provide patterns for transfer. The transfer might be to an autograph *modello*, such as

the sadly ruined example in Berlin (Inv. 15305/Corpus 55 recto; pen and ink and brush and wash over stylus indentation and black chalk, 525 × 343 mm) or that in quite good condition in Florence (Uffizi 608E/B244/Corpus 56; pen and ink, brush and wash over black chalk, 290 × 361 mm). There is, in fact, a direct link between the verso of the present sheet and the verso of that in Berlin: The study of a right knee on the present sheet re-works part of the study of a right leg on that in Berlin. This leg seems to be for the so-called *Dying Slave*, but the connection need not, in the last analysis, indicate more than that the various drawings made by Michelangelo in connection with the Julius Tomb were filed together. Alternatively, the sketches of *prigioni* on the present sheet might well have been made in connection with the waxes that were no doubt added to a wooden model of the tomb constructed in 1513.

None of the *prigioni* seen here recurs elsewhere in precisely the same form. A larger study, which reprises much of the pose of the topmost *prigione* [D], is in the Royal Collection (PW 421 verso/Corpus 61; red chalk over stylus, 266 × 130 mm), but the function of that drawing, which would seem to be datable about 1516, is uncertain: The figure shows no obvious indications of physical restraint. The *prigione* immediately below it to the left [C] is, as has always been recognised, a sketch for the so-called *Rebellious Slave*, on which Michelangelo was working in 1514. The torsion of the pose here, however, is somewhat less dynamic than that of the executed statue, and in the statue the right arm is tied against the right side rather than behind the back as here, which adds to the figure's constraint. It is evident that Michelangelo's ideas underwent development between this drawing and the statue. This was iconographic as well as formal: The present drawing shows the figure with a foot resting on what is probably a helmet, and standing before a cuirass; both are common attributes of figures of vanquished opponents and of trophies in Roman art and were studied by Michelangelo himself around 1505 in a drawing in Casa Buonarroti (CB42F/B241/Corpus 59; pen and ink, 197 × 114 mm), probably made directly after a Roman relief. These features identify the figure as a military captive, and it presumably responds to a moment of optimism at the end of the reign of Julius II, when foreign forces had briefly been expelled from Italy. The cuirass and helmet are omitted from the statue as carved – which probably indicates both a less confident political situation and Michelangelo's usual tendency to simplify his forms as work proceeded. This drawing is also notable in that a face is indicated on the herm to which the prisoner is attached; the other two herms found on this sheet are drawn in more abbreviated fashion.

The figure at the far right [E] seems to be a counterpart, in reverse, of one drawn by Michelangelo some years earlier, probably in 1505, on a sheet in the Louvre (Inv. 688 verso/J13/Corpus 20; pen, 387 × 205 mm). This figure has his left arm attached behind his head, and although it is quite possible that what is seen here is a simple revision of that form, it may be that here Michelangelo was considering a pendant to it, as he did with the two figures at the lower left [F and G]. These figures, self-evidently conceived as a slightly modified pair, are the most energetic of the drawings here and those that most obviously anticipate the second group of *prigioni*, those now in the Accademia in Florence, begun by Michelangelo after mid-1516.

The figure at the lower right [H] is generally linked with the so-called *Dying Slave*. This figure has both arms clasped over his head, which is bent forward, and his ankles are crossed like those of D, but without a visible tie. In the Berlin and Uffizi *modelli* (in which the *prigioni* although very similar are not identical), the arms and head are raised, but the ankles remain crossed; in the statue as carved, the torso and arms are close to those in the *modelli*, but the ankles are now uncrossed. In that case, this figure would seem to be the first of a sequence of drawings leading to the *Dying Slave* and thus preparatory to the Berlin and Uffizi *modelli*. However, although this has often been assumed – by the compiler among others – it seems unlikely that this is the case.

The development of the Julius Tomb and the many stages of its history is an extraordinarily complex issue that cannot here be addressed in detail. Suffice it to say, however, that to the compiler it seems obvious that the present drawings post-date rather than antedate the Berlin and Uffizi *modelli* – a view considered by Echinger-Maurach but rejected. The compiler has elsewhere attempted to argue that the scheme represented in those *modelli* was arrived at *before* the beginning of work on the Sistine ceiling, and that the contracts for the tomb of April and July 1513 represent a ratification of a change previously decided, not a new development of that year. The *prigioni* here are in more developed and energetic poses than the figures on the *modelli*, and it does not seem remotely credible to the compiler that the *modelli* could succeed them. As the development of the *ignudi* on the Sistine ceiling and that of the *prigioni* between the Louvre and the Accademia statues makes clear, Michelangelo's nude figures consistently expanded in scale and energy, and to postulate a temporary reversal of this pattern in 1513 seems perverse. Nor, unlike the present figures or the two Louvre slaves largely carved by Michelangelo in 1513–14, do the *modelli* reveal the experience of the Sistine ceiling. If the compiler's view is correct, the present drawings would represent, not preparations for the figural

elements of the *modelli* but later modifications of them. Thus, the *Rebellious Slave* as seen here [C] is not found at all on the *modelli*, but the present drawing is similar to the figure as carved. The case of H, which resembles the *Dying Slave*, is different again. The *Dying Slave* as carved is closer to the figure on the Berlin and Uffizi *modelli* than it is to the present figure, but the present figure is more compact and expressive than the corresponding figure on the *modelli*. It thus seems more likely that it is an independent variant of both the figure in the *modelli* and of the statue as carved, rather than a sketch made in preparation for either the one or the other. It is interesting that Laux (1943) specifically discussed two of these sketches in relation to the Accademia *prigioni*, for some features of those figures are anticipated here.

The cornice is of exceptional richness and may well have been intended for the tomb. It is, however, much more complicated – and beautiful – either than that seen in the *modelli* or that actually carved by Antonio da Pontassieve from July 1513 onwards and may represent no more than a fantasy on Michelangelo's part. Although not derived, so far as the compiler is aware, precisely from any antique type, it does seem to respond to the most decorated type of Hellenistic architecture.

De Tolnay used these drawings to reconstruct Michelangelo's intended placing of the *prigioni* on the front face lower story of the tomb, but the compiler finds his views difficult to accept. However, because the front face was to contain only four *prigioni*, the additional two were presumably intended for the side faces. Obviously, the two lower figures [F and G] form a pair and might well have been placed at either end; the *Rebellious Slave* [C], whose main view is clearly indicated here to be profile, was probably at the near end of the right side of the tomb, but the positioning of the others is even more conjectural. At the time this drawing was made, Michelangelo needed to prepare twelve *prigioni* for the lower story; his ideas were no doubt in flux, and what may initially have been planned as a symmetrical layout could have ended as something very different, as with the Sistine *ignudi*. Certainly, symmetry had been abandoned by the time he came to work on the Accademia *prigioni*. Thus, any attempt to argue placing from the present sketches requires great caution, as Laux prudently remarked.

Verso

These pen studies were probably made in connection with the advanced preparation for carving the *prigioni*; they concentrate on surface modelling. The study of the knee is no doubt related, as noted previously, to the left leg of the *Dying Slave*; the slightly awkward sketch of a left calf

and foot may have some relation to that of the *Rebellious Slave*.

Copies

1. Windsor Castle, Royal Collection, by Biagio Pupini, PW 785 verso/Joannides, 1996–8, no. 30; pen and ink with white heightening and yellow pastel, 290 × 202 mm. This copies loosely the *putto* and study of *Libica's* right hand from the recto. It includes two other unrelated figures, which might be copies after lost drawings by Michelangelo. Pupini's pen work and formal interpretation have a Parmigianinesque flavour, which suggests that here his copies may have been indirect. In any case, it is evident that the present sheet was very early available to other artists.

2. Primaticcio employed the pose of the *prigione* H on the recto in his draped *Atlante* (Paris, Musée du Louvre, RF 53029 red and white chalk, 240 × 110 mm) of c. 1550; it is probable that the present sheet entered his possession after Mini's death.

History

Antonio Mini?; Francesco Primaticcio?; Everard Jabach?; Pierre Crozat, his number, 63, at lower right; Pierre-Jean Mariette (L.1852), his sale, beginning 15 November 1775, no doubt included in one of the lots of Michelangelo drawings; Marquis de Lagoy (L.1710); Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Mariette, 1746, I, p. 218–19 (“J’ai une première pensée pour la statue de Moyse peu différente, pour la disposition générale, de ce qui a été exécuté, et sur la même feuille, plusieurs petites esquisses pour les attitudes des figures d’esclaves.”). Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonaroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–54] (“A sheet of studies in pen and red chalk, on the reverse studies of a Leg.”). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 89 (“[P]art of the male subject and a hand are admirably executed in red chalk, and several small figures are sketched with great spirit with the pen.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 21 (“A sheet of studies.”). Woodburn, 1846, no. 51 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1862, p. 5, pl. 21 [sic: pl. 16] (Recto: as Woodburn.). Fisher, 1865, II, p. 24, pl. 16 (As 1862.). Robinson, 1870, no. 23 (Michel Angelo, c. 1506. “[S]tudy in red chalk) . . . drawn from the living model . . . one of the preparatory drawings for the tomb of Julius II. Two of the small sketches of slaves . . . [are] . . . first thoughts for the two celebrated marble statues in the Louvre.”). Fisher, 1872, II, p. 22, pl. 16 (As 1862.). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 23. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 230. Springer, 1878, pp. 238–9, 507

(Pen sketches prepare the Louvre *Slaves*. Red chalk sketch interpreted as a study for a figure on the platform of the tomb. Pen sketches reproduced on p. 507.). Fisher, 1879, XV/12 (Studies for Julius Tomb, c. 1506.). Springer, 1883, II, pp. 25–7 (As 1878; pen sketches reproduced on p. 25.). Portheim, 1889, p. 148 (“Ausgangspunkt zur Erkenntnis des Echten und zweifellos Entwürfe des Meisters.”). Morelli, 1891–2, col. 544 (Ech.). Justi, 1900, p. 224 (Slave motifs more energetic in contrast with Florence drawing; [C] and [G] related to Louvre *Slaves*.). Berenson, 1903, I, pp. 183–4, 187, no. 1562 (Recto: may “bear witness to a suspension of work on the Ceiling at the moment that *Libica* was to be painted” when Michelangelo turned back to the tomb. “Originally . . . [the slaves] perhaps had no allegorical intentions” and “in 1505 . . . [they] would have been less restless . . . less charged.” The Slave drawings demonstrate the inauthenticity of the full herms on the “wretched drawings” in Berlin [15305 recto/Corpus 55 and Florence 608E recto/B244/Corpus 56] but that these “knob-heads” should be introduced “on pilasters is an ingenuity of bad taste, of which I should be willing to accuse Michelangelo only on convincing proof.”). Colvin, 1903, I, no. 6 (Recto: life study for the *putto* accompanying *Libica* and her right hand, no doubt of 1510–11; the small-scale sketches for slaves probably made at the same period, during the break in work on the ceiling.). Steinmann, 1905, II, pp. 419, 601, no. 44 (Recto: Michelangelo, for left hand of *Libica* [B] and accompanying *putto* [A]; pen studies for Julius Tomb.). Mackowsky, 1908 (and subsequent editions), pp. 248–9 (Recto: pen sketches for slaves “Hier sieht man den Keim, aus dem sich das mächtige Gewächs seiner marmorstatuen entwickelt hat.” Red chalk study demonstrates “neue malerische Art des Zeichens.” Importance of Leonardo’s influence.). Thode, 1908, I, pp. 151–2, no. 254 (Recto: [A] for *putto* next to *Libica*; [C] for *Rebellious Slave*, [G] resembles slave second from right on Berlin *modello*; [H] resembles slave second from left on Berlin *modello*. These sketches contradict Berenson’s conviction that Michelangelo would not have placed figures before herm pilasters.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 3 (Recto: intimately related to Metropolitan drawing, 24.197.2/BT 131/Corpus 156, done shortly before the fresco. The slave studies placed last on the paper important for the development of the Julius Tomb. They relate to the 1513 project but only [C] certainly for an executed statue: the *Rebellious Slave*.); no. 156 (Verso: [B] for the *Rebellious Slave*, [A] for the same figure as recto [H].). Thode, 1913, no. 407 (Recto: as 1908. Verso: [B] for the legs of the *Rebellious Slave*, [A] for the *Dying Slave*.). Zoff, 1923, pl. 29 (Recto). Brinckmann, 1925, no. 33 (Linked with MMA 24.197.2/Corpus 156; pen

sketches somewhat later.). Burroughs, 1925, pp. 10–12 (Recto: main study and MMA 24.197.2/BT 131/Corpus 156 probably “done at one sitting.”). Venturi, 1926, p. 56, pl. CLXIV. De Tolnay, 1928a, pp. 78–80 (Recto: three pairs of slaves. [C and H] for, respectively, the left and right pilasters of the front face of the tomb. [D and G] for, respectively, the nearest pilasters to the front on the left and right side faces of the tomb. [E and F] for, respectively, the pilasters abutting the church wall of, respectively, the left and right side faces of the tomb.). Popham, 1930b, pl. 7 (Recto: main study must have been drawn at the same time as MMA 24.197.2/BT 131/Corpus 156; but subsidiary drawings probably were drawn some years later.). Popham, 1930a, no. 511. Popham, 1931, no. 213. Berenson, 1938, I, pp. 198, 200–1, no. 1562 (Slaves shown here were probably quieter in 1505; modifies strictures of 1903 on the herm-pilasters.). Delacre, 1938, pp. 328–9, 482–3 (“Magnifique dessin” for the *putto* accompanying *Libica*; and Julius Tomb slaves and cornice.). Bertini, 1942 [ed. 1983], p. 110. Laux, 1943, pp. 43, 73–4, 77, 80, 415 (Slave sketches must antedate *modello* in Berlin. Difficulty of attaching them to specific positions on the tomb. [E] only apparently similar to *Young Slave* in the Accademia; embryonic conception of *Awakening Slave* found in [G], which also leads to the New Sacristy *Day*. Some similarities suggested between sketches and the early *ignudi* on the Sistine ceiling.). De Tolnay, 1945, pp. 61–2, 204–5, no. 47 (Michelangelo made a careful study of a slender tall muscular youth, which he transformed into the fleshy body of a child. To emphasize *Libica* the artist was constrained to reduce the rhythm in the *spiritello*.). Popham and Wilde, 1949, no. 785 (Pupini copy identified.). Goldscheider, 1951, no. 32 (Recto: whole drawing may date from 1512.). De Tolnay, 1951, pp. 110, 295 (1512–13; slave sketches, as 1929.). Janson, 1952, pp. 319–20 (“Michelangelo may well have considered . . . converting the ‘Slaves’ into subdued provinces . . . ; this would explain why . . . [C] . . . shows a figure [presumably the *Rebellious Slave*] wearing a helmet and accompanied by a piece of armour . . . [T]hese sketches must have been made either shortly before or shortly after the death of the Pontiff. In any event, the notion of adding trophies in the form of armour to the ‘Slaves’ seems to have been purely a tentative one, for the other ‘Slaves’ on . . . [Cat. 18] are simple nudes without attributes of any sort.”). Wilde, 1953a, pp. 7, 28 (Slave studies, 1513.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 18 (1511–12. Hand for the left hand of *Libica*; pen drawings for cornice and slaves of Julius Tomb, [C] corresponds closely to *Rebellious Slave*.). De Tolnay, 1954, p. 34 (Slaves much developed from the “relatively calm and delicate slaves of 1505.” All intended for the six corner pilasters of the 1513

project. They form three pairs. As 1929.). Wilde, 1954, p. 10 (Presence of trophy in [C] supports Condivi's interpretation of the slaves as allegories of the arts.) Parker, 1956, no. 297 (Recto: 1512–13, no great interval between chalk and pen sketches. Figures identified. Sketches support view that slaves were tethered to herms, not columns. Verso: knee perhaps for *Dying Slave*; leg for *Rebellious Slave*). Dussler, 1959, no. 194 (Chalk sketches first, then pen. Link with MMA 24.197.2/BT 131/Corpus 156. De Tolnay's positioning of *prigioni* possible, but uncertain. Verso: studies not for *prigioni* as executed but for recto figures.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1562 (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1962, p. 23 (*Prigioni* sketches compared with Uffizi 17379F and 17380F/B13, 14/Corpus 151, 152.). Barbieri and Puppi, 1964a, p. 1001. Barocchi, 1964c, no. 25 (Recto: the red chalk studies were made first; those in pen are connected with the 1513 phase of the Julius Tomb. The cornice was perhaps made after the antique. Verso: linked with Louvre *Slaves*). Brugnoli, 1964, no. 25 (Recto: not necessary to assume that pen sketches added later.). Berti, 1965, pp. 417, 424 (Recto: *prigioni* studies subsequent to *putto*. Verso: perhaps for a *prigione*). De Tolnay, 1964e, col. 889 ("All these [slave] sketches are for corner figures."). Goldscheider, 1965, no. 40 (As 1951.). Coughlan, 1966, pp. 98–9 (Architecture and figures for the Julius Tomb and a figure for the Sistine on the same sheet.). Weinberger, 1967, p. 145 ("[T]he helmet and cuirass seen at the side of . . . [C] define him as a captive warrior."). Hartt, 1971, no. 89 (Recto: 1511 and 1513. "chalk drawings must have been done during the same days as MMA 24.197.2/BT 131/Corpus 156; pen sketches for slaves added later."); no. 54 (Verso: 1505. For left leg of *Rebellious Slave*). LeBrooy, 1972, p. 93 (Detail reproduced in comparison with a terra-cotta model whereabouts unknown, attributed by LeBrooy to Michelangelo and identified as a study for a slave.) Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 19 (Recto). Hibbard, 1975, p. 149. Keller, 1975, no. 29 (Study for the *putto* accompanying *Libica*, c. 1510; sketches for the Julius Tomb, c. 1513.). de Tolnay, 1975, pp. 81–2 (As 1951.). De Tolnay, Corpus I, 1975, no. 157 (Once part of same sheet as MMA 24.197.2/BT 131/Corpus 156. Recto: as 1928, 1954. Verso: both studies for the *Rebellious Slave*). Keller, 1976, fig. 153 (As 1975.). Wilde, 1978, pp. 97–8 (*Slave* sketches drawn on a sheet used for studies for *Libica* a few months earlier "six sketches, more than were needed for the front façade then in preparation. . . . [T]he second from the left . . . seems to confirm Condivi's interpretation of the figures as allegories of the arts; there is a trophy at the foot . . . and this can only mean the Art of War. In the execution . . . this trophy has been changed into a . . . block to be used as a capital . . . [changing]

the figure . . . [into] an allegory of Sculpture or Architecture."). Murray, 1980, p. 97. Lamarche-Vadel, 1981, p. 51, no. 66. Perrig, 1982, p. 18 (Recto: Michelangelo.). Balas, 1983, p. 668 (Slave sketches demonstrate inclusion of herm-pilasters.). Balas, 1984a, p. 674 (Sketches show that slaves were not intended as atlantes.). Guazzoni, 1984, pl. 50 (Studies for *prigioni*). Hirst, 1988, pp. 25, 37 (Slave sketches added "a few months later . . . less cursory [in] style" than the Sistine *concetti*. "[T]he degree of modelling achieved . . . without recourse to any hatching, is remarkable."). Echinger-Maurach, 1991, pp. 239–46, 267–70 (Detailed visual analysis of the *prigioni*: Notes resemblance of [C] to Michelangelo's drawing for the bronze *David* [Louvre Inv. 714/J4/Corpus 19]; notes that the figures are more energetic and complex than those on the Berlin and Uffizi *modelli* [and attributes the latter to Aristotile da Sangallo] but considers that these post-date the present sketches.). Perrig, 1991, pp. 21–4, 50–1 (Recto: Michelangelo.); pp. 58, 134 (Verso: Cellini.). Joannides, 1994a, p. 20 (Figure [F] employed by Primaticcio in Louvre RF 53029). Wallace, 1998, p. 90 (Studies for the Sistine chapel; sketches for the Julius Tomb *prigioni*.).

CATALOGUE 19

Recto: Elevation and Plan of an *Ambo*
 Verso: A Fragment of a Letter
 1846.58; R.48.2; P.II 312; Corpus 522

Dimensions: 147 × 168 mm. The sheet has been divided and subsequently rejoined. The left half and the upper right-hand quarter were originally part of the same sheet, although they were rejoined with a loss of some 10 mm. Nothing essential is missing, as can be seen from the letter fragment on the verso.

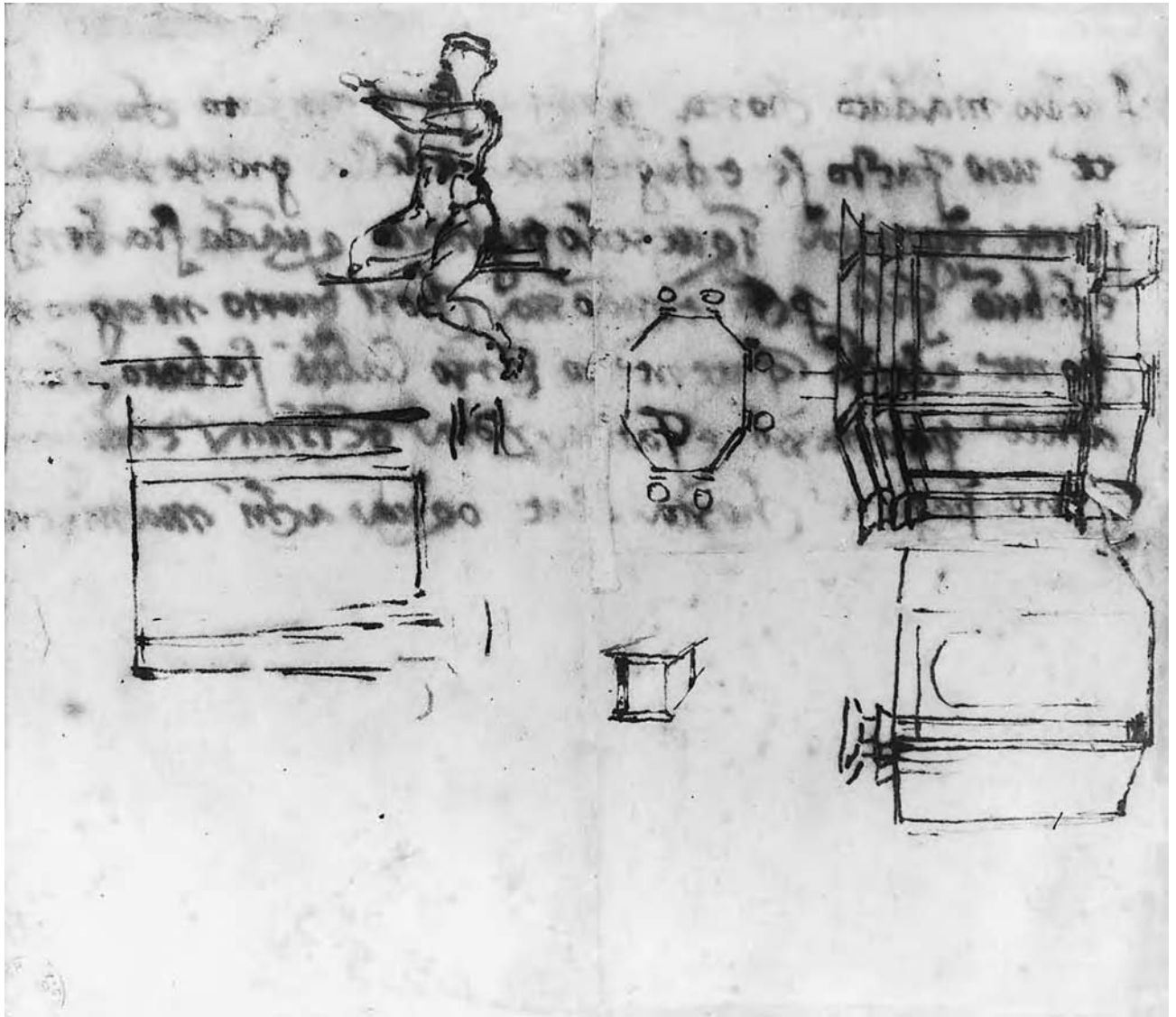
Watermark: Fragmentary and unidentifiable.

Medium

Pen and ink.

Condition

Imperfections in pulp are visible, with local cockling and repairs. There is a supported central join and a pressed-out horizontal fold. There is skinning, paper remnants, and adhesive discolouration around the edges. There are several supported areas where the ink has burned through, with severe show-through. Overall discolouration, foxing, and extensive staining are visible.



Description and Transcription

Recto

- A. A seated figure turning round and raising his arm.
- B. With the right edge as base, two faces of an *ambo* seen obliquely.
- C. With the right edge as base, three faces above pedestal level of an *ambo* seen frontally, diagrammatically and lightly sketched, with an arch in the central panel.
- D. The plan of an octagonal *ambo*, with two long sides.
- E. A pedestal in foreshortening.
- F. With the left edge as base, two faces of an *ambo*, above pedestal level. They are diagrammatically and lightly sketched.

Verso

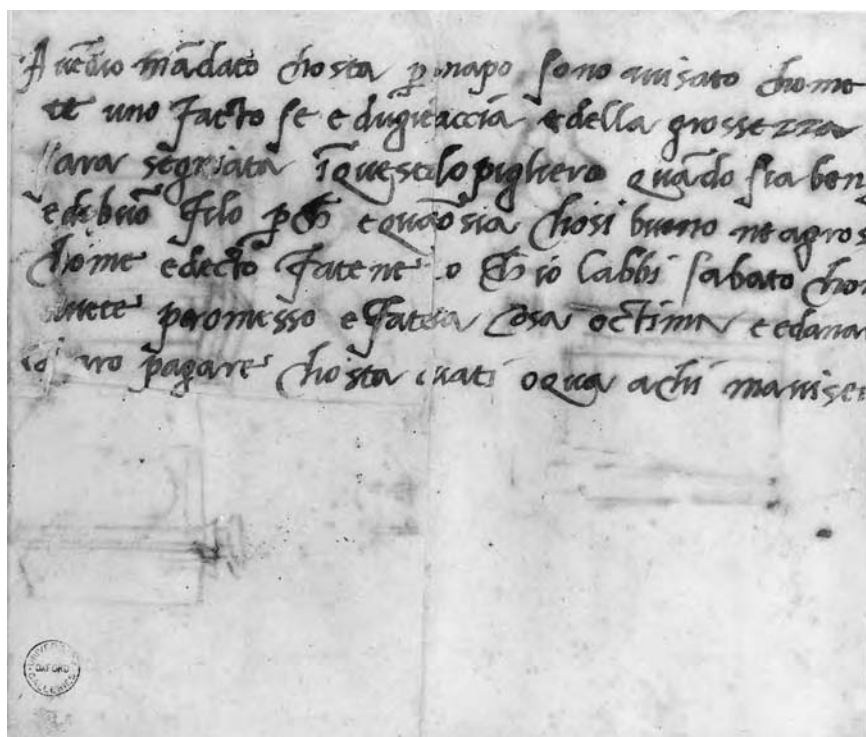
Ave(n)d io ma(n)dato chosta p(er) u[n cha]napo, sono avisato chome [n'ave]te uno facto. Se e dugie(n)[to br]accia e della

grossezza [che] . . . sara segnata i(n) questa [carta] lo pigliero qua(n)do sia ben f[acto] e di buo(n) filo. P(er)che e qua(n)[do n]o(n) sia chosi buono ne a grossezza chome e decto, fate ne [un alt]ro che io l'abbi sabato cho[me] avete promesso e fate [che s]ia cosa octima. E e danar[i] io .faro pagare chosta a [Sal]viati o qua a chi mi aviser(ete)

(Wilde's transcription, partly modified by Barocchi-Ristori, reconstructing the portions lost in the middle and ends of the lines.)

A translation due to a Professor de Fiveli is included in the extra-illustrated copy of Robinson's catalogue preserved in the Print Room of the Ashmolean:

Having sent for the rope I am informed that you have one ready made. If that is 200 braccia long and the thickness marked on this paper, I shall take it provided that it is sound



and made of good thread, and being so good and thick as said make some more and let me have it on Saturday as you promised and make it excellent and I shall cause the money to be paid to you through Donato there or to any one here as you will advise.

Discussion

It is universally recognised that the present drawing is intimately connected with one in the British Museum, acquired from the Buonarroti Collection in 1859 (W24/Corpus 521; pen and ink, 146 × 171 mm). It is unclear when the present sheet was cut apart and reassembled, and it is also uncertain whether or not this sheet once formed a single whole with that in the British Museum. If not, they probably formed successive pages of a sketchbook that Michelangelo used both for drawings and for rough draughts of letters. The draught of the letter was written by Michelangelo when he was in Seravezza and concerned obtaining strong ropes for hauling marble. It is datable, as established by Wilde, to 10–12 August 1518 (although it seems to have been intended for Crocco Pizzicagnolo in Pisa rather than Francesco Peri, as Wilde thought), and although the letter does not prove that the recto drawings are contemporary (cf. Cat. 24), this date seems plausible.

Wilde suggested that the drawings planned a pair of *ambi* or pulpits, and this seems correct. The placing of the

candlesticks on the edge of the parapet is similar to that found in many pulpits. The idea was criticised by Kurz, but he was mistaken in assuming that paired pulpits were no longer current in Michelangelo's time. Those incorporated into the choir screen in the Frari, constructed in the 1470s, which Michelangelo would have seen when he was in Venice in 1494, and those by Donatello, sculpted in the 1460s but erected in San Lorenzo only in the second decade of the cinquecento, are sufficient to refute this opinion.

A plausible project was identified by Morselli. In 1517, the Opera del Duomo was interested in rebuilding the choir, and even though there is no direct documentary evidence that Michelangelo was consulted, it is hardly credible that he would not have been, given that he had been allocated the commission for the statues of Apostles to be placed in the Duomo only a dozen years earlier. The rather simplified and linear style of the drawings is similar to that which he employed in studies that are usually dated at about the same time and are associated with drawings by Michelangelo generally identified as projects for the articulation of the drum of the same church.

It seems unlikely that the *ambis* were intended to have integral figural decoration, such as reliefs, but the small figure sketch, A, might be a first idea for a cherub to be executed in bronze, like the *spiritelli* by Donatello (Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André), which were

no doubt planned to be placed upon the Choir Gallery of Luca della Robbia. Such a figure as sketched by Michelangelo might have been intended to support a lectern – but such a suggestion can be no more than conjecture.

History

Casa Buonarroti; Jean-Baptiste Wicar; William Young Ottley? his sale 11 April 1804 and days following, part of lot 270; “Five – various pen studies of figures and architecture – some of his writing on the back of three – from the Bonarroti collection.” bought in?; his sale, 6 June 1814 and days following, part of lot 261: “Two – an architectural design and a pieta [see Cat. 75], both pen. His writing on the back of one.” $\mathcal{L}$ 1.11.6; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Ottley sale?, 11 April 1804, part of lot 270 (“Five – various pen studies of figures and architecture – some of his writing on the back of three – from the Bonarroti collection.”). Ottley sale, 6 June 1814, etc., lot 261 (“Two – an architectural design and a pieta [see Cat. 75], both pen. His writing on the back of one.”)? Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti, Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–103] (“Architectural and other studies – pen” [with Cats. 3 and 75]. Woodburn, 1842, no. 72 (“Three small studies – upon one mount . . . with the autograph of M. Angelo” with [Cats. 3 and 75].). Fisher, 1852, p. 5, pl. 20 (Handwriting of Michael Angelo.). Fisher, 1865, II, p. 24, pl. 20 (As 1852.). Robinson, 1870, no. 48.2 (Michel Angelo. “rudimentary designs for a small isolated structure.”). Fisher, 1872, II, p. 22, pl. 20 (As 1852.). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 43b. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 234. Fisher, 1879, XXXIII/35 (Verso letter only.). Fagan, 1883, p. 139 (Connected with BM W24/Corpus 521.). Berenson, 1903, no. 1567.2 (The figure “not unlike the Ceiling decorative nudes.”). Geymüller, 1904, p. 36 (Connected with a plan of 1505 for the choir of St Peter’s.). K. Frey, 1909–11, 138c (Recto: Michelangelo. Sheet divided then rejoined; wall architecture, not free standing. Rejects Geymüller’s hypothesis. Linked with BM W24/Corpus 521. Verso: transcription.). Thode, 1913, no. 430 (Unknown purpose; no connection with Barbazza Tomb; rejects Geymüller’s hypothesis.). Berenson, 1938, no. 1567.2 (Verso: writing indicates a date later than the ceiling.). Venturi, 1939, (Storia XI/2), p. 177 (For the bronze ciborium executed by Jacomo del Duca.). Wilde, 1953a, p. 46 (Probable that the three sections of this sheet and W24/Corpus 521 all parts of same sheet. Design for an *ambo*. New transcrip-

tion of letter, datable 10–12 August 1518.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 140b. Kurz, 1953, p. 310 (Cannot be an *ambo*, for they had disappeared from liturgical use by Michelangelo’s time.). Parker, 1956, no. 312 (“[I]ndubitably original but of very uncertain purpose.”). Dussler, 1959, no. 197 (Wilde probably correct to see this as part of BM W24/Corpus 521. Purpose controversial. Datable by verso.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1567.2 (As 1903/1938.). Barbieri and Puppi, 1964a, p. 1010 (Purpose of this and BM W24/Corpus 521 controversial.). Berti, 1965, pp. 433, 437 (A pulpit?.). Barocchi and Ristori, 1967, no. CCCXIX, p. 51 (Revised transcription of letter.). Hartt, 1971, no. 196 (Recto: before 1518. Developed on BM W24/Corpus 521. Purpose unknown.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 75 (Writing datable 1518; uncertain purpose: an *ambo* “by the sixteenth century . . . would have been a liturgical anachronism.”). De Tolnay, 1980, Corpus IV, no. 522 (1518. Recto: with BM W24/Corpus 521, for a reliquary surmounted by display platform in San Lorenzo?. Verso: 10–12 August 1518.). Morselli, 1981, pp. 122–9 (Drawings document renewed interest in *ambi* in the early sixteenth century; notes that both Bandinelli and Cellini planned two octagonal *ambi* for the Duomo. Discusses the probable inspiration from Nicola Pisano’s *ambo* in Pisa Baptistry. Michelangelo’s drawings probably planned for a pulpit in Florence Cathedral, done at a period when he was closely involved with the Opera del Duomo. The Choir was being remodelled at precisely this period. Plan would have been particularly suitable for the octagonal crossing, and dugento inspiration would have been appropriate to Duomo. Notes presence of two candelabra.). Contardi, 1990, p. 172 (With W24/Corpus 521, probably for a pulpit; Morselli’s hypothesis undocumented.). Perrig, 1999, p. 247 (By Michelangelo; from via Mozza studio.).

CATALOGUE 20

Recto: Sections of a Figure

Verso: A Torso

1846.60; R.8; P.II 314; Corpus 295

Dimensions: 220 × 170 mm

Watermark: Robinson Appendix 2. Roberts Fruit A.

Medium

Red chalk.



Condition

There is uneven pulp and local cockling. The sheet has major tear repairs and toned infill, some abrasion, skinning, wrinkles, and discolouration on the edges. There is general discolouration, local staining accretions, and adhesive residues, with paper tape remnants on the verso edges.

Numbering

Verso: The Irregular Numbering Collector's numeration: n°.46

Description

Recto

A. A left leg seen at an angle from the right.

With the upper edge of the sheet as base

B. A male torso, in right profile with the right arm raised

C. A section of a triglyph? The orientation of the sheet when this was made is uncertain.

Verso

A male torso, seen from the lower right.

Three broken lines in red chalk at the left edge.



Discussion

The figure studies on the recto and verso are generally thought, rightly in the compiler's view, to be preparatory for one of the *prigioni* conceived between 1516 and 1520 for the phase of work on the Julius Tomb that Michelangelo undertook in Florence after his return to supervise work on the façade of San Lorenzo. This produced the four massively dynamic figures now in the Accademia and the *Victory* in Palazzo Vecchio. Michelangelo seems to have employed both red and black chalk in the drawings made in their preparation. A study for one of the *prigioni*, in the Louvre (Inv. 686 recto/J24/Corpus 193; 382 × 235 mm) is in black chalk, and another in the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts, Paris (197 recto/Corpus 62;

327 × 200 mm) is in red. The style of the present drawing fits reasonably well with that in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. However, it seems that during this phase of work Michelangelo's *prigioni* soon outgrew in dimensions the limits conceived for them in the contract of July 1516, and which are roughly maintained in ENSBA 197. The new, enlarged, *prigioni* would have entailed the replacement of the lower-storey front-face of the tomb already carved, largely by Antonio da Pontassieve, and, perhaps, the two figures in the Louvre, which Michelangelo had himself executed and brought near completion. The present drawing was probably made a little later than ENSBA 197, perhaps c. 1518, when the process of enlargement may be presumed to have gathered momentum. It may have been

made in preparation for the *Bearded Slave*, but the forms are not sufficiently close to any of the four *prigioni* now in the Accademia in Florence for a precise connection to be affirmed.

In 1520, following the cancellation of the San Lorenzo façade project, Michelangelo was again diverted from the Julius Tomb to work on the New Sacristy for Cardinal Giulio dei Medici, but he may have continued carving the *prigioni* while awaiting deliveries of marble for that project, especially in 1522–3, during the pontificate of Adrian VI, when little was done on the New Sacristy.

The geometrical sketch on the recto, difficult to interpret with confidence, might represent an abbreviated triglyph. Michelangelo considered the inclusion of triglyphs in an early design for the Magnifici Tomb, which survives in a copy by Raffaello da Montelupo in Florence (Uffizi 607E; pen and ink, 200 × 136 mm), itself much replicated (see Cat. 34). The original of the design copied by Raffaello must have been made by Michelangelo in 1519–20, and he may then have taken up a sheet drawn on a little earlier to sketch out architectural features. Alternatively, assuming that he was simultaneously working on the *prigioni*, it might be possible to date the recto drawing also to this moment.

History

The *Bona Roti* Collector?; The Irregular Numbering Collector; Sir Joshua Reynolds (L.2364); Sir Thomas Lawrence (no stamp); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonaroti, Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–91] (“Anatomical Studies in red chalk.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 79 (“Anatomical study of a leg etc... – very fine.”). Robinson, 1870, no. 8 (Michel Angelo. “[A]pparently of the early period of the master circa AD 1500.”). Black, 1875, p. 213, no. 8. Berenson, 1903, I, p. 184, no. 1550 (Recto: “possibly for the man sustaining the expiring youth in the Deluge.” Verso: “for the figure clinging to the tree.”). Thode, 1908, I, pp. 247, 258 (Recto: perhaps, but not certainly, for father carrying son in the *Flood*. Verso: for *ignudo* right above *Esaias*). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 193 (Recto: link with Sistine *Flood*); no. 194 (Verso: as recto.). Thode, 1913, no. 392 (As 1908, but less sure of these identifications.). Berenson, 1938, I, p. 199, no. 1550 (As 1903.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 121 (c. 1520, probably made in connection with the *Bearded Slave*). Parker, 1956, no. 314 (Studies probably connect with *Bearded Slave* of c. 1520.). Dussler, 1959, no. 340 (Michelangelo?. Early 1520s.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1550 (As 1903/1938.). Hartt, 1971, no. 294 (Recto:

1527–39: for the *Bearded Captive*.); no. 295 (Verso: 1527–30: probably for the *Youthful Captive*.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 35 (c. 1520, probably made in connexion with the *Bearded Slave*.). De Tolnay, 1976, Corpus II, no. 295 (Recto: probably for *Bearded Slave*. Verso: Hartt’s view cited.).

CATALOGUE 21

Return of the Holy Family from Egypt?

1846.309; R.76. Lloyd, 1977, A66C

Dimensions: 650 × 535 mm

Medium

Apparently in a thin wash of brown oil on a lead-white ground prepared in *terra verde*, on panel (Robinson gives the support as chestnut wood.)

Description

The group, advancing frontally with perhaps a slight tack to the viewer’s left, consists of two adults and two children, all represented nude save for the female figure who is given the outline of a costume. A form at the upper right is not decipherable with any confidence but might be the head of an animal such as a donkey.

Discussion

This panel has provoked a good deal of discussion, and the situation in 1977 is thoroughly and clearly laid out in Christopher Lloyd’s catalogue of that date, from which much of what follows depends.

The subject of the panel has not been much disputed. Berenson did hint at the possibility that it might be pagan, but did not pursue this idea with any conviction, and there seems to be little doubt that the central figure is the Virgin and that the children are Christ and St. John. Although de Tolnay suggested that the male figure on the left might be the prophet Isaiah, there is no good reason for seeing him as anyone other than Joseph, the only mature man who might be permitted to touch the Christ Child while simultaneously, it would seem, placing a protective arm behind the Virgin.

The design is clearly Michelangesque and, as all students of Michelangelo have noted, relates most obviously to his *Epifania* cartoon of c. 1553, made for his pupil Ascanio Condivi, and now in the British Museum (W75/Corpus 389; black chalk, 2327 × 1656 mm). As a consequence, and perhaps also influenced by their shared



provenance from the King of Naples, the present panel, whether or not it is given to Michelangelo, is often placed close to the *Epifania* in date. The narrative appears to be similar, and the four most important actors are presumably identical in both, although the young man on the left side of the *Epifania* and the subsidiary figures of whom only the heads are visible behind the foreground group, are not included here. However, even though the style of the *Epifania* is exceptionally heavy, with the figural forms flattening out as they approach the front plane, like forms pressed against glass, as Wilde observed, the figure-style of the present panel is much less inflated; furthermore, the figures are clearly advancing, unlike the ambiguous stasis of those in the *Epifania*. Although its individual forms differ from those in early pictorial designs by Michelangelo, the *Epifania* looks back, in its relief-like organisation, avoidance of depth, and stress on surface, with several vertically aligned figures placed side by side, to paintings such as the Manchester *Madonna*, probably of the early 1490s, and the *Entombment*, probably of shortly after 1500, both now in the National Gallery, London (respectively NG809; tempera on wood, 104.5 × 77 cm, and NG790; oil on wood, 161.7 × 149.9 cm). Michelangelo, that is to say, was throughout his life consistent in his commitment to a similar manner of treating certain types of sacred themes. This treatment also informs the present panel, and it seems more appropriate to consider this as demonstrating Michelangelo's continuity of approach rather than seeing all works in which it appears as necessarily contemporary. As noted by Lloyd, a weak drawing in the Bloxam Collection of Rugby School, *A Woman Leading Two Children with One Held by the Hand* (Inv. 19; black chalk, 270 × 199 mm, ex-collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence, purchased by Bloxam at Woodburn's posthumous sale of 1860, lot 106 for the far from princely sum of £2.0.0) shows a similar motif and, although it cannot be attributed to an identifiable associate of the master (we have no knowledge of the drawing style of Ascanio Condivi, who is an obvious candidate), still less to Michelangelo himself, it presumably reflects once again his interest in this motif and may even copy a lost sketch by him of the 1550s.

There is further visual evidence that the basic arrangement and central figural complement of the *Epifania* were not new to Michelangelo c. 1553. The recto of a large, now dismembered, drawing of which two fragments survive in the Louvre (Inv. 710 and 725/J22 and 23/Corpus 235 and 230; black chalk, respectively 375 × 130 mm and 223 × 123 mm; this sheet must originally have measured at least 500 × 350 mm) showed a woman walking forward holding a child in each hand. Her identity, and those of

the children, of whom only parts survive, cannot be determined with certainty, but they are in all probability, the Virgin, the Child, and St. John. This drawing, which is generally dated c. 1520, indicates that at least some of the central visual ideas of the *Epifania* were established some thirty years before that was conceived. Like the Virgin in the present panel, the woman in the Louvre drawing is drawn nude, with a similar garment riding high under her breasts, lightly indicated over her.

It is impossible to say whether the Louvre drawing once contained further figures, such as the Joseph seen at the left in the present panel, but the types of the figures and their arrangement in both are close enough to suggest that the relation of the two works is tighter than the simple sharing of a motif. The figures in the Louvre drawing before it was dismembered were larger than those in almost all surviving drawings by Michelangelo save his cartoons, and although they do not match the size of the present figures, they are not much smaller. The relation provides support for the view that the present panel is datable at about the same time as the Louvre drawing, c. 1520. And such a dating is reinforced by the figural types. The proportions of the figure of the Virgin here are similar to those of Christ in Michelangelo's preparatory drawing of c. 1516 in the British Museum for the *Flagellation* to be painted by his friend Sebastiano in the Borgherini chapel of San Pietro in Montorio in Rome (BM W15/Corpus 73; red chalk over stylus indications, 235 × 236 mm). Among female figures drawn by Michelangelo, she may be compared with the mourning figures of *Heaven* and *Earth* flanking the seated Duke, in Michelangelo's autograph *modello* of 1520–21, also in the Louvre, for the tomb of Duke Giuliano (Inv. 838/J27/Corpus 186; brush and brown wash over black chalk and stylus work, 321 × 203 mm), and her elongated and sinuous body, which could easily be that of a Venus, is comparable to those of two female nudes drawn by Michelangelo around the middle of the 1520s one in the Casa Buonarroti (CB53F recto/B174/Corpus 229bis; red chalk; 353 × 242 mm) and the other in the Uffizi (251F/B243; red and black chalk with pen and ink, 273 × 133 mm). Both of the drawings in Florence probably represent Venus; the first was perhaps made in preparation of a statue, the second is a sketch for a now-lost Presentation Drawing recorded in a copy by Francesco Salviati (Uffizi 14673F, red chalk, 355 × 243 mm). The similarity of these two figures to the Virgin in the present panel demonstrates the overlapping of the divine and the erotic in Michelangelo's work of this time.

The relatively thick-waisted proportions of the Joseph – tenderly attentive to the Child's tentative

ambulation – are similar, if less pronouncedly muscular, to those of the first of the group of slaves that Michelangelo carved during his third Florentine period, the *Young Slave* and the *Bearded Slave*. These relations too suggest a date of around 1520. Sir John Pope-Hennessy, reviewing Lloyd's catalogue, remarked that the forms of the children were "totally un-Michelangelesque," and although this is something of an exaggeration, it must be acknowledged that no close parallel can be found at least for the form of the Child in Michelangelo's work. Nevertheless, the nature of the action – the Child is obviously being taught to walk – is not one that Michelangelo illustrated elsewhere in painting or drawing (although His first independent steps – and their inevitable consequence – are a central conceit in the Bruges *Madonna*), and the Child's forms do not seem to the compiler to constitute a strong argument against Michelangelo's authorship. Indeed, although Michelangelo's responsibility cannot be affirmed with certainty, it is clear that virtually every aspect of this painting links more closely with his work than with that of any other artist and, if it were removed from him, would have to be given to a pupil following his design. No known pupil, however, was capable of so imposing and confident a formulation.

The technique of this underdrawing, with the figures first indicated nude with a fairly broad brush, and then the outlines of the Virgin's garment superimposed in darker wash, with a more incisive line, are similar to Michelangelo's method in some of his black chalk drawings of c. 1520, such as those in the Louvre and Casa Buonarroti as mentioned earlier, but it obviously cannot be paralleled in any of Michelangelo's surviving paintings. The only two unfinished panel paintings generally accepted as his, the Manchester *Madonna* and the *Entombment*, display different kinds of lower layers, and the unfinished *Epifania* painted by Condivi to Michelangelo's design (Florence, Casa Buonarroti) is different again. Nor is any of these panels prepared with so rough a surface as the present one, which would have created a disturbing effect had pigment been applied directly over it. Michelangelo was no doubt employing a transposed fresco technique: He was treating the rough layer as an *arriccio*, on which the composition is laid out like the *sinopia* of a fresco, and he intended to cover this with a smoother layer, corresponding to the *intonaco* of a fresco, on which he would work up the final surface. Once again, this technical eccentricity (Mr. Martin Wyld of the National Gallery, who kindly examined this panel on behalf of the Ashmolean Museum, remarked that he had never seen anything precisely like it) counts in favour of Michelangelo's authorship rather than against it.

If it is accepted as by Michelangelo, the purpose of this panel is entirely conjectural. However, Michelangelo was frequently asked for works by his friends and acquaintances, and as pointed out by Wilde (1953a, p. 64), three such requests are documented in 1522–3 alone. It seems that Michelangelo rarely satisfied them but sometimes at least considered doing so: It may be that the present work is the relic of some such response.

It is necessary to address another issue, the panel's provenance. Although it has not been traced in any inventory, there is no reason to doubt that it was in the collection of the King of Naples in the mid-eighteenth century. The remains of the Farnese collection of drawings were there as were the cartoons by Michelangelo once owned by Paolo Orsini, in particular the famous *Epifania*. But it is surprising if, as the compiler has sustained, there is only a thematic link between the present panel and the *Epifania* cartoon, that both should have been in the same collection. Taken at face value, the common provenance could well be taken as indicating that the panel and the *Epifania* cartoon are roughly contemporary, and that the compiler is wrong in his dating of the present panel to c. 1520. A related – but not dependent – issue is the panel's place of origin. If it could be dated c. 1516 or earlier, or c. 1532 or later, it could have been executed in Rome rather than Florence, and if so, this would at least provide a common geographical origin for the two works. But Michelangelo did sometimes transport works from one city to the other, and even if the panel was painted in Florence, as the compiler thinks, there is no insuperable barrier to its having migrated to Rome. In sum, although the compiler would acknowledge that there are obstacles to his views, he would continue to sustain that the panel was laid in by Michelangelo in Florence c. 1520.

It is further surprising, even disconcerting, that another sketch on panel, but one whose grounding is much smoother than the present one, has also been claimed to have been in the collection of the King of Naples. This is *Christ and the Woman of Samaria*, now in the Walker Art Gallery Liverpool (Inv. 2789; brown oil wash on a grey-green gesso ground, on poplar, 777 × 692 mm). This panel was exhibited at an imprecise date, but probably early in 1801, at 118 Pall Mall (the Milton Gallery) as no. 52, when its provenance was said to be uncertain. It appeared at Ottley's sale in London on 16 May 1801, as lot 7, as ascribed to Michelangelo, and was described as follows:

'The Samaritan Woman at the Well'. The preparation for a picture perhaps intended to be finished by himself. M. Angelo is generally believed to have painted only two or

three pictures in oil: those small ones that we so frequently see ascribed to him, are all painted by his scholars, from his designs; many have been painted from his drawings, which formerly had a place in the collection of the King of Naples, at Capi di Monte. 1 ft 11 inches × 2 ft 7 inches on panel.

This statement has subsequently been interpreted as indicating that the *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* came from the collection of the King of Naples, but that is not in fact what Ottley says. It seems likely, therefore, that a Neapolitan provenance can be discounted and that there need be no historical connection between the Liverpool panel and the present one.

Of course, whatever its history, the Liverpool panel could, in principle, be an autograph work, but no recent scholar has attempted seriously to sustain this view, nor does it appear viable to the compiler. The forms of Christ, the slackness of the drawing, the pedantry of detail and the lack of breadth, indicate quite clearly that it is a copy, and more probably the underpainting of one intended to be coloured rather than a self-sufficient grisaille. Many artists could have been responsible for such a work, but with virtual certainty the more obvious painters in Michelangelo's circle – Giulio Clovio, Marcello Venusti, or Daniele da Volterra – can be ruled out because the Liverpool panel's style corresponds to nothing in the work of any of them. There is, of course, no warrant whatsoever for the belief that Michelangelo actually produced a painting of the subject: His gifts to Vittoria Colonna seem to have been confined to drawings. Nor is it remotely likely, even had Michelangelo decided to produce a painted version, that he would have copied his own design exactly.

The Liverpool *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* was sold – or rather bought in – for 28 guineas in 1801, a price that, while not derisory, is well below what even an unfinished panel believed to be by Michelangelo would have fetched. It seems to have remained with Ottley and at its two reappearances in 1811 fetched less than 10 pounds. However, it must be acknowledged that when it reappeared for a final time at William Roscoe's sale, it fetched the much healthier sum of £52.10.0 (see Morris and Hopkinson, 1977).

History

King of Naples; William Young Ottley; Sir Thomas Lawrence; Samuel Woodburn.

References

Ottley, 1808–23, p. 31 (The “return of the holy family from Egypt (a sketch made by him on board, formerly in the collection of the King of Naples at Capo di Monte,

and now in my Possession)”; together with “the annunciation, the holy family, Christ and the Samaritan woman at the well; Christ praying in the garden, the crucifixion; and the *Pieta*, of which he gave a version to the Marchesa of Pescara,” “and the resurrection of Christ” part of a series of designs preparing frescoes the side walls of the Sistine chapel. The martyrdom of St. Peter and the conversion of St. Paul were perhaps also originally intended to be painted in the Sistine chapel.). Lawrence Inventory, 1830, no. 12 [1830–2] (“A grisaille in black and white in oil, female with two children, etc.”). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 71 (“THE RETURN OF THE HOLY FAMILY FROM EGYPT – a slight sketch in oil on board, highly interesting, as it shews his progress of work, he has drawn the figures unclothed, and has marked in some parts of the drapery over the naked figures. This curious and indisputable grisaille is probably unique. *Size, 26 inches by 21 inches. From the Collection of the King of Naples, at the Capo di Monti, and W. Y. Ottley, Esq., it is mentioned in the Italian School of Design, page 31.*”). The Athenaeum, 16 July 1836 (“[T]he curious oil sketch.”). Fisher, 1852, p. 5, pl. 27 (“[A] sketch in oil on board, very instructive as showing his mode of working.”). Fisher, 1865, p. 5, pl. 27 (As 1852.). Robinson, 1870, no. 76 (It “should be ascribed to the later period of Michelangelo's career.” No indications in the work of the role that Ottley suggests.). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 17, pl. 27 (As 1852.). Black, 1875, p. 215, no. 65 (*The Return from Egypt*). Fisher, 1879, XLVII/pl. 49 (“Joseph, following, seems to be guiding the tottering steps of the infant. The head of the ass is faintly indicated in the background at the opposite side. The Virgin is clad in a tunic with a girdle round her waist, but her figure, like the rest, was originally drawn in the nude, the outlines being discernible.”). Berenson, 1938, no. 1725a, p. 239 (“It is tempting to give this sketch to M. himself in a phase between the Cavalieri compositions and the *Last Judgement*. . . It is probably not by the great master himself,” but it cannot be given to a specific follower. Obviously related to the *Epifania* cartoon, but “the forms are much more elegant. . . If done before the BM cartoon, we must grant that it is either M's own, which is unlikely, or a fairly accurate transcript of a drawing by him.” Subject enigmatic “perhaps it develops the subject of Raphael's *Madonna del Passeggio*.”). Berenson, 1961, no. 1725a, pp. 399–400 (As 1938.). Hartt, 1964, p. 55. Lloyd, 1977, pp. 116–19 (Full account; cites different opinions.). Pope-Hennessy, 1977, p. 319 (“[W]hat appears to be the correct interpretation of the subject is found in a footnote . . . the types of the two children are totally un-Michelangelesque.”). De Tolnay, 1978, Corpus III, p. 53 (*Return from Egypt*; by an anonymous follower of Michelangelo, inspired by the

Epifania. “L’accento di questa composizione però non è più quello sacrale del cartone michelangesco ma più intimo e domestico.” Redates panel to 1500–5.). Morris and Hopkinson, 1977, p. 124 (Similar provenance to the Liverpool painting. The Ashmolean painting “however, unlike [Liverpool] 2789, could be interpreted as an under-drawing for a painting.”). Joannides, 1981b, p. 684 (Maintains date of c. 1515–20 suggested to Lloyd. Remarks “unnerving that this panel shares a provenance with the similarly sketched-in but qualitatively much inferior panel in Liverpool.”). Perrig, 1991, pp. 90–1 (By Condivi, like the *Epifania* cartoon.). Perrig, 1999, pp. 239–40 (As 1991; from Farnese Collection.).

CATALOGUE 22

A Sibyl?

1846.71; R.30; P.II 325; Corpus 98

Dimensions: 265 × 199 mm

Medium

Pen and ink with some later retouchings, linked to the repairs and patching to the sheet.

Condition

Extensive damage to the primary support by ink burn has been restored. There is a horizontal pressed-out fold, other creases, local staining, accretions, considerable discolouration, and bleeding from the ink. The restored support is inlaid and possibly drummed to the backboard of the mount; the verso is not visible.

Description

It is clear that this drawing was made over a pre-existing drawing or drawings, also in pen and ink, many lines of which are visible under the surface. As far as the compiler can make them out, the lines appear to represent drapery of some kind; the best suggestion that he can make is that they indicate the fold structure of a turban. If this is correct, the most likely possibility is that the underdrawing is an unfinished copy by Antonio Mini after a lost drawing by Michelangelo, upon which Michelangelo then imposed the Sibyl. An analogous case is found in a famous drawing in the Louvre, Inv. 684 recto/J29/Corpus 95; pen and ink over red chalk, 275 × 211 mm, although there Michelangelo superimposed a drawing in pen over his pupil’s red chalk copy of one of his own chalk drawings.

Discussion

In its loose and rough handling of the pen, this drawing is comparable to Cat. 23, but it is still more forceful. It is difficult to know if the snake-like forms drawn with thicker lines at the upper left and upper centre of the sheet represent some threatening force to which the figure reacts, or whether her expression of alarm was justified by the – presumably – retrospective addition of these forms.

That aspect of Michelangelo’s drawing style represented in the present drawing exerted some influence on Bandinelli but still more strongly influenced Bartolomeo Passerotti and, through him, Agostino Carracci. Such extreme drawings look even further forward to aspects of Fuseli and Barry. The wild and grotesque side of Michelangelo, for which he employs a handling of pen distinctively different from his early manner, is seen also in drawings in London (BM W29 recto/Corpus 97; pen and ink, 414 × 281 mm) and Paris (Louvre, Inv. 684/J29/Corpus 95; pen over red chalk, 277 × 213 mm). The pen strokes tend to be thicker, longer, and directed less to modelling the form than to producing heavy simplifications. Nevertheless, it seems clear, both here and in other drawings in the Ashmolean and elsewhere, that Michelangelo was looking back to his own earlier drawings and, to an extent, taking them as a starting point. Indeed, de Tolnay dated several drawings of this type to Michelangelo’s early years, and although his views have not been followed by other scholars, and are unacceptable to the compiler, they are nevertheless understandable. Perhaps it was the effort of teaching during the 1520s, when Michelangelo seems to have set for Mini exercises such as he himself had carried out in his youth, that encouraged Michelangelo to consider and re-work some of his earlier techniques and motifs: BM W29, of the same period, as Wilde noted, develops the pose of the Sistine *Isaiah* of 1508–9, and the present drawing recalls, as he also observed, the seated *Virgin* in Louvre, Inv. 685/J16/Corpus 26 of c. 1505–6.

The purpose of the present drawing is entirely conjectural. Wilde pointed out its close similarity with W29, and it may be that both were intended as companion figures in some painted scheme, perhaps in a temporary decorative structure planned around 1520, to be executed by some other artist to Michelangelo’s designs. That it may have been made as a gift, or at least that it was given to another artist, is suggested by its employment some fifty years later. As Wilde was also first to point out, the figure occurs in reverse, labelled as *Samia*, in a fresco scheme in the Galleria of Palazzo Sacchetti in the via Giulia in Rome. The Galleria contains a series of frescoes representing Prophets and Sibyls in simulated rectangular niches located above



door level. Most of these figures are taken from those by Michelangelo on the Sistine ceiling, but because they are given different identities from the originals, no trust can be put in the label *Samia*. Thus, Michelangelo's *Delphica* in the same scheme is labelled *Tiburtina*, following the erroneous inscription on the engraving by Adamo Ghisi, *Zacherias* is labelled *Osea*, and *Ioel* is labelled *Zacharias*. It seems evident that whatever the criterion of the selection of Prophets and Sibyls to be represented, Michelangelo's figures were taken over casually, without attention to their identities. The series of Prophets and Sibyls also includes *Ioram*, taken from a drawing by Daniele da Volterra of an unidentified king (Musée du Louvre, Inv. 1525; black chalk, 486 × 322 mm), probably made for the Sala Regia but either never executed as a painting or destroyed. Three other figures, *Salomon*, *Roboam*, and *Ezechias* might be after designs by either Daniele or Girolamo Muziano. Nevertheless, even if the present figure's employment in such a context reveals nothing of Michelangelo's original conception, the figure was at least not felt to be incompatible with those borrowed from the Sistine.

Above the Prophets and Sibyls, a frescoed frieze extends around the Galleria. In this are represented some of Michelangelo's narrative scenes from the Sistine ceiling plus copies after the *David and Goliath* by Daniele da Volterra, now at Fontainebleau (see Cat. 46a), Raphael's *Judgement of Solomon* from the vault of the Stanza della Segnatura and the upper group from Michelangelo's drawing of the *Attack of and Salvation from the Serpents*, Cat. 34. These scenes are adapted to fit the horizontal spaces, and some of them include additional figures taken from other sources: In the Sacchetti *Sacrifice of Noah*, for example, are found two bystanders borrowed from Michelangelo's *Last Judgement*.

Although the construction of the Galleria was probably completed in 1573 (Haslam, 1996) this series of frescoes was painted for the Cevoli family, who acquired the palace only in 1576 after the death of Cardinal Giovanni Ricci of Montepulciano, the previous owner. The scheme was, with virtual certainty, executed by Daniele da Volterra's pupil, Giacomo Rocca, and its attribution to him is due to Salerno (1973, p. 304) who points out that while Rocca is not documented as their executant, his authorship may be inferred from the information provided by Baglione (1642, p. 66), who states "per li Signori Cevoli nel lor palagio di strada Giulio operò tutte le facciate, che guardano verso il Tevere lavorate con grand numero di figure, ma vi si scorge la sua maniera, benché si prevalessesse delli disegni di Danielle, et d'altri, e in questi lavori metesse in opera diversi pittori, poichè da se stesso poco atto a farli si scorgeva."

Although, as Salerno admits, Baglione's reference is to now-lost exterior frescoes, he points out that the attribution is supported by what Baglione tells us about Giacomo's collection of drawings. Baglione says that Rocca inherited the drawings of his master when Daniele died in 1566, and the borrowing of *Ioram* from Daniele would also support this linking. Baglione adds that Rocca inherited from Daniele a number of drawings by Michelangelo, which would suggest that the present drawing was once owned by Daniele. These precise relations provide significant support for Salerno's attribution. It has not previously been noted that the figure in the present drawing recurs – in its true direction – in a secure work by Rocca, the unnamed Sibyl in the Cevoli chapel in Santa Maria degli Angeli (listed by Baglione and reproduced in Pugliatti, 1984, fig. 337). Giacomo Rocca was a relatively minor artist about whom little is known, but he produced a number of paintings in the 1560s and 1570s in Roman churches.

The Palazzo Sacchetti copies of the Prophets and Sibyls, which place Michelangelo's figures within rectangular frames, are reasonably accurate renderings of the originals both in form and colour. They seem, indeed, of higher quality than much of Rocca's surviving work as reproduced in the study by Pugliatti (1984). However, it is worth noting, as well as remarking, that Rocca set other painters to work in Palazzo Sacchetti. Baglione also informs us that, as a youth, Giuseppe Cesari, the Cavaliere d'Arpino, worked for Rocca and was much impressed with his employer's collection of Michelangelo drawings. It may be, therefore, that the young Giuseppe was involved in the execution of the Galleria.

Painted Copies

1. Rome Palazzo Sacchetti, Galleria, included, in reverse, labelled *Samia*. Probably painted by Giacomo Rocca, 1570s, for the Cevoli family who then owned the palace.
2. Santa Maria degli Angeli, Cevoli chapel, lunette, also by Giacomo Rocca (listed as his by Baglione; reproduced Pugliatti, 1984, fig. 337).

History

Daniele da Volterra?; Giacomo Rocca?; Giuseppe Cesari, the Cavaliere d'Arpino?; the Ciciaporci family and Filippo Ciciaporci?; Bartolommeo Cavaceppi?; Dominique-Vivant Denon (L.779); Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti, Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830-115] ("The Delphic Sibyl, bold pen,

very fine.”). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 16 (“[A] noble study for one of the figures in the Sistine Chapel.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 41 (As 1836.). Woodburn, 1846, no. 15 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1852, p. 5, pl. 21 (“[F]or one of the figures in the Sistine Chapel.”). Woodburn, 1853, no. 20 (Reproduced.). Fisher, 1865, I, p. 18, pl. 21 (As 1852.). Robinson, 1870, no. 30 (Michel Angelo. Some similarity to *Delphica*. “Not improbably . . . prepared for the Sistine, but . . . ultimately discarded.”). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 16, pl. 21 (As 1852.). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 30 (“A draped female figure resembling” *Delphica*). Gotti, 1875, II, p. 222. Fisher, 1879, XXI/23 (“[I]n the style of the figures in the ceiling.”). Springer, 1883, I, p. 192 (For an unexecuted Sistine Sibyl.). Wickhoff, 1891, p. ccviii (Passerotti.). Berenson, 1903, I, p. 266, no. 1704 (Passerotti. “[A] forgery so brilliant and of so ancient a date that until the other day it had never aroused the slightest suspicion.”). Colvin, 1905, III, no. 9 (Imitator of Michelangelo, probably Bartolommeo Passerotti. Stands or falls with [Cat. 23], “a production, not of the great master himself, but of the most effective and most specious of his imitators in pen-work.”). Steinmann, 1905, II, pp. 601, no. 45, 651 (By Passerotti; free copy of *Delphica*; reproduced.). Jacobsen, 1907, p. 492 (Copy.). Thode, 1908, I, p. 255 (Study for a Sibyl; possibly a copy.). Thode, 1913, no. 418 (Not autograph; probably a copy after a lost original.). De Tolnay, 1928a, p. 70 (Rejected.). Berenson, 1935, p. 264 (By Andrea di Michelangelo who may be Stefano di Tommaso Lunetti.). Berenson, 1938, I, pp. 266, 362, no. 1704 (As 1935.). Delacre, 1938, pp. 79, 108 (Michelangelo, not Passerotti; “puissante étude.”). Wilde, 1953a, p. 60 (Michelangelo c. 1525; cf. BM W29 recto/Corpus 97. Employed for *Samia* in the painted ceiling of the Palazzo Sacchetti.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 38 (“one of Michelangelo’s most brilliant studies.” Contemporary with BM. W.29, c. 1520–4.). Parker, 1956, no. 325 (Michelangelo. Certainly connected with Palazzo Sacchetti *Samia*). Dusler, 1959, no. 613 (Rejected. By same routine hand as [Cat. 23] and the verso of drawing in [Prince’s Gate Collection/Corpus 101]; not to be linked with BM W29 recto/Corpus 97, as Wilde claims.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1704 (As 1903/1938.). Weinberger, 1967, p. 341 (Imitator of Michelangelo, but not Passerotti.). Hartt, 1971, no. 160 (1517–18?. St. Reparata, perhaps for right return of the mezzanine on the San Lorenzo façade.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 99 (“one of Michelangelo’s most brilliant studies.” Contemporary with BM W29 recto/Corpus 97.). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 98 (Michelangelo, 1515–20, probably for the 1516 project of the Julius Tomb.). Perrig, 1982, pp. 14–20 (By Antonio Mini, reflecting

Michelangelo’s early drawing style. Mini also responsible for the hatching on Louvre 685 recto/J16/Corpus 95.). Perrig, 1999, p. 282 (As 1982.).

CATALOGUE 23

An Old Woman? and a Child

1846.70; R.31; P.II 324; Corpus 83bis (inadvertently omitted)

Dimensions: 329 × 192 mm

Medium

Pen and ink, black chalk.

Condition

The primary support is lined. There is a vertical crease, a major toned infill, minor repairs, fractures from ink burn-through, abrasion, and some skinning, together with widespread discolouration.

Description

There are a number of apparently connected pen lines under the right forearm and the attached drapery of this figure, which are covered by the figure, but the compiler is unable to decipher these. Partly crossing the head of the child, and then rising at an angle of about 45° are two lines that terminate in a two-pronged form that seems to be supporting a round object seen in profile, on a level with the aged person’s hand. If the compiler’s reading is correct, this might indicate a right arm and hand holding a mirror.

The lines and areas of black chalk appear to be over rather than under the pen lines. It was not unknown for Michelangelo to correct pen drawings in soft black chalk, but it is uncertain whether what is seen here is correction, or simply the marks of an offset from another drawing.

Discussion

The purpose of this drawing is unknown, and the sex of the main figure is disputed: It is indeed difficult to be sure whether it is male or female, although the compiler would, on balance, opt for female. The drawing obviously revives Michelangelo’s early interest in the forms of Masaccio in its grand fall of draperies, but the characterisation gives the figure a humorous, perhaps sinister, edge. The hatching is less tight and delicate than that of Michelangelo’s early exercises in cross-hatched pen, and it was this bolder manner that younger



contemporaries such as Bandinelli and, still more obviously, Bartolommeo Passerotti, found attractive. It was also a type of drawing much appreciated by later-eighteenth-century artists, who took it as licence for exaggerated effect. Although, in general, nineteenth-century painters and sculptors focused more on the classicising forms of Michelangelo's art, and his expressive poses and gestures, it was predominantly Michelangelo's drawings of the ideal and the grotesque, especially heads, that captured the imagination of writers until quite late in the nineteenth century.

Around the time that this drawing was made – c. 1520 – Michelangelo made a somewhat grotesque profile drawing of an old woman, which was once part of the same sheet as a study of a younger woman seen from the back (both Paris, Louvre, Inv. 710 recto and 725 recto/J22 and 23/Corpus 235 and 230; black chalk, respectively 375 × 130 mm and 232 × 123 mm). The original recto of this large sheet, now the verso (which must originally have measured at least 500 × 350 mm), contained a now fragmentary drawing of a walking woman with two children. (For further discussion of this group, see Cat. 21.) It is not clear whether the two figures on the original verso were separate studies or were intended to co-exist in the same composition. But in any case, taken as a group, these drawings show Michelangelo's interest in representing contrasting female types around 1520. This interest might have been stimulated by the reliefs representing *Orpheus Singing* and the *Nymphs in the Garden of the Hesperides*, on an early and discarded project for the tomb of the Magnifici in the New Sacristy (the clearest copy is that by Raffaello da Montelupo on Uffizi 607E; pen and ink, 220 × 136 mm).

Of course, such an interest also continues that in semi-grotesque types seen in the Ancestors of Christ on the Sistine vault. There is a particularly close relation between the old person in the present drawing and the old man on the right of the *Salmon-Booz-Obeth* lunette and the link extends further in that both figures stare at carved faces on staffs that they hold before them. The witch-like characteristics of the figure here were remarked on by several earlier commentators and even though it may seem unlikely, it is not to be excluded a priori that Michelangelo might have planned to represent some scene of witchcraft. That such subjects were in circulation at this time in Central Italy (as well as in Germany, where they were common) is shown by a famous engraving of a *Witches Sabbath* by Agostino Veneziano (*The Illustrated Bartsch* 27, p. 114, no. 426–1), whose design is sometimes attributed to Raphael.

Berenson suggested that Bacchiacca employed this drawing for the figure of an old woman in his panel (often

called a birth-plate, a function difficult to reconcile with the subject), *Ghismonda with the Heart of Guiscardo*, Coral Gables, Florida, Joe and Emily Lowe Art Gallery; Kress Collection, K.308. However, as pointed out by Abbate, 1969, the source of that figure is more likely one of the Sistine Ancestors, *Obeth*. But the standing female figure second from right in Bacchiacca's panel does seem to show awareness of a drawing by Michelangelo now known only in copies, for example one in Windsor, PW263.

Drawn Copies

1. Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Brejon de Lavergnée, no. 1098; pen and ink, 332 × 164 mm. This copy is on a slightly larger scale than the original. Attributed by Morelli to Baccio Bandinelli, it might be by Battista Franco.
2. Formerly Springell Collection, sold Sotheby's, London, 18 February 1991, lot 159; pen and ink, 334 × 164 mm, torn and made up at lower right. From the collections of Nathaniel Hone, Sir Joshua Reynolds (L.2364), and Sir Thomas Lawrence. The pen style of this copy resembles that of Baccio Bandinelli. This is no doubt the copy referred to by Lawrence in the note to Ottley published by Williams, 1831, II, pp. 356–7 (see mention in References).
3. British Museum, unmounted series, Cracherode Ff 1–4; pen and ink, 212 × 129 mm, on paper bearing a watermark of a flower with a narrow, arrow-shaped bud flanked by two clover-like leaves (cf. Cat. 60). The mount bears the initials of William Young Ottley and the number 4.
4. Like the present drawing, it may have been owned by Ottley who, in that case, would have sold it to Cracherode shortly before the latter's death and the bequest of his collection to the British Museum. However, after he became Keeper of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Ottley inventoried parts of the collection, in the process applying his initials to the mounts of many drawings, so their appearance on a drawing's mount does not prove that it had been in his possession.

It is evident that this draughtsman had access to further drawings by Michelangelo: On the verso are two ground plans of what appears to be a large private house and a partial sketch of a door (or a window) with a segmental pediment and flat pilasters with raised edges, both of which could well be after lost drawings by Michelangelo. The plan might fit three studies connected by de Tolnay with the initial planning of what is now the Casa Buonarroti (AB XI, fol. 722 verso/B347/Corpus 584; CB 33A/B41/Corpus 585; and CB 119A/B156/Corpus 588), and whether or not Tolnay's interpretation of their function is correct, the date is certainly appropriate because the recto of AB XI, fol. 722 bears a

letter to Michelangelo dated 27 April 1518. The door appears to be of the New Sacristy phase. These conjunctions would tend to support a date for Cat. 23 of c. 1520.

The British Museum drawing is a good free copy, not a replica, and is smaller than the original. It would be tempting, in principle, to give it to Battista Franco, but the compiler can find nothing sufficiently close to it in his work to sustain such an attribution.

History

Revil; William Young Ottley; Sir Thomas Lawrence (the remains of a stamp at lower left?); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–51] (“A female probably intended for a witch with a boy, bold pen with a copy” [probably copy 2]). Williams, 1831, II, pp. 356–7 (“About the year 1810, Mr. Ottley had picked up an old drawing that had belonged to Sir Joshua Reynolds, who had written under it the name of Donatello, in indication of his attributing it to the pencil of that artist. . . . Mr. Ottley, however, an undisputed judge, of the finest discrimination, was intimately acquainted with the style and works of Michael Angelo, the god of Sir Joshua’s idolatry; and he wrote under the drawing in pencil, ‘a presso Michael Angelo.’ Being at Paris in 1820, Mr. Ottley by chance saw in a shop the original drawing, and immediately became its purchaser. The subject was an old Sorceress or Prophetess; one of the finest of Michael Angelo’s productions. On his return to England Mr. Ottley presented it to Sir Thomas Lawrence, who wrote to him the following note, upon the spur of the moment of its arrival: . . . ‘My Dear Sir, The Beauty is arrived. The copy is tolerably accurate; but it is just in what it differs that the superior grandeur of the original consists.’”). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 54 (“[F]ull of expression; it is probably from life, but has a witch-like character.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 39 (As 1836.). Woodburn, 1846, no. 7 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1852, p. 5, pl. 22 (“[P]robably from life.”). Fisher, 1865, I, p. 18, pl. 22 (As 1852.). Woodburn, 1853, no. 25 (Reproduced.). Robinson, 1870, no. 31 (Michel Angelo “in the same powerful style as many of the pen studies for the Sistine ceiling.”). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 16, pl. 21 (As 1852.). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 31. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 239. Fisher, 1879, XXII/24 (“[G]randly draped.”). Morelli, 1891–2, col. 377, no. 36 (Lille version by Bandinelli.). Wickhoff, 1891, p. ccviii (Passerotti.). Justi, 1900, p. 160 (Possibly Ruth and Obeth.). Berenson, 1903, I, p. 266, no. 1705 (Passerotti. Forgery based on drapery of God the Father from the *Creation of Eve* and the *Boaz* on the Sistine ceil-

ing.). Colvin, 1905, III, no. 8 (Imitator of Michelangelo, probably Bartolommeo Passerotti, author of “a number of slashingly energetic and showy pen-drawings in which he imitates and outdoes the looser followers of Michelangelo, especially Baccio Bandinelli.”). K. Frey, 1907, p. 22 (Not Michelangelo; copy in Lille.). Thode, 1913, p. 210 (After the original in Lille.). Berenson, 1935, p. 264 (By Andrea di Michelangelo who may be identical with Stefano di Tommaso Lunetti.). Berenson, 1938, I, pp. 266, 362, no. 1705 (As 1935. Figure known to Bacchiacca who used it in his Birth Plate [now in Coral Gables].). Delacre, 1938, pp. 79, 98, 101–2, 108 (Michelangelo: “cette tragique sorcière.” Neither this original nor Lille copy are by Bandinelli or Passerotti.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 41 (Michelangelo, contemporary with Cat. 22 and BM W29.). Parker, 1956, no. 324 (Michelangelo. Compares with *Christ Before Pilate* of 1516–20. Unclear why it should be dated c. 1520–4. Similar figure in Bacchiacca’s *desco da parte* [now in Coral Gables], but no conclusions can be drawn from that as to the significance of this drawing.). Dussler, 1959, no. 614 (Rejected. Strongly influenced by Michelangelo, early 1520s.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1705 (As 1903/1938.). Weinberger, 1967, p. 341 (Imitator of Michelangelo, but not Passerotti.). Hartt, 1971, no. 155 (1517–18. Not a woman; St. Cosmas with one of his brothers for a ground-floor niche in the left return of the San Lorenzo façade.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 89 (Michelangelo, c. 1515–17. Relation to Cat. 14 recto and to medal of Michelangelo by Leone Leoni. Perhaps, like that, an illustration of Psalms 51:15.). Perrig, 1982, pp. 14–20 (By Antonio Mini, reflecting Michelangelo’s early drawing style. Mini responsible also for the hatching on Louvre Inv. 685 recto/J16/Corpus 26.). Hirst, 1988, p. 11 (Michelangelo; close to caricature.). Perrig, 1991, pp. 9–11, 28, fig. 54 (Mini.). Wind, 2000, p. 108 (Transformation of the Sistine *Boaz* “into a frightening old hag”; anonymous, reproduced as Michelangelo?). Perrig, 1999, p. 250–1 (As 1991.).

CATALOGUE 24

Recto: Head of a Man

Verso: Two Standing Draped Figures

1846.73; R.2; P.II 327; Corpus 8

Dimensions: 270 × 180 mm. This sheet has been divided to separate the verso figures and then rejoined.

Medium

Pen and ink; a smudge of black chalk at the upper left of the recto.





Condition

The sheet is cut vertically down the centre with extensive repairs, several punctures, an irregular edge-cut, a number of handling creases, and local cockling. There are major edge and corner infills, extensive skinning, and numerous fractures and tears, some repaired. There is considerable discolouration and staining from bleeding of the ink, with show-through. The sheet is generally discoloured.

Inscriptions

Recto: Upper left: effaced inscription in black chalk: *B...?*

Lower centre: mutilated inscription in pen, read by Parker as *B... roti* but unclear to the compiler.

Lower right: Robinson's numbering in graphite: 2.

Verso: A large number 69 in black chalk at the lower centre; this does not correspond to anything in the known history of this sheet.

Discussion

Recto

Like Cat. 33 this sheet of drawings was dated to c. 1500 by de Tolnay, and, once again, although this is not convincing, it does indicate retrospection on Michelangelo's part. Indeed, the recto head has sometimes been considered to be a copy after a quattrocento fresco, perhaps by an artist such as Castagno, and even though no precise source has been found, this possibility cannot be ruled out. Michelangelo certainly encouraged Antonio Mini to follow a course of training similar to his own, copying the old masters, and he may have returned to his own earlier practices here as an example to his pupil. It could, in principle, reflect a quattrocento portrait but, on balance, it seems more likely to be an invention "in the manner of" than a copy.

It is worth recalling in connection with this drawing, as with Cats. 22 and 33, that Michelangelo distinguished among the high, medium, and low styles, and that his drawings, and their actors, show his capacity for representing the low. In a letter of June 1520 to Cardinal Bibbiena, he employed the simile of the pleasure of coarse food after a surfeit of refinement. When a head such as the present one is compared with Cat. 31, one can appreciate the contrast.

The swivelled eyes are seen frequently in the Ancestors of Christ. The early identification of this head as that of Bartolommeo Colleoni is implausible – it bears no relation to the head of Colleoni in Verrocchio's equestrian

statue – but it does indicate that at least some of Michelangelo's "ideal" heads were thought to be of specific individuals. The suggestion of Colleoni may be an unconscious acknowledgement of the place of such a drawing in the tradition of Leonardo and his master Verrocchio.

Verso

The draped figures cannot be connected with a specific project, but they are close in form to some of the bystanders at the upper left of the composition of the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, designed by Baccio Bandinelli around 1525 in preparation for a fresco to be executed on one of the side walls of the choir of San Lorenzo (facing another representing the *Martyrdom of Saints Cosmas and Damian*, for which no drawings have been identified) but never executed and known in an engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi. Perhaps this drawing was given or shown to Bandinelli by Michelangelo whilst they were still friendly.

Some previous owner cut the sheet to obtain two separate figure studies from the verso, but, happily, seems to have repented of this vandalism and rejoined it.

Drawn Copies

1. Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Inv. no. C54; pen and ink, 300 × 215 mm. A same-size copy of the verso, made before the sheet was cut down, probably within the sixteenth century. From the collections of Sir Peter Lely (L.2092), Nathaniel Hone (L.2793), Sir Joshua Reynolds (L.2364), and Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445). Lawrence's ownership of this copy was established by Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Holler, who also provided the information that it was acquired by Dresden at or after the Woodburn sale of 1860. It cannot be identified in the sale and was presumably included in one of the multiple lots.

2. Haarlem, Teyler Museum A*11/VT 78; pen and ink over traces of black chalk, 293 × 214 mm, the upper corners chamfered. A same-size copy of the verso, made before the sheet was cut down. The inscription on this copy indicates that it was owned by the *Bona Roti* Collector, and that, therefore, it must be of the sixteenth century.

Engraved Copies

Recto

1. Windsor, Royal Library, Inv. 809565, the recto engraved in reverse by an unidentified engraver G.D., 190 × 156 mm. Inscribed: *Bartolomei Coleoni effigies à M. Ang. Bonaroto delineata. GD eadē lineamēta secutus inc. 1610*. In his discussion of this rare print, known to him in only one other example, Griffiths, 1993, no. 162,

emphasises that it “is of some interest in the history of engraving as being one of the first, if not the first, attempts to make an exact facsimile of a drawing.”

2. Published by Ottley, 1 May 1812, following p. 26 of Ottley 1808–23, etched by F. C. Lewis, 177 × 133 mm.

Verso

3. Published by Ottley, 1 November 1808, facing p. 26 of Ottley, 1808–23, etched by W. Y. Ottley, 296 × 193 mm.

History

William Young Ottley, his sale, 6 June 1814, etc., lot 1682 (“One – two draped figures, standing, bold pen – engraved in Mr Ottley’s work – a head in profile, full of character, on the back” £35.0.0); Sir Thomas Lawrence (no stamp); Samuel Woodburn.

References

GD, 1610 (Reduced and reversed engraving of recto. The subject identified in the letterpress as Bartolommei Colleoni.). Ottley, 1808–23, p. 26 and following plates (Recto and verso: Michelangelo, early 1490s.). Ottley sale, 6 June 1814, etc., lot 1682 (“One – two draped figures, standing, bold pen – engraved in Mr Ottley’s work – a head in profile, full of character, on the back.”). Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti, Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–104] (“Two Apostles largely Draped, on the reverse a head full of expression, pen.”). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 91 (Verso alone catalogued.). Woodburn, 1842, no. 32 (“[O]n the reverse is the head of a man in a cap.”). Fisher, 1862, p. 5, pl. 18 [sic: pl. 19] (Recto and verso: Michelangelo.). Fisher, 1865, II, p. 24, pl. 19 (As 1862.). Robinson, 1870, no. 2 (Perhaps before 1500; classed with Cats. 33, 58, and 113.). Fisher, 1872, II, p. 22, pl. 19 (As 1862.). Black, 1875, p. 213, no. 2. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 237. Fisher, 1879, II/2 (Recto; verso: “[A]quiline nose and keen glancing eyes.”). Berenson, 1903, no. 1546 (Recto: like [Cat. 33] and contemporary. Verso: “Powerful and masterly.”). Thode, 1913, no. 388 (Same technique as [Cat. 33]; engraved in 1610.). Panofsky, 1927–8, p. 241 (Mini.). Berenson, 1938, no. 1546 (As 1903.). Delacre, 1938, p. 90 (“[D]essin si particulièrement vivant.”). Goldscheider, 1951, p. 179 and fig. 200 (Recto: Battista Franco.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 56 (Verso: usually dated earlier but similar in style to [Cat. 28] and BM W29 datable c. 1526.). Wilde, 1953a, p. 60 (“[A] variant of an earlier invention of Michelangelo’s . . . the figure of the Virgin” in Louvre 685 recto/J16/Corpus 26.). Parker, 1956, no. 327 (Close connection with Cat. 33 and Haarlem

A22/VT 45/Corpus 10 recto and verso. “Though the powerful study on the *recto* tips the balance to the side of Michelangelo, it is undeniable that certain features common to the whole group are unusual, and that the attribution to Franco deserves at least to be carefully considered.”). Dussler, 1959, no. 597 (Rejected; falls with Cat. 33. Not Mini. Link with Haarlem A22/VT 45/Corpus 10. Perhaps Battista Franco.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1546 (As 1903/1938.). Goldscheider, 1965, pl. Xb (As 1951.). Weinberger, 1967, p. 342 (Recto: follower of Michelangelo “an interpretation of a Castagno type and under the direct influence of” Louvre, Inv. 684/J29/Corpus 95.). Hartt, 1971, p. 390 (Recto and verso; rejected.). De Tolnay, 1974, p. 15 (Recto: perhaps after Masaccio.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 103 (Verso: close in style and handling to Cat. 33 and evidently dating from the same period, c. 1526.). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 8 (Recto: Michelangelo, 1504–5. Quattrocento appearance. Reports Peter Meller’s suggestion that it may reflect a head in Masolino’s *Crucifixion* in San Clemente. Verso: probably by Michelangelo, c. 1526, after sculpture of the early quattrocento.). Sisi, 1988, no. 5 (Verso: left-hand figure reproduces the figure at the right of Jacopo della Quercia’s *Circumcision* on the door of San Petronio. Right-hand figure a free interpretation of classical Sophocles type.); no. 21 (Recto: synthesis of various quattrocento types. Recalls profile of Nicholas of Tolentino by Andrea del Castagno and profiles by Uccello on Duomo clock face.). Griffiths, 1993, p. 259 (Discussion of the engraving of the recto.). Van Tuyll van Serooskerken, 2000, pp. 93–4 (This drawing and Cat. 33, seem later and more developed than the sheet in Haarlem, A22/VT 45/Corpus 10.); p. 151, no. 78 (The Haarlem copy of the verso discussed; its inscription *di Michel Angelo buona Roti* further supports the authenticity of the Oxford sheet.).

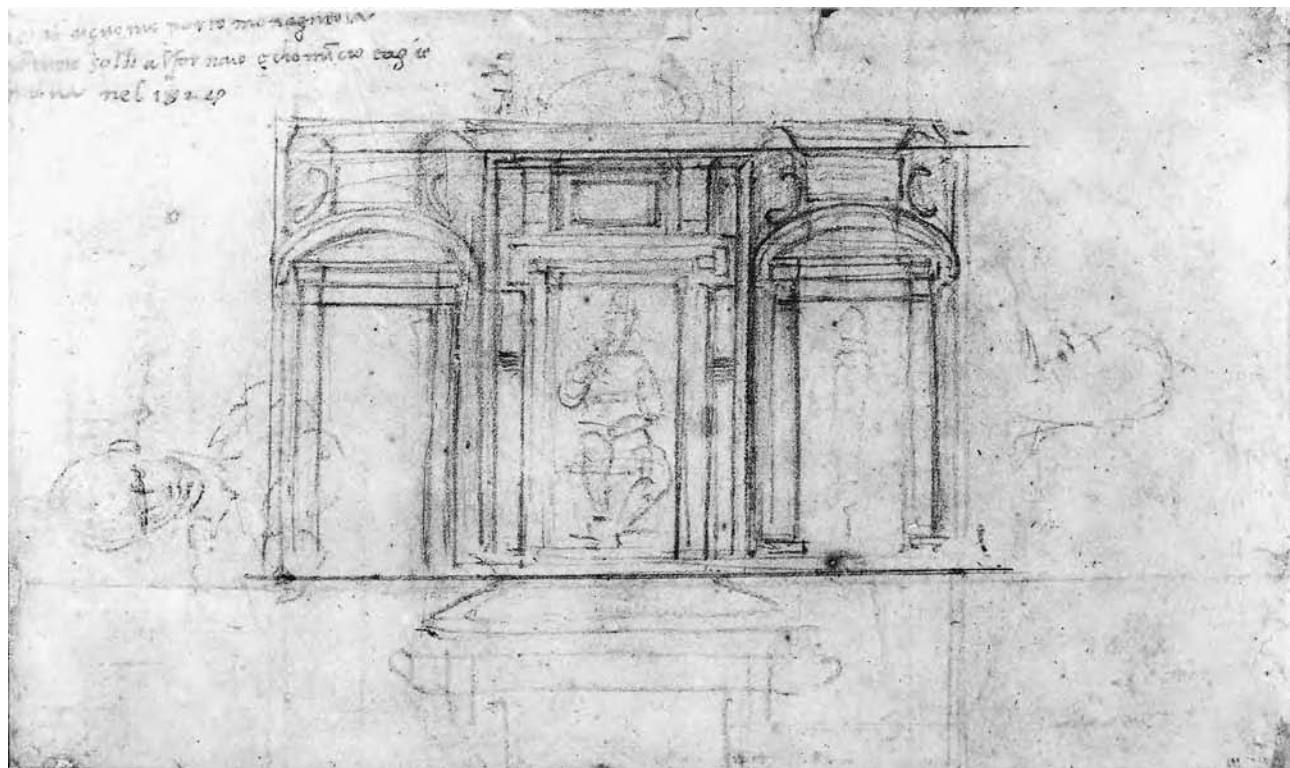
CATALOGUE 25

Recto: Figure Sketches and a Study for a Wall Tomb
Verso: A Standing Figure
1846.53; R.42 (2); P.II 307; Corpus 187

Dimensions: 127 × 212 mm

Medium

Recto: Red chalk and black chalk with some use of ruler.
Verso: Red chalk.



Condition

Many inherent wrinkles run vertically through the sheet. There are numerous edge nicks and some losses, repaired tears, and toned infills are visible. There is edge abrasion, skinning, and adhesive residues, with a diagonal scuff mark, general discolouration, and foxing. There are pulp imperfections.

Description and Inscription

Recto

A. Probably in Michelangelo's hand:

a di 16 di gugno porta monagniola

...ve(n)tuno soldi al fornaio e chomi(n)cio taglie [nella sagrestia?]

... nuova nel 1524

B. A three-bay two-story tomb with a sarcophagus below, the central bay occupied by a seated figure in an act of benediction and an indication in the right-hand bay of a standing figure. At the upper centre, the lower section of a rectangle is probably but not certainly part of the structure.

Drawn with the right side of the sheet as the base

C. A bust, the arms perhaps attached behind, the head turned slightly down to its right.

Drawn with the left side of the sheet as the base

D. A lightly indicated bust, the head turned in left profile.

C and D seem to have been drawn after B.

Verso

A nude standing figure, seen from a low angle in left profile, the left leg bent, the left arm bent with the hand supported on the waist, the right arm placed across the body with the hand resting on the left knee, the head turned to the left, looking down.

Discussion

Many different schemes and components were considered during the planning stage of the Medici Tombs in the New Sacristy of San Lorenzo, and new proposals intervened even after a final plan seemed to have been established. Reassessment of the graphic material surviving either in Michelangelo's original drawings or in copies has shown that complications were greater than had previously been assumed, and certain aspects of the project remain obscure. However, the date and purpose of the present drawing seem fairly clear.

The sheet is datable to 1524, as the inscription indicates, but the drawing was probably made before the writing, which allows for it. It seems to relate to a particular phase



and area of the project, as Wilde first established. The death of the Medici Pope Leo X – Michelangelo's exact contemporary – in December 1521, slowed work on the New Sacristy, and even though components were delivered throughout the period, it seems that no work was done on the tombs and sculpture until after the election of Leo's cousin, Cardinal Giulio dei Medici as Pope Clement VII in November 1523. On 23 May 1524 and again on May 29, Giovanni Francesco Fattucci wrote to Michelangelo on behalf of Clement VII, taking up in a new form a topic that had already concerned Clement, then still a Cardinal, in 1520–1. Fattucci suggested that to the monuments of the four Medici planned for the chapel, that of Lorenzo the Magnificent and his brother Giuliano, and those of Giuliano, Duke of Urbino, and Lorenzo, Duke of Nemours (respectively, the fathers and the cousins of Leo X and Clement VII), should now be added tombs for Leo and Clement. The New Sacristy would now contain three double tombs rather than one double and two single tombs. By June 7, Fattucci had obviously received a reply from Michelangelo, now lost, for on that day he wrote again. From his letter it may be inferred that Michelangelo had stated that plans were too far advanced to make it possible now to install three double tombs and, indeed, that one of the ducal tombs had nearly been built in. Instead, Michelangelo suggested one of the small rooms either side of the choir, the so-called *lavamani*, could be employed. In one of the corresponding rooms in the Old Sacristy was placed Verrocchio's magnificent wash basin, and this may have inspired Michelangelo's idea. It seems that Michelangelo had indicated that both papal tombs would be placed in a single room – that to the left of the choir – or, at any rate, that is how Fattucci understood it because he, speaking on the Pope's behalf, responded that this seemed “un piccolo luogo per due papi”; he also queried whether there would be sufficient illumination. By June 25, the date of Fattucci's next letter, Michelangelo had sent a drawing. It is not fully clear whether he still intended to place both papal tombs in the same *lavamani*, or whether he now planned to use both. If the latter, which seems in principle the more likely, the tombs would presumably have been placed on the inner walls of each room. The present drawing was followed up by Michelangelo with a slight sketch for a crowning element for the tomb in Florence (Archivio Buonarroti XIII, 160/B 350/Corpus 366; black chalk, 286 × 208 mm) and by a more elaborated but unfinished drawing in the same collection (CB52A/B 256/Corpus 188; black chalk and brush and wash, 337 × 228 mm) which is probably a draught of the drawing referred to by Fattucci on June 25. This confirms that the present drawing was

intended for a papal tomb for, in addition to performing an act of benediction, the central seated figure also wears a tiara.

The spaces of the *lavamani* are constrained. That on the left is about 3.83 metres deep by 2.77 metres wide (dimensions kindly checked by W. Dreesmann); that on the right is also 3.85 metres deep but, at 3.34 a little wider. That on the left has, against the exterior side wall, a staircase descending to the crypt, so it was probably the marginally larger room to the right of the *cappelletta* in which Michelangelo initially considered placing the tombs. As a consequence, Ackerman calculated, the sarcophagus to be included in the present project could be no more than about 1.4 metres long. The small scale imposed upon the tombs by the restricted dimensions of the *lavamani* does not invalidate the view that these designs were planned for that location – Silvio Cosini had recently executed the small but quite elaborate tomb of Antonio Strozzi in Santa Maria Novella in which the sarcophagus is symbolic – but such a scheme was inevitably modest, and this site was soon rejected. In a letter of Fattucci's of July 25, Michelangelo's attention was redirected to the site of the choir of San Lorenzo.

A *modello* by Michelangelo in Christ Church (JBS 65/Corpus 282; pen and ink and brush and wash over black chalk, 191 × 255 mm) seems to represent a double tomb, with two seated Popes, presumably Leo X and Clement VII, on either side of a group of the Virgin and Child; however, only the upper section of the *modello* survives, and the base of the structure and, presumably, the sarcophagi are missing. It seems highly unlikely that this project could have been conceived for one of the *lavamani* because it would have entailed extreme miniaturisation of the sarcophagi. Indeed, the Christ Church *modello* is difficult to account for, and the only explanation that the compiler can offer is that it was intended for the end wall of the choir of San Lorenzo, before Michelangelo decided upon facing single tombs on the choir's side walls. However, the scheme it depicts is puzzlingly uninventive for so late a date as July 1524, compared with that shown in the present drawing (and Casa Buonarroti 52A), let alone the highly innovative facing tombs that Michelangelo devised in 1525.

The figure on the verso of the present sheet, which is not dissimilar in design to Michelangelo's bronze *David* of twenty years earlier, is probably for an attendant allegorical figure to stand on the right of the central niche in the recto drawing. It is sometimes identified as female but it seems to the compiler to be male, unlike the standing allegories flanking the Dukes on the tombs in the main chamber. There is a slight similarity in pose to Giambologna's

Neptune in Bologna (1563–6), and it is not inconceivable that the younger artist was aware of some variant of this design. There are also links with other rounded and mobile figures of this period, notably the sketch for a *Risen Christ* of c. 1530, Cat. 38 verso.

Drawn Copies

Francesco Buonarroti copied the recto drawing at about the same size, with the aid of a ruler, in Uffizi 5394 A, right side, a.

History

Casa Buonarroti; Jean-Baptiste Wicar; Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

- Lawrence Inventory, 1830 M. A. Buonarroti, Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–1011] (“Two – . . . [with Cat. 69] and a small Architectural Design of the tomb of the Medici.”). Woodburn, 1836a, no. 9.2 (“On the same sheet is a very slight memorandum . . . for a compartment of the Medici Tombs.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 17 (As 1836.). Robinson, 1870, no. 42.2 (Michel Angelo. Two drawings on the same mount. 2. Recto: “Slight sketch . . . for entire composition of one of the Medici tombs.” Verso: “undraped female figure”; the *ricordo* probably supplies exact date.). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 43. Gotti, 1875, II, pp. 229, 239 (Wrongly as in pen.). Springer, 1878, p. 283 (Sketch for a single Medici tomb; marks new stage in development of tombs.) Springer, 1883, II, p. 219 (As 1878.). Berenson, 1903, I, pp. 205–6, no. 1709 (Recto: “certainly not his.” Like Louvre, Inv. 686 verso/J24/Corpus 193, but by a different hand, perhaps Stefano di Tommaso Lunetti. The duke “evidently Giuliano.”). Baum, 1908, p. 1115 (Recto: a workshop drawing; novel type of tomb with sarcophagi with angled lids; BM W27/Corpus 185, another version of this.). Thode, 1908, I, pp. 86, 159 (Verso: similar to lost bronze *David*, probably for a Julius Tomb *Victory*.); p. 473 (Recto: wrongly doubted by Berenson; 1524, study for a papal tomb, linked with CB52A/B256/Corpus 188.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 214a (Recto: two sketched figures first ideas for Giuliano and Lorenzo; the tomb study for a ducal tomb.); no. 213a (Verso: not related to bronze *David*. A female allegory for a side niche on one of the Medici tombs. By Michelangelo.). Thode, 1913, no. 425 (Recto: as 1908; not for the tomb of Giuliano but for a papal tomb. Verso: perhaps as Frey suggests, for a figure to flank one of the dukes, but this is uncertain, as is Thode’s own hypothesis of a *Victory*.). Popp, 1922, pp. 134–5 (Recto: a free variation on a ducal tomb by Vincenzo Danti, comparable with Louvre 686 verso/J24/Corpus 193; figure drawings on both comparable. Inscription probably by Danti, and the date is not trustworthy.). Brinckmann, 1925, no. 38 (Verso: preliminary project for a tomb statue.). Venturi, 1926, pp. 68–9 (Michelangelo, for a ducal tomb.). Fasolo, 1927, p. 455 (Design for a ducal tomb, after 1530; worked up in CB52A/ B256/Corpus 188.). Berenson, 1938, I, pp. 216–17, no. 1709 (“[T]he leaflet for the tomb is perhaps not his”; the busts recall BM W28 recto.). Delacre, 1938, p. 335 (Verso: Michelangelo, for a *Victory*?.). Wilde, 1953a, p. 75 (Study for a tomb of a Pope to be placed in one of the side rooms of the New Sacristy; a study for a detail on Archivio Buonarroti XIII, 160/Corpus 366.). Parker, 1956, no. 307 (Recto: probably related to papal tombs but exact purpose uncertain. Verso: female figure, purpose conjectural.). Dussler, 1959, no. 621 (Recto: Michelangelo studio, not Danti. Purpose controversial. Verso: by a later hand; nothing known of Stefano di Tommaso’s drawings.). Ackerman, 1961, II, p. 29 (Recto: the “proportions are poorly suited to the . . . [*lavamani* of which] . . . the longest wall . . . is only 3.85 m., which would make the sarcophagus . . . [here] only 1.4 m. long.”). Berenson, 1961, no. 1709 (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1962, p. 306 (By Michelangelo; for a papal tomb for one of the *lavamani*; CB52A/Corpus 188 developed from it by a later hand.). Ackerman, II, 1964, p. 29 (Associated with CB52A/Corpus 188 in which the figure “obviously a Pope” is “possibly autograph, the tomb probably not.” “I can visualise . . . [CB52A] in the *lavamani* better than . . . [the present drawing], where the sarcophagi would have to be as little as 1.5 to 2 m. long if the whole tomb has to fit into the small chamber.”). Barbieri and Puppi, 1964a, pp. 866, 1003 (Recto: heads at either side and inscription not by Michelangelo.). Schwager, 1967, p. 60 (By a pupil of Michelangelo for a papal tomb in one of the *lavamani* of the Medici chapel. CB52A/Corpus 188 by Jacomo del Duca c. 1564, preparing tomb of Paul IV in the Mattei chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva.). De Angelis d’Ossat, 1965a, p. 310 (Recto: probably for a papal tomb for the *lavamani*; developed further on school drawing CB52A/Corpus 188.). Weinberger, 1967, pp. 303–4 (Recto: School of Michelangelo based on ideas for ducal tomb: “some of the decorative detail used in the middle bay . . . was hardly developed before 1525 in the later wall tabernacles and door of the *ricetto*.” Chalk sketches probably by hand of same pupil. Contests Wilde’s connection with *lavamani* project. Verso: “rather inferior” by a different pupil.). Hartt, 1971, no. 219 (Recto: 1520–1. Study for a ducal tomb; *ricordo* dated 1524.); no. 158 (1517–18?. Verso: for St. Lawrence on San Lorenzo façade: “the pose would make sense if the bent leg were intended as a prop for the gridiron.”). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 53

(Recto: study for tomb of one of Medici Popes; elaborated in CB52A/Corpus 188.). De Tolnay, 1976, Corpus II, no. 187 (Recto: Studio of Michelangelo, probably for a papal tomb; inscription not autograph. Verso: probably autograph, female figure for a flanking allegory on a ducal tomb, pairing clay model in Casa Buonarroti.). Nova, 1984, pl. 23 (Studies for a tomb.). Ackerman and Newman, 1986, p. 299 (As 1964.). Contardi, 1990, p. 184 (Recto: Michelangelo: with CB52A/Corpus 188, for a papal tomb in one of the *lavamani*). Perrig, 1999, p. 224 (By Michelangelo, 1520s, probably from via Mozza studio.).

CATALOGUE 26

Recto: A Recumbent Male Figure in Profile to Right
 Verso: Partial Tracing of Recto Drawing (Unseen)
 1846.56; R.7; P.II 310; Corpus 212

Dimensions: 176 × 270 mm

Medium

Black chalk.

Condition

The upper and lower right corners are irregular and worn. There is skinning, with some repair, extensive, uneven discolouration, and patches of staining. The primary support is drummed by four edges to the backboard of the mount, so the verso is not visible.

Inscriptions

Recto: With the right edge as the base: *di Michel Angelo* followed by other indecipherable letters (no doubt an abbreviation of Buonarroti). The placing of this and the Reynolds stamp suggest that the drawing was then interpreted as a kneeling figure.

Verso: Old numbering (by the Irregular Numbering Collector?): *n° 37*.

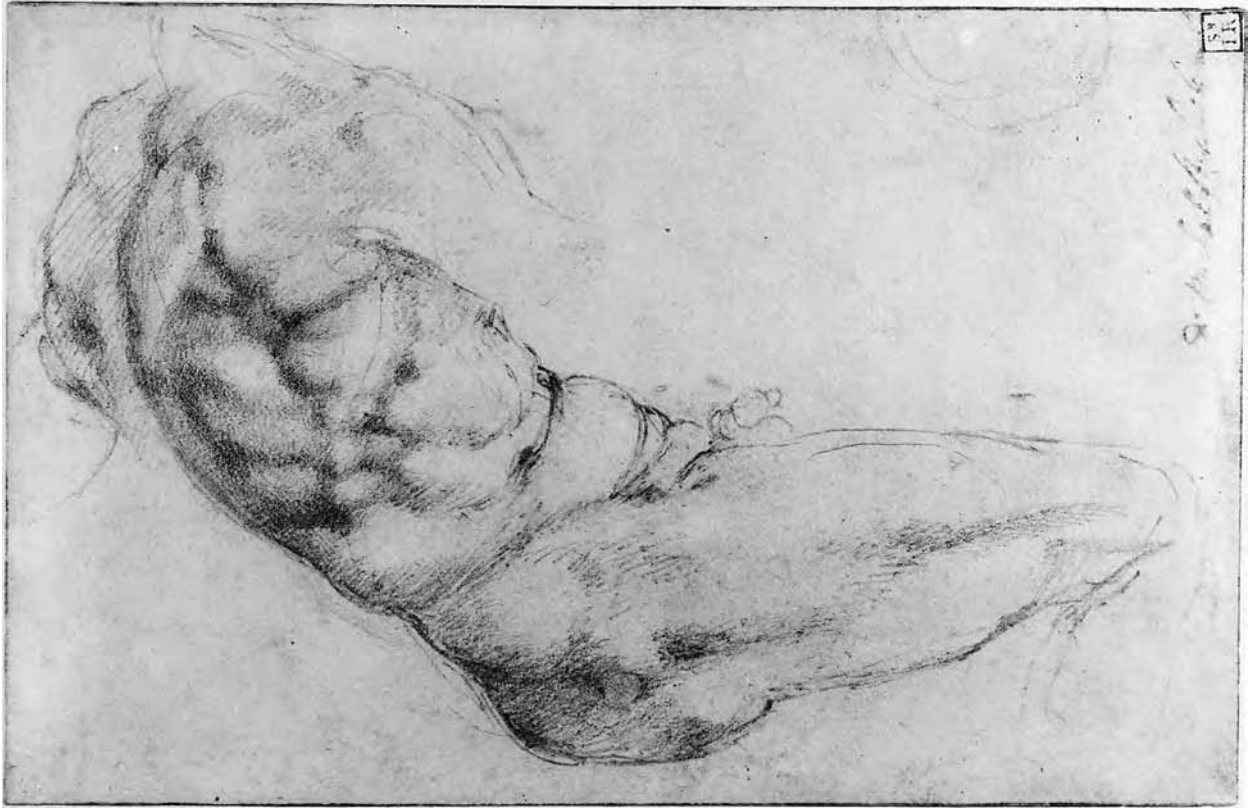
Discussion

The outline of a head, drawn with the upper edge as base, appears at the top right, probably by a pupil. This study, no doubt made from a mature and muscular male model, was drawn in preparation for the figure of *Day*, the first of the Allegories to be carved for the ducal tombs. It has often been pointed out that the *Day* and *Night* on the tomb of Duke Giuliano, unlike *Dawn* and *Evening* on that of Duke Lorenzo, do not acknowledge the curve of the sarcoph-

agus on which they are placed, and various explanations have been proposed for this. However, from the moment he finalised the design of the ducal tombs in late 1520, Michelangelo, as seen in his *modello* for the tomb of Giuliano in the Louvre (Inv. 838/J27/Corpus 186, brush and wash over black chalk and stylus indentation, 321 × 205 mm), had planned the wrap-around effect. In the Louvre *modello*, the forms of *Day* and *Night* are congruent with those of *Dawn* and *Evening* and different from the figures finally carved. Wilde (1954) provided a convincing explanation of this difference. It seems that when the blocks for these figures arrived in Florence in 1524, Michelangelo found them unsatisfactory and, in order to avoid further delays on the project, decided to employ blocks not expressly excavated for the tomb. A *ricordo* survives for the transport of a block from Michelangelo's studio in via Mozza to San Lorenzo on 27 October 1524, which Michelangelo specifically noted would serve him for one of the reclining figures, and it was probably from this block, ordered for some other project, that either the *Day* or the *Night* was carved. It is unclear whether the block employed by Michelangelo had been excavated for the Julius Tomb or for the façade of San Lorenzo.

Compelled to use shorter, more rectangular blocks than he had envisaged, Michelangelo devised for them an expressive range different from the smooth, sinuous effect that he had planned. In the present drawing, and in others that he made at the same time, he simultaneously sketched out revised poses and created a more aggressively plastic figure style, like that of the Accademia *Prigioni*. Characteristic of these drawings is the indication of rubbery convexities of form, and the enlivening of the surfaces with vibrating strokes. Wilde suggests that this and companion drawings both in pen and ink and chalk for the *Day* and *Night* were made after the live model and examination of them supports his view: Among the other black chalk studies for the *Day* in this series are Cat. 27 and the following:

1. London, BM W46 verso/Corpus 214; 275 × 359 mm, studies for the back of the *Day*.
2. Haarlem, Teyler Museum A36 recto/VT 57/Corpus 215; 162 × 266 mm, studies for the back and left arm of *Day*.
3. Haarlem, Teyler Museum A30 recto/VT 56/Corpus 216; 192 × 257 mm, studies for the back and left arm of *Day* (the study on the verso, in red chalk, may be for the right shoulder of *Day*).
4. London, BL, Department of Manuscripts Add. Ms 21907, fol. 1 recto/Corpus 217 verso; 150 × 185 mm, structural sketch for the left leg of the *Day*.



5. Haarlem, Teyler Museum A33 recto/VT 58/Corpus 218 recto; 207 × 247 mm, study for the left leg of *Day* (until 1952 this sheet was mounted with the following; both bear pen studies for the Laurentian *ricetto* on their versos, and they were no doubt once parts of the same sheet, which was at some time divided and then rejoined, with the loss of at least 10 mm).

6. Haarlem, Teyler Museum A33b recto/VT 59/Corpus 219; 202 × 247 mm, studies for the left leg of *Day*.

No doubt the present sheet shared a provenance with those now in Haarlem until the partial dispersal of the Odescalchi Collection in the early seventeenth century. It is interesting to note that the placing both of the *Bona Rota* inscription and of Reynolds' stamp indicates that the right edge of the sheet was believed to be its base, despite the fact that this would entail the drawing having been made by a left-handed draughtsman. It was probably then thought to be a study for a standing *Victory*.

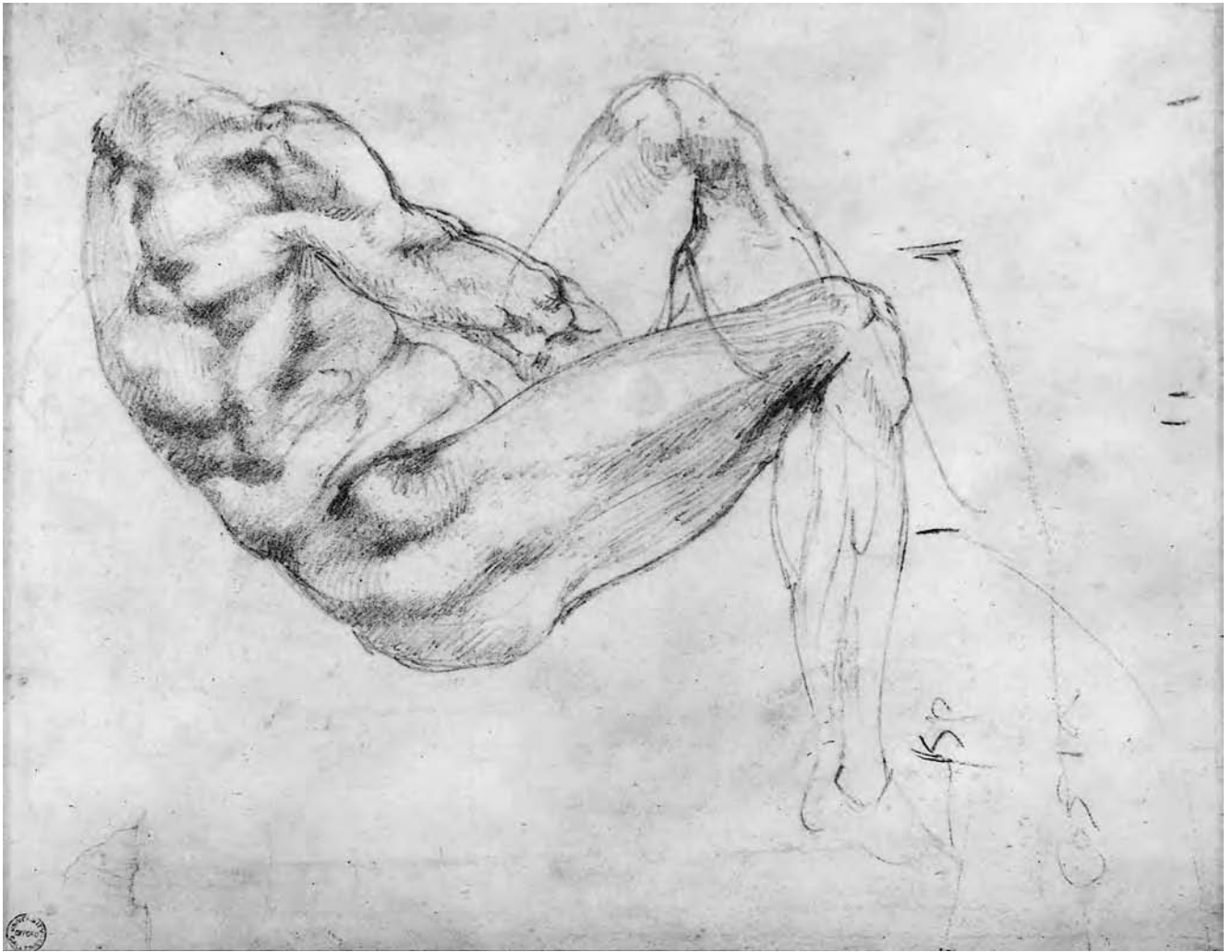
History

The *Bona Roti* Collector; the Irregular Numbering Collector?; Joachim Sandrart, Pieter Spiering van Silfvercroon; Queen Christina; Dezzio Azzolini; Livio Odescalchi, Duke of Bracciano; Pierre Crozat?; Sir

Joshua Reynolds (L.2364); Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Woodburn, 1842, no. 73 ("Study of the body of a man."). Woodburn, 1846, no. 28 (As 1842.). Robinson, 1870, no. 7 ("[N]ot easy to decide whether this masterly study was made from nature, or from one of the master's own wax or clay models... considerable resemblance to *il Giorno*, but the 'technique' seems to be of an earlier period," c. 1501.). Black, 1875, p. 213, no. 7. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 233. Berenson, 1903, I, p. 211, no. 1549 (For *Day*). Thode, 1908, I, p. 494 (Study for a River God not for *Day*). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 218 (Doubtful; life study reminiscent of *Day*). Thode, 1913, no. 391 (After the same model as [Cat. 26]; probably for *Day*; repudiates view of 1908.). Popp, 1922 p. 144 (After *Day* by an inferior artist.). Berenson, 1938, I, p. 221, no. 1549 (As 1903.). Goldscheider, 1951, no. 59 ("[A]uthenticity... doubtful [but] quality... high."). Wilde, 1953a, p. 85 (For *Day*, 1524–6; together with [Cat. 27] associated with the series of studies in the Uffizi and the Teyler Museum.). Wilde, 1953, exh., no. 43. Wilde, 1954, pp. 15–16 (See [Cat. 27].). Parker, 1956, no. 310 (Despite weakness, probably by Michelangelo. A connexion with *Day* has to be assumed.). Dussler, 1959, no. 599 (Rejected.). Berenson, 1961, no.



1549 (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1962, p. 97, under no. 76 (Michelangelo, linked with Uffizi 18719F/B76/Corpus 210 and Teyler Museum A33/VT58/Corpus 218, A30/VT56/Corpus 216 and A36/VT57/Corpus 215.). Goldscheider, 1965, no. 63 (As 1951. Verso: some unimportant sketches."). Weinberger, 1967, pp. 312–13 (Connected with *Day* but "done with a coarser stroke than ... [Cat. 27]. ... Perhaps ... a partial copy of the statue." This and Haarlem A.30/VT56/Corpus 216 "in the late seventeenth–early eighteenth century were owned by the same collector, as the writing reveals."). Hartt, 1971, no. 227 (1520–1. For *Day*. "The muscles are indicated in a new and unconventional technique. Broad patches of very rough hatching are often quickly wiped with the thumb or a finger to produce a system of flickering tones."). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 60 (For *Day*). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 212 (Study for *Day*). Guazzoni, 1984, pl. 81 (Study for *Day*). O'Grody, 1999, p. 149 ("[P]robably for *Day*.").

CATALOGUE 27

Recto: A Recumbent Male Figure in Profile to Right
Verso: Four Studies of a Bent Right Arm from Different Angles

1846.55; R.6; P.II 309; Corpus 213

Dimensions: 258 × 332 mm

Watermark: Robinson Appendix no. 1. Roberts Eagle C.

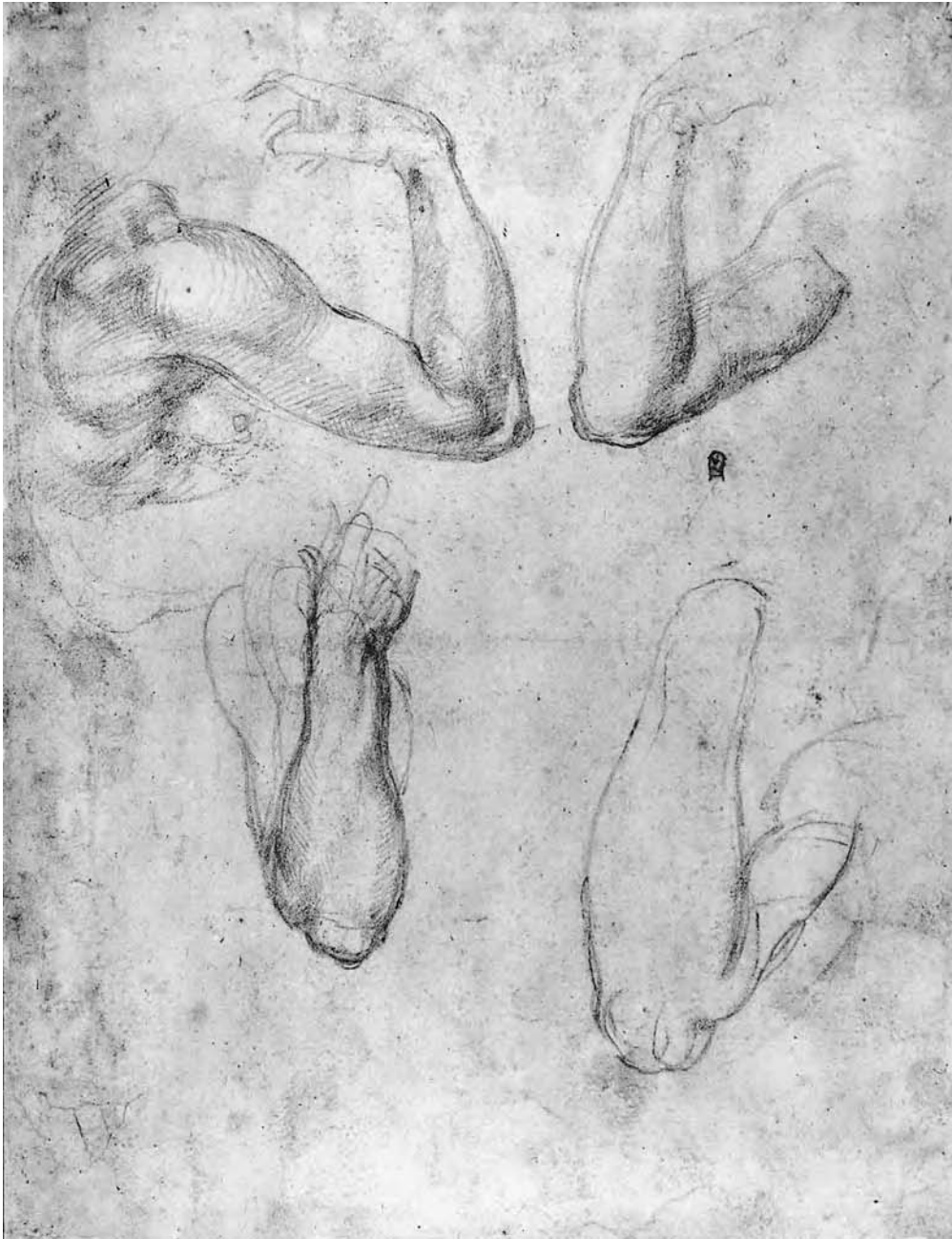
Medium

Recto: Black chalk, some stylus indications.

Verso: Red chalk, one of the arms over black chalk.

Condition

There are many pulp imperfections, major tear repairs with associated ingrained dirt, skinning, and score marks.



There is discolouration from adhesive residues, foxing, and local staining.

Description

At the right edge are three short horizontal lines, two of which are placed closely together just above half the page's height, while the third is near the upper edge.

Nearer the figure, running down the page, is a longer irregularly curving line, terminated above by a short horizontal, which corresponds in length to the figure's right calf: This is labelled *coscia* (thigh) in the artist's handwriting. Nearer to the calf are two further short horizontals

and the inscription *5P* (palmi) in the artist's handwriting. These lines and inscriptions were clearly made by Michelangelo with a view to determining the dimensions of the marble block.

Discussion

The remarks made in Cat. 26 apply also to the drawing on the recto of this sheet, which must be en-suite with it and with those in Haarlem. Each of these drawings emphasises slightly different effects. In the present drawing, Michelangelo was concerned primarily to work out the relation of the torso, established with rich modelling,

to the legs, decreasingly detailed as they approach the feet. In this study from the model, Michelangelo was testing the possibility, perhaps not previously envisaged for the New Sacristy figures, of crossing the legs: He experimented here with bringing the left leg across and over the right leg, in an arrangement that closely prefigures the extraordinary pose of the final marble, unprecedented in expressive complexity outside Michelangelo's own work. Indeed, it is clear from these drawings and from the figure as executed that, in the *Day*, Michelangelo reworked some of his ideas for the Accademia *Prigioni*.

The lines at the right are probably reminders of the shape of the block from which the figure was to be carved.

The drawing on the verso is different both in medium and in style. The breadth and volumetric concern of the recto drawing – and the others connected with it – has given way to an interest in smoothness and surface polish. It has been connected by scholars with the right arms of *Day*, *Dawn*, and *Victory*, but Hirst (1988–9a) demonstrated that it was for the right arm of *Night* and further suggested that it was made from a female model. Whether or not this is so, the motif, which suggests delicacy and fastidiousness, appealed to Michelangelo sufficiently for him to re-use it in modified form in the *Victory*, on which he probably worked in 1527–8, a further example of conceptual intersection between the New Sacristy and the Julius Tomb.

In the present drawing, Michelangelo studies the surface effect of a smooth columnar arm. By the time he made it, he must have determined the pose of *Night* and may already have made progress with carving, as the indication of the plait of hair suggests. This drawing may therefore have been made a little later than the recto study.

Fewer studies survive for the *Night* than the *Day*: They are in black chalk:

1. Florence, Uffizi 18719F/B76/Corpus 210; 280 × 342 mm, drawn on recto and verso with studies for the *Night*, including, on the *recto*, a drawing relating the figure to the block.
2. London, BM W48 verso/Corpus 208 recto; 178 × 296 mm, connected by Wilde with the *Leda* but in the compiler's view made for the *Night* and, although somewhat rubbed, stylistically inseparable from Cat. 26.

History

Casa Buonarroti; Jean-Baptiste Wicar; Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Woodburn, 1836b, no. 14 (Recto: "probably for one of the figures in the *Last Judgement*"). Woodburn, 1842,

no. 13 (As 1836.). Robinson, 1870, no. 6 (Michel Angelo. "[P]ose . . . bears some resemblance to that of the man putting on his hose, in the Cartoon of Pisa, but it is turned in the opposite direction." c. 1501.). Black, 1875, p. 213, no. 6. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 237?. Berenson, 1903, I, p. 211, no. 1548 (Recto: for *Night*, cf. [Cat. 26] "His way of handling . . . [chalk] would suggest that he forgot that he was not holding a pen." Verso: not Michelangelo.). Thode, 1908, I, p. 494 (Study for a River God, not the *Night*). K. Frey, 1909–11, nos. 216 (Recto: doubtful, life study related to *Day*.); 217 (Verso: not Michelangelo "zu schwach und fähig."). Thode, 1913, no. 390 (Recto: studies in preparation for one of the Times of Day; renounces view that this is a study for a River God; verso: arm of *Dawn*. Doubts about either side are unnecessary.). Popp, 1922 p. 144 (Recto: free copy of *Day* "Typische Kopistenarbeit." Verso: copy of the right arm of *Night*; the draughtsman had the opportunity to see the statue from all round.). Popham, 1930a, no. 502. Popham, 1931, no. 221. Berenson, 1938, I, p. 221, no. 1548 (Verso: perhaps by Michelangelo.). Wilde, 1953a, p. 85 (Recto: for *Day*. Verso: studies for right arm of *Night*, 1524–6. Together with [Cat. 26] associated with the series of studies in the Uffizi and the Teyler Museum.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 42. Wilde, 1954, pp. 15–16 (Recto: together with [Cat. 26] and Haarlem A33 and 33/VT58 and 59/Corpus 218 and 219 "preparatory to, or accompanied the execution of . . . [the] *Giorno* [in] . . . 1524 or 1525. The particular concern of all of them is the effect of the muscles on the surface. A living model was posed in a position near enough to the intended one, and the study of the movement of form was begun. Details are rendered with a varying degree of sharpness. There is only one centre of interest, the torso; the other parts are subordinated to it or vanish altogether. And in this centre the details are summed up into larger units which, moreover, are parts of an almost regular whole. The form clearly moves away from the accidents of natural appearance, but without losing its organic character. The use of chalk well serves this concentration on the life of the surface. There are few parallel strokes and these go in different directions; in most places the chalk is handled like pastel, painting rather than drawing. Contours are intermittent and in general almost neglected.".). Parker, 1956, no. 309 (Despite weakness, probably by Michelangelo; studies for *Day* and *Night*). Dussler, 1959, no. 598 (Recto and verso rejected; verso after the *Night*). Berenson, 1961, no. 1548 (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1962, p. 97 (Michelangelo, linked with Uffizi 18719F and Teyler Museum A35, A336, A33.). Goldscheider 1965, p. 45 (The different opinions of Parker and Wilde "show how difficult it is to determine . . . for which statues



this and other drawings like [Cat. 26] were made.”). Weinberger, 1967, pp. 312–13 (Recto: preparatory for *Day*, from which it differs considerably in detail. Verso: studies for right arm of *Night*). Hartt, 1971, no. 228 (Recto: 1520–1. For *Day*. “The transparency of these forms may indicate that the definitive pose was dawning on Michelangelo as he drew.”); no. 293 (Verso: 1527?. For the right arm of *Victory*, rather than the *Night*). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 61 (Recto: for *Day*. Verso: for right arm of *Night*). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 213 (Recto: study for *Day*, 1524. Verso: for the right arm of *Night*, 1524–6). Hirst, 1988, pp. 62–3 (Recto: early study for *Day*, “concerned with the anatomical implications of the general disposition only. The model has been studied from a significantly further viewpoint than... [Haarlem A33/VT58/Corpus 218]. This and a fugitive notation of scale may indicate that Michelangelo was occupied here also with calculating the height of the block.” The *Day* not cut from an ad hoc block. The drawing shows link of Michelangelo’s drawing and carving practice “it is the main form only which is his real concern. The neglect of the head in the... drawing finds its parallel in the inchoate state of the head in the

unfinished statue.” Verso: for right arm of *Night*. “[O]ne upper left... taken furthest, yet this is a view that the visitor to the Chapel would never see.”). Hirst, 1988–9, no. 29 (Verso: “in the lower left study... a long strand of hair falls over the right shoulder” of a female model.). Perrig, 1991, p. 23, fig. 89 (Recto: by Giulio Clovio.). Perrig, 1999, pp. 224 (As 1991; from Farnese group.).

CATALOGUE 28

Recto: A Dragon

Verso: Various Sketches

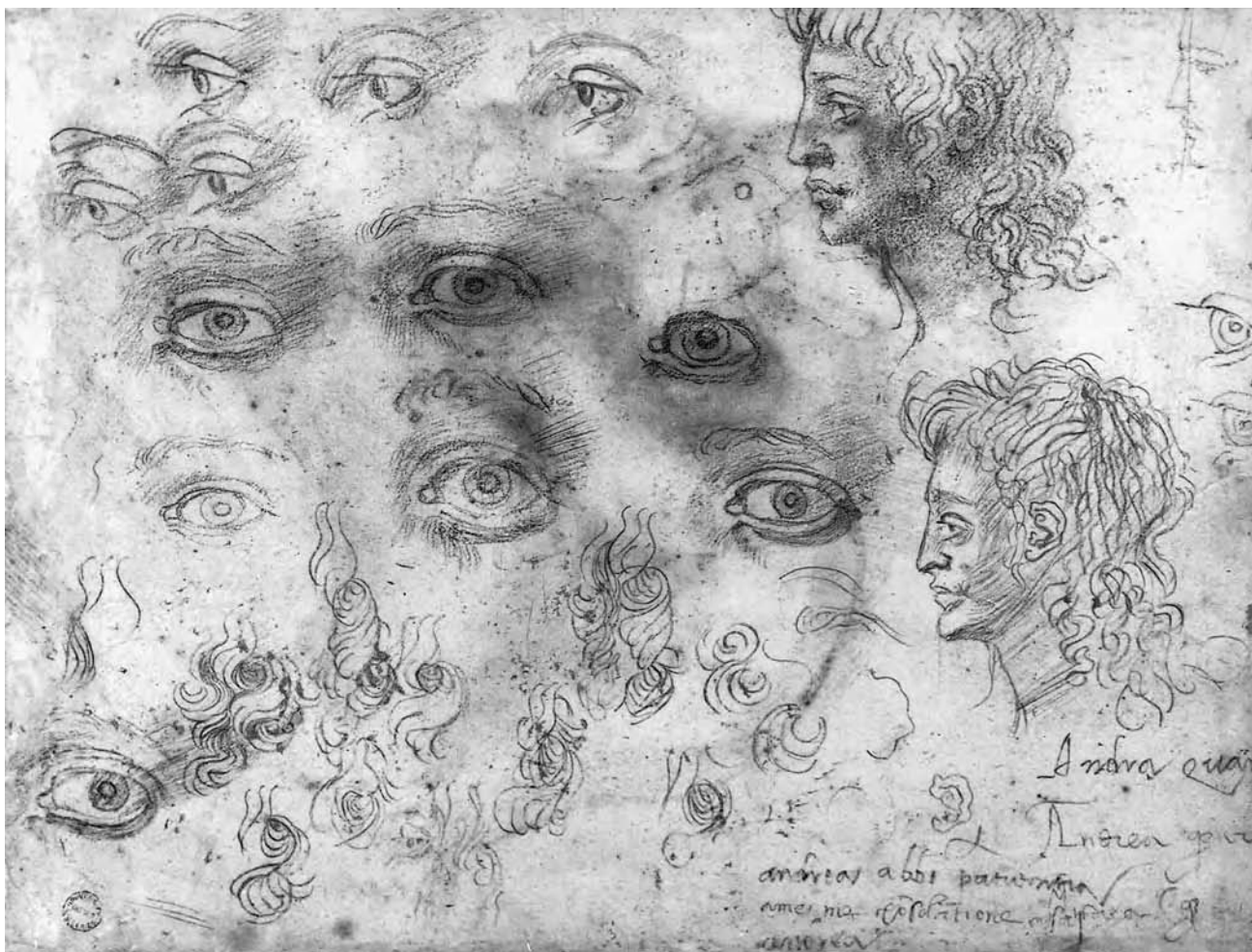
1846.69; R.13; P.II 323; Corpus 96

Dimensions: 254 × 338 mm

Medium

Recto: Pen and ink over establishing lines in black chalk; red chalk.

Verso: Red and black chalk.



Condition

There are pulp imperfections, a major central tear repair, and minor edge repairs. There is some abrasion, discolouration, staining, foxing, ingrained dirt, and medium show-through.

Description and Inscriptions

Recto

With the lower edge as the base

A. A dragon, drawn after the other drawings, in pen.

With the left edge as the base

B. A male head in right profile bent slightly forward, in red chalk, by Mini.

C. A diagrammatic treatment of a right eye in right profile, in red chalk, by Mini.

With the right edge as the base

D. At upper left, a male head in left profile, in pen, by Mini.

E. At centre right, a male head in left profile, in pen, by Mini.

With the upper edge as the base

F. At right of centre, a male head in left profile, in pen, by Mini.

Verso

Top line

A. A left eye in left profile, in red chalk; by Michelangelo.

B. A left eye in left profile, in red chalk; copy of A; by Mini?.

C. A left eye in left profile, in black chalk; copy of A; by Quaratesi?.

D. The head of a young man with long hair in left profile, in red chalk; by Michelangelo.

E. The head of a young man in left profile, in red chalk; diagrammatic partial copy after D; by Quaratesi?.

Second line

F. A left eye in left profile, in red chalk; copy of A; by Mini?.

G. A left eye in left profile, in red chalk; copy of A; by Quaratesi?.

Third line

H. A left eye and eyebrow in front view, in red chalk; copy of I; by Mini?.

I. A left eye and eyebrow in front view, in red chalk; by Michelangelo.

J. A left eye in front view, in red chalk; abbreviated copy of I; by Quaratesi?.

K. At right edge, a left eye in left profile, in red chalk, similar to A in structure, but with the pupil turned sharply and unnaturally to the left; by Quaratesi?.

Fourth line

L. A left eye and eyebrow in front view, in red chalk; copy of I; by Quaratesi?.

M. A left eye and eyebrow in front view, in red chalk; copy of I; by Mini?.

N. A left eye and eyebrow in front view, in red chalk; copy of I; by Quaratesi?.

O. The head of a young man with long hair in left profile, in red chalk; copy of D; by Mini?.

P. At right edge, a variant of K, in red chalk; by Quaratesi?.

Fifth line

Q. Diagrammatic sketch of a hanging lock of hair, in red chalk; copied from R?; by Quaratesi?.

R. A hanging lock of hair, in red chalk, perhaps by Michelangelo.

S. Two fused hanging locks of hair, in red chalk; two overlapping copies of R?; by Mini?.

T. Diagrammatic sketch of curls of hair, in red chalk; beginning of a copy of W; by Quaratesi?.

U. An upper eyelid and a portion of eyebrow, in red chalk; probably another attempt at N, after I; by Quaratesi?.

Sixth line

V. A left eye in front view, in black chalk; copy of H, by Quaratesi?.

W. Complex curls of hair, in red chalk; by Michelangelo.

X. Two? variant copies of W, in red chalk, fused, by Mini?.

Y. Beginning of a variant copy of W, in red chalk; by Quaratesi?.

Z. Beginning of a variant copy of W, in red chalk; by Quaratesi?.

AA. Beginning of a variant copy of R?, in red chalk; by Quaratesi?.

BB. The beginning of an outline of an ear, in red chalk; probably copied from O rather than D; by Quaratesi?.

CC. An ear, in red chalk; copied from BB rather than D; by Quaratesi?.

DD. Inscription in Michelangelo's hand?, in red chalk: *Andra qua*.

EE. Inscription in Mini's hand?, in red chalk: *Andrea qu*.

Seventh line

FF. Several hatching lines.

GG. Hanging locks of hair, in red chalk; after W, simplified; by Mini?.

HH. A miniature left eye in left profile, in black chalk; after A; by Quaratesi?.

II. Part copy of D or O, in black chalk; by Quaratesi?.

JJ. Lower centre in graphite, no. 32.

KK. Inscription in Michelangelo's hand, in black chalk: *andrea abbi patientia*.

LL. Inscription in Mini's hand?, in black chalk: *ame me cōsolatione asai* in part over MM.

MM. Inscription in Mini's hand?, *Andrea quar*, in red chalk.

NN. Inscription in Mini's hand?, *Andrea Quara...?* in red chalk.

Discussion

Recto

The drawing of a dragon with two rather than four legs and two wings – following a model established by Paolo Uccello and others – overlaying several loose sketches of a head by his pupil Antonio Mini, was probably made by Michelangelo c. 1524–5. It is striking and exceptionally accomplished, more detailed and subtle in its handling than most of Michelangelo's pen drawings of the 1520s, and without the element of caricature – although distortion of nature is inherent in the subject – which those display. The density of the hatching is remarkable and rich, and the drawing must have taken some time to execute. The fact that it is made over drawings by his inept pupil suggests that it is a demonstration piece, but the level of accomplishment is so high that it would have daunted rather than encouraged a pupil.

Michelangelo seems to have been interested in drawing imaginary animals during the 1520s and early 1530s. A similar drawing of a dragon of the same period, now lost, survives in a copy by an unidentified draughtsman in Christ Church (JBS 77; pen, 174 × 200 mm) and in a second copy, whose attribution to Andrea del Sarto originates with his pupil Giorgio Vasari, in the Louvre

(Inv. 1724/J75; red chalk, 212 × 273 mm, irregular). From these copies, it is clear that the lost drawing was a companion to the present one and no doubt contemporary with it. The second dragon, which also had two legs and two wings, is shown energetically biting what may be a serpent but what may also be its own tail.

As well as the probable Salamanders (see Cat. 36) Michelangelo also drew a monstrous animal on the verso of one of his *Resurrection* drawings, datable to the early 1530s (British Museum, Wilde 54/Corpus 263; black chalk, 414 × 274 mm). Whether any of these creatures was intended for some commission is impossible to say. This dragon would have served admirably in a composition of *Saint George and the Dragon*, but there is no record that Michelangelo planned one, and no complementary studies are known.

The other hypotheses that have been advanced make little sense. The monster's forms do not seem appropriate for a composition of *Apollo Killing the Python* (although that was a subject that might well have occurred to Michelangelo, whose statue in the Bargello is frequently interpreted as *Apollo*) or a *Perseus Rescuing Andromeda* and are too complicated to have been executed as a relief carving on the base of a candelabra. The drawing may, in the last analysis, have been no more than a *jeu d'esprit* on Michelangelo's part, perhaps warning his pupil(s) of what might befall them if they failed to improve. Alternatively, a possibility suggested to the compiler by H. Chapman (personal communication), it might represent Michelangelo mocking his own fearsome reputation, characterising himself as a snarling dragon tying itself in knots; such a concept would be very much in keeping with the master's bitter and ironic sense of humour.

Popp suggested that the profile in red chalk to the right of the Dragon was corrected by Michelangelo. The outlines were certainly reworked at a second moment with a more emphatic touch, but to the compiler the quality of this retouching does not seem to be at Michelangelo's level. This head bears considerable similarity to a drawing reproduced in Woodburn's Lawrence Gallery of 1853, as plate 27, but now unlocated, which might also have been by Mini.

Verso

In the compiler's opinion, three different hands can be distinguished on the verso: those of Michelangelo, Antonio Mini, and Andrea Quaratesi. Parker suggests that the reference to Andrea is no more than the beginning of a letter, but it seems rather to be an exhortation: Andrea abbi pazienza is more appropriately an address to a pupil

dissatisfied with his own efforts than the opening phrase of a letter, and it can be paralleled by a similar exhortation to Mini written on a sheet dated by various *ricordi* to 1524 in the British Museum (W31/Corpus 240; pen and ink and red chalk, 396 × 270 mm). It would have been natural for Michelangelo to have taught his young pupils in pairs, and he perhaps wanted to encourage a friendly rivalry. It is also worthy of note that in a number of instances Raffaello da Montelupo drew on sheets previously used by Mini, and Michelangelo perhaps saw value in allowing his pupils to work on sheets already used by other pupils, to test their level. However, Antonio Mini, born in 1506, was six years older than Andrea, born in 1512, so it is only natural that the latter's drawings should have been still weaker than Mini's. Wallace (1995) paints a plausible and rather charming picture of Michelangelo and his pupils passing a sheet to one another around a table.

It seems clear that Michelangelo sketched out a series of simple graphic models for his pupils to copy, exercises in how to represent hair, eyes, and the like. Such interests seem more appropriate to Leonardo than Michelangelo, but the patterns that can be inferred from other drawings, such as Cat. 30 verso, show that they figured large among his instructional concerns.

Phrases invoking consolation occur also on a drawing by Antonio Mini in the Louvre (Inv. 696 verso/J51; pen and ink, 317 × 211 mm), which probably dates from a little earlier than the present sheet.

Drawn Copies

Recto

1. Paris, Louvre, Inv. 693/J103; pen and ink and brown wash, 232 × 328 mm, a faithful same-size copy, but omitting Antonio Mini's chalk sketches. It is noticeable, however, that in areas of the original that are not fully resolved, and in some subsidiary elements, the draughtsman loses confidence and produces lines lacking in control. To compensate for the reduction in plasticity, the copyist silhouetted the dragon with a light wash. The compiler cannot concur with Berenson's (presumably verbal) attribution of Inv. 693 to Battista Franco, which was reported by Parker, 1956, p. 162; the view of F. Viatte (orally), who sees similarities with the work of Toussaint Dubreuil and believes the drawing to be French, seems more plausible. A French origin for the copy – which does, however, bear an inscription that seems to be by an Italian – is also suggested by the pretentious inscription and coat of arms on the verso, in the hand of a collector who seems to have flourished in France in the later seventeenth century and whose attributions – so far as they are known – are

invariably wrong. The earliest recorded owner of the original is Dominique-Vivant Denon, and it may have been among the sheets given to Antonio Mini – who had, after all, worked on it – brought by him to France and left there at his death. But Vivant Denon acquired drawings from many sources so this is far from certain.

2. Robinson and Parker drew attention to Woodburn's reference to another copy, attributed to A. Carracci – presumably Agostino – which was also owned by Lawrence, but neither author knew it. The attribution to one of the Carracci is unlikely to be correct if the present drawing was part of Mini's cache; if it is correct, then the original was presumably in Italy when the copy was made. Nothing further seems to be known about this copy, which the compiler has been unable to identify in any of Woodburn's sales.

History

Antonio Mini?; Baron Dominique-Vivant Denon (L.779); Sir Thomas Lawrence (no stamp); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Sir Thomas Lawrence, letter of 27 March 1829 to Penry Williams (reprinted in Williams, 1831, II, pp. 244–5) (“You have taken great pains with your principal figure, and the eyes are as well drawn as the features of her sweet countenance; but in the two boys . . . the eyes are too dark and ill-formed; let this carelessness be soon impossible to you. . . . Be at pains often to draw that feature, I can quote you high authority for it. I have a sheet of eyes drawn by Michael Angelo for some young Penry Williams, whose genius had excited the friendly effort.”). Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonaroti, Case 1, Drawer 1, no. 33 [1830–35] (“Design for a Chimera, bold pen, on the reverse is a singular and interesting lesson which M. Angelo has given to Andrea Mini with Autograph Observations.”). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 96 (“[O]n the reverse are some studies of eyes and a head, which appear to have been drawn by M. Angelo for his scholar, Andrea [sic] Mini, who has copied them very indifferently. . . . This curious drawing has been copied by A. Carracci, and is placed by the original.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 22 (As 1836.). Woodburn, 1853 no. 30 (Recto reproduced.). Robinson, 1870, no. 13 (A teaching drawing. On the verso Michelangelo provided models in black chalk for a pupil to copy, which the master then revised. On the recto, the dragon was drawn over outline sketches that were probably made at the same time as those on the verso. Seems to be no clue as to

which Andrea was intended. Datable no later than 1500.). Black, 1875, p. 213, no. 13. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 235. Fisher, 1879, VIII/8 (Verso: “Drawn by Michelangelo as a lesson for a pupil, Andrea.”), IX/p. 3 (Recto: “A Dragon or Chimera.”). Berenson, 1903, I, p. 245, no. 1555 (Recto: Michelangelo c. 1507, over sketches by his pupil Andrea. Verso: drawing lessons by Andrea.). Colvin, 1905, III, no. 6A (Recto: 1504–8; displays influence of Leonardo; the profile next to the dragon's head by Michelangelo; the other by a pupil.); no. 6B (Verso: “Pupil's and master's work seem on this sheet somewhat mixed up”; upper head [D] not by Michelangelo himself; the work of “one fairly good [D] and one wretched [O] pupil.” “Of the single eyes drawn as a lesson in profile and full face one or two seem to be the master's work alone, one or two pupil's work alone and others pupil's work retouched by the master.”). Thode, 1908, II, p. 112 (Recto: linked with New Sacristy candelabra.); p. 340 (Verso: [D] autograph; [O] copy by Andrea.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 133 (Recto: Michelangelo over sketches by Mini. c. 1530, not an early work; perhaps some relation to *Apollo and Python*; end of tail an addition.); no. 134 (Verso: Detailed consideration of drawings; none by Michelangelo, although the writing is his; all by a pupil: Antonio Mini, not Andrea Quaratesi. Critique of Colvin, Robinson, and Thode.). Thode, 1913, no. 398 (Recto: c. 1530, Michelangelo over sketches of heads by Mini. Verso: references to Andrea Quaratesi must be either part of a letter or a *ricordo*. Michelangelo responsible for: [D, I, W]; [D] copied by Mini in [O]. Criticism of Frey's views.). Fischel, 1921, pl. 34 (Recto: related to *Purgatorio*, viii, 94.). Zoff, 1923, pl. 41 (Recto). Popp, 1925a, pp. 9, 13–14, 18–19 (Recto: not before summer 1523; dragon by Michelangelo over profiles by Mini; profile to right of dragon [B] corrected by Michelangelo. Verso: Mini, links with BM W40 verso/Corpus 315, and Uffizi 599E/B186/Corpus 308, also by Mini.). Popp, 1925–6, p. 173 (Recto: as 1925.). Panofsky, 1927–8, pp. 230–6 (Verso: writing all by one hand, that of Antonio Mini “mit Variationen in Minis natürlichem Schreibstil” because he is imitating the handwriting of Michelangelo. Recto: Sketches by Mini under “der wundervolle Drache Michelangelos.”). Popham, 1930a, no. 499. Popham, 1931, no. 218 (Recto: Michelangelo over sketches by Mini; datable 1523–31. Verso: “the writing has no reference whatever to the drawing.”). Berenson, 1935, pp. 264–9 (Recto: uncertain between Michelangelo and Andrea di Michelangelo, who may be Stefano di Tommaso Lunetti. Verso: Andrea.). Berenson, 1938, I, pp. 250, 363, no. 1555 (As 1935. c. 1530. Recto: perhaps for candelabra of New Sacristy.). Delacre, 1938, pp. 69–71,

80, 156, 379 (Recto: Michelangelo, a fantasy, not for a specific project. Verso: Michelangelo? similarity of head [D] to BM W40 verso/Corpus 315. Critique of Berenson's reconstruction of "Andrea."). Wilde, 1953a, pp. 60 (Recto: Michelangelo. c. 1525.); pp. 3, 77 (Verso: teaching drawing c. 1525; [D] a variant of the head on BM W40 verso/Corpus 315, of a type which also occurs as early as 1501–3 on [Cats. 1 and 2]. [A, I, and W] by Michelangelo; the other sketches are copies by a pupil or pupils, including, probably Andrea Quaratesi.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 52 (Recto: dragon drawn over "some childish profiles."). Parker, 1956, no. 323 (Recto: Michelangelo over sketches by Mini, c. 1525. Verso: a teaching drawing. [D, I, and perhaps A and V] by Michelangelo, the rest by Mini. The inscription not an exhortation but the commencement of a draft of a letter.). Dussler, 1959, no. 343 (Recto: Michelangelo over sketches by Mini, c. 1525. Rejects hypotheses of purpose of Frey, Fischel, and Berenson. Verso: [A, C, and I] by Michelangelo; [D] might be a pupil; the remainder by Mini.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1555 (As 1903/1938.). Brugnoli, 1964, no. 31 (Recto: cites Berenson's hypothesis; profile sketches by a pupil.). Berti, 1965, pp. 452, 458 (Recto: records proposed connection with candelabra in New Sacristy. Verso: school drawing.). Goldscheider, 1965, no. 48 (Recto: unlikely that it was drawn for a decorative project. Verso: three or four sketches by Michelangelo, copied by a pupil, usually identified with Antonio Mini; uncertainty over authorship of inscriptions.). Weinberger, 1967, p. 341 (Recto: Michelangelo, 1520–5, over pupil sketches. Verso: [D] autograph.). Hartt, 1971, no. 191 (Recto: 1517–18. A salamander?. Probably for an ornamental figure for San Lorenzo. Profiles by Mini.); no. 311 (Verso: 1525–31. "Set of exercises in drawing." By Michelangelo: "the first profile eye in the upper left corner [A]; the second from the left in the upper row of eyes shown in full-face [I]; the first rich group of locks from the left [W]; the upper of the two shaded profiles [D]. . . . The passage at lower right is the beginning of a draft of a letter to . . . Andrea Quaratesi."). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 106 (Recto: Berenson's suggestion implausible. Verso: studies by Michelangelo, copies by a pupil; inscription probably draft of beginning of a letter.). de Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 96 (Recto: Michelangelo over pupil sketches, 1515–19. Verso: sketches by Michelangelo and copies by Andrea Quaratesi, c. 1525.). De Tolnay, 1976, Corpus II, p. 94 (Verso: [D] and [O] reproduced beside an antique cameo bust of *Abundance*). Lamarche-Vadel, 1981, p. 4 (Recto: reproduced.). Hirst, 1988, pp. 13–14 (Verso: teaching drawing; upper profile [D] and three left eyes by Michelangelo, the rest by a pupil, "who may have

been Antonio Mini."). Wallace, 1995, pp. 118–20 (Recto: Michelangelo over profiles by Mini. "The dragon seems to have been an impromptu invention that grew in size and complexity as Michelangelo spontaneously created it." Verso: [A, D, and I] by Michelangelo, the remainder copies by Mini. "It appears that Michelangelo drew the exempla far apart and high on the page, leaving the rest of the surface available for his pupil [Mini] to practice. . . . In whatever manner one reconstructs the sequence of drawings and writing on recto and verso, it is evident that the sheet passed back and forth between master and pupil."). Perrig, 1999, p. 282 (Mini.).

CATALOGUE 29

Recto: The Head of a Young Man in Profile
Verso: Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar?
1846.62; R.9; P.II 316; Corpus 328

Dimensions: 282 × 198 mm

Watermark: Robinson Appendix no 3. Roberts
"Char" A.

Medium

Red chalk.

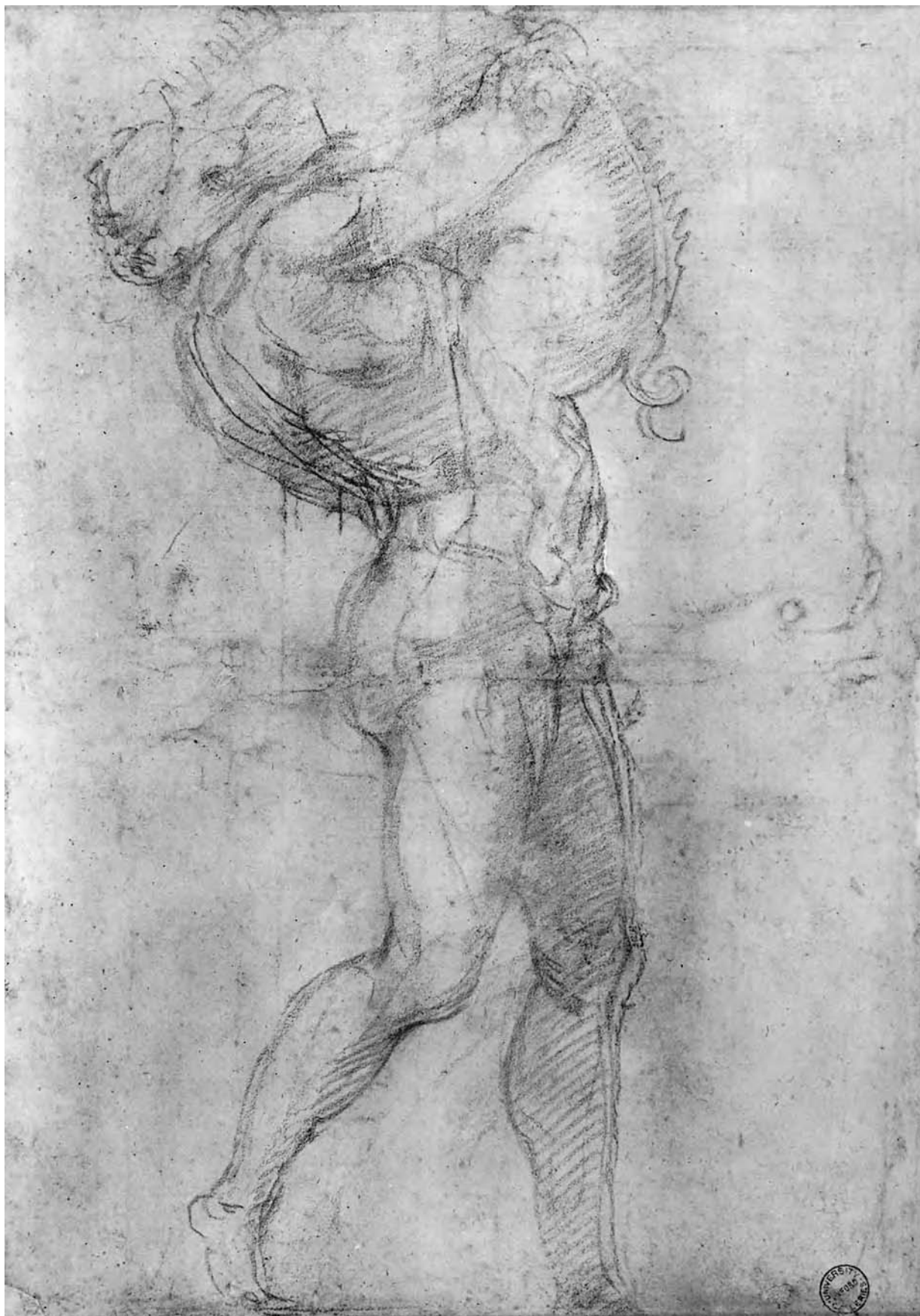
Condition

There is uneven pulp, ingrained dirt in creases and tears, much edge damage, and some toned infills. Also visible are minor loss infills with edge dirt, minor abrasion, skinning, a long superficial diagonal surface scratch, and uneven handling creases. A very unevenly discoloured sheet with much local staining, some adhesive, some oil, and some foxing.

Discussion

Although the recto drawing edges towards caricature, it is probably an only slightly inflected portrait, one not particularly sympathetic to the sitter. Parker speaks of the "disdainful expression," and one senses that Michelangelo has drawn a young man of equivocal character. He experimented with a range of facial types at this period, and it may be that some of the drawings were made for the instruction – and the amusement – of his pupils. The nature of this representation would provide a good lesson in how a (presumably) slight exaggeration can affect the viewer's judgement of character. The nature of the head gear is hard to determine; it seems at first sight to





resemble a soft hood of a type familiar in quattrocento painting, but it cannot be this because it is clearly separate from the other garment. It might be a soft beret-like hat, perched on the far side of the sitter's head, but in this case the gap between the rim and the figure's nose would be hard to explain. It may, perhaps, best be interpreted as a type of hat found in various portraits by Raphael of the later 1510s, comprising a skull cap attached to a discontinuous brim, like a soft mortar-board.

The verso seems to represent Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar. Parker, while noting that Hercules bears none of his usual attributes, shrewdly observes that in this, the third of Hercules' labours, he carried back the boar alive to Eurystheus, which seems to be indicated here. Michelangelo was preoccupied in 1524–5 with attempting to regain the commission for the group of *Hercules and Antaeus* (see Cat. 30), but there is no mention in any of the sources of the present subject. Of course, this sketch, which is quite broad, may have been made to prepare a Presentation Drawing representing one or more of Hercules' labours, such as that in the Royal Collection, Windsor (PW423/Corpus 335; red chalk, 272 × 422 mm), made for an unknown recipient, probably towards 1530. This sheet includes three of the labours, but not that of the Erymanthian Boar; maybe Michelangelo envisaged a companion sheet, representing further labours.

Another possibility is that the present drawing was made for a statuette, to be executed in bronze by another artist. Giambologna later made a bronze of this subject, although that bears only slight relation in pose to this drawing.

Drawn Copies

Recto

A copy, unknown to the compiler, is recorded by Parker as in the A. Wolmark Collection, London. With a provenance from Jonathan Richardson Senior, Thomas Hudson, and Sir Joshua Reynolds, this copy must antedate 1720 and may well have been of the sixteenth century, but further discussion must await its reappearance.

Parker states that Thode mentions copies of the recto in the Uffizi and the Louvre, but the compiler can locate no such reference in Thode and no such copies in those two collections.

Verso

A copy was made by Sir Edward Burne-Jones in 1866–7, on fol. 26 recto of his sketchbook in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1070–2.

Printed Copy

Recto

Published by William Young Ottley, 1808–23, following p. 32, dated 1 May 1818, etched by Thomas Vivares, 289 × 209 mm.

History

Casa Buonarroti; Jean-Baptiste Wicar; William Young Ottley; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Ottley, 1808–23, pp. 32–3 (Reproduced; “Finely expressive of scornfulness and pride.”). Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti, Case 3, Drawer 3, no. 3 [1830–3] (“Head of a Man of a Saturnine expression, red chalk, very fine.”). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 80 (“[S]trongly expressive of malevolence, evidently drawn from life.”). The Athenaeum, 16 July 1836 (“[M]ore finished than the last [1836–87], yet of similar freedom. The grandeur of those lines about the breast, and feathering the hair, is worth particular notice; no painter but one could give the fierce Satanic look of malevolent pride and vindictiveness.”). The Literary Gazette, July 1836 (“[very like Lord Brougham] . . . among the many productions in this gallery which rivetted our attention.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 4 (As 1836.). Fisher, 1862, p. 4, pl. 12 (As Woodburn, 1842.). Fisher, 1865, II, p. 24, pl. 19 (As 1862.). Robinson, 1870, no. 9 (Perhaps c. 1500, but possibly later.). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 21, pl. 12 (As 1862.). Ruskin, 1872, pp. 98–9 (“Michael Angelo is always dwelling on this satyric form of countenance; – sometimes violently caricatures it, but can never help drawing it . . . a celebrated and entirely authentic drawing on which, I regret to say, my own pencil comment in passing is merely ‘brutal lower lip, and broken nose.’”). Black, 1875, p. 213, no. 9. Fisher, 1879, IV/4 (Cites Ottley, 1808–23.). Poynter, 1879, p. 244 (“[T]he precise contrary to everything we imagine as satyric; satanic is perhaps the word he [Ruskin] meant to use.”). Springer, 1883, I, p. 310 (Influence of Leonardo.). Berenson, 1903, I, p. 181, no. 1551 (c. 1509. Recto: “an atrabilious, youngish man.” “He has a vehement, almost fierce look, exaggerated by the protruding lip and projecting nose. The columnar neck is magnificent. It is a masterpiece of design, exquisitely precise in the rendering of the surfaces, yet with a splendid largeness of handling.” Comparable in type with [Cats. 33, 24 verso]. Use of red chalk must have inspired envy in Andrea del Sarto. Verso: “The action of the torso thrown back is superb.”). Borough Johnson, 1908, pp. 10–11, pl. II (c. 1509; “keen observation as regards construction and planes.”). Thode,

1908, I, p. 266 (Recto: contemporary with, but not for, the Sistine.). Thode, 1913, no. 393 (Recto: as 1908. Verso: not seen.). Popham, 1930a, no. 505. Popham, 1931, no. 216. Berenson, 1938, I, p. 197, no. 1551 (Recto: Medici chapel period. “[T]hrown off. . . while he was thinking over the head of Duke Giuliano.”). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 28 (1520–4. Recto: “The purpose of this magnificent head, with its slight tinge of caricature, is unknown.” Verso: unpublished sketch of Hercules and the wild boar.). Parker, 1956, no. 316 (Wilde’s date not entirely convincing. Verso probably but not certainly represents Hercules and Erymanthian Boar.). Dussler, 1959, no. 341 (Ascribed to Michelangelo. Recto: some unusual features, but probably autograph. Verso: by same hand: similarity with Bandinelli’s relief on base of his statue Giovanni delle Bande Nere, suggesting that that relief may derive from a Michelangelesque prototype.). De Tolnay, 1960, pp. 170–1, no. 153 (Recto: Michelangelo, c. 1525–30. “[D]isdainful, almost demonic features. . . with protruding forehead and lower lip and. . . curiously shaped nose. . . possibly one of Michelangelo’s *garzoni*.”). Berenson, 1961, no. 1551 (Recto: Giuliano, duc de Nemours as 1903/1938.). Brugnoli, 1964, no. 34 (Recto: “arrogant vitality. . . underlined by the strong features. At the same time it demonstrates, by the ironic line of the lip and the wide-open eye, a pathetic knowledge of defeat.”). Berti, 1965, pp. 420, 427 (Sistine period. Recto: whimsical and grotesque. Commodi, a visitor to the Casa Buonarroti, derived inspiration from similar types. Verso: possibly an allusion to Hercules.). Weinberger, 1967, p. 341 (Recto: Michelangelo, close in style to female head [Cat. 31]. Light traces of caricature.). Hartt, 1971, no. 161 (Recto: 1517–8?. Head of an Evangelist, perhaps St. Luke, for second storey of San Lorenzo façade.); no. 303 (Verso: 1517–20?. Subject uncertain.). Van Regteren Altena, n.d. (1972), pp. 68 ff. (Recto: study for a portrait of Lorenzo the Magnificent, for the proposed tomb.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 85 (Recto: unduly grotesque for a portrait of Lorenzo the Magnificent.). De Tolnay, 1976, Corpus II, no. 328 (Recto: possibly Lorenzo the Magnificent, 1528–30. Verso: Hercules with the boar.). de Tolnay and Brizio, 1980, no. 3 (As 1976; c. 1530–2.). Lamarche-Vadel, 1981, p. 107, no. 128 (Recto: head of an Evangelist.). Paoletti, 1992, pp. 435–7 (Recto: probably conflates images of Lorenzo the Magnificent and Giuliano, Duke of Nemours.). Perrig, 1999, p. 249 (Recto and verso: by Antonio Mini; from via Mozza studio.).

CATALOGUE 30

Recto: Hercules and Antaeus and Other Sketches

Verso: Various Sketches; A Poem

1844.63; R.45; P.II 317; Corpus 237

Dimensions: 288 × 427 mm

Watermark: Robinson Appendix no. 11. Roberts Anchor F. Briquet 527, Verona, 1558.

Medium

Recto: Red chalk; some light drawing in pen and ink.

Verso: Red chalk; the poem in pen and ink.

Condition

There are pulp imperfections, several pressed-out vertical folds, and inherent creases. Minor tear repairs, toned infills, nicks, skinning, and some ingrained dirt are visible. There are black accretions and waxy deposits; some paper tape remnants are on the verso. The sheet has widespread uneven discolouration and foxing, with a slight medium show-through.

Description and Transcription

Recto

A. Perspective diagram in elevation: projection of a plane; probably by Antonio Mini.

B. Immediately below A, perspective diagram in plan: angle of vision; probably by Antonio Mini.

C. A left leg seen frontally; by Antonio Mini, no doubt after Michelangelo.

D. A left leg seen frontally with the bone structure indicated; by Antonio Mini, no doubt after Michelangelo.

E. Indecipherable form in pen and ink (overlapped by D), perhaps studies of water; uncertain authorship.

F. *Hercules and Antaeus*, sketch (partly overlapping D); by Michelangelo.

G. A face in profile, apparently looking at itself in a mirror; the alternative, that he is looking through a drawing-grid, seems less likely because, in such a case, he would presumably have been looking at a foreshortened form rather than a full face; probably by Antonio Mini.



H. These nearly indecipherable lines may represent a feeble attempt to copy C or D; if this is correct, H may be by Andrea Quaratesi.

I. *Hercules and Antaeus* sketch; by Michelangelo.

J. Head of an old woman in right profile, lightly sketched after K; by Antonio Mini.

K. Head of an old woman in right profile; by Michelangelo.

L. A small seated owl, placed as though on the hunched back of the woman; adapted from M; by Antonio Mini.

M. A seated owl; by Michelangelo.

N. Two eyes with the eye beams crossing, overlapping M, on a small scale adapted from O; by Antonio Mini (or Andrea Quaratesi?).

O. Two eyes with a cross-over of eye beams; by Antonio Mini.

The two sketches for *Hercules and Antaeus* [F, I] seem the last drawings to have been made on this side of the sheet.

Verso

With the lower edge as base

A. Indecipherable curling forms, overlapped by the poem.

B. Immediately below A, indecipherable curling forms, perhaps hanging hair, overlapped by the poem.

C. Immediately in front of D, indecipherable forms.

D. A male head in left profile, wearing an elaborate head-dress with a long peak and stiff formalised feathers; by Michelangelo.

E. A female head seen from the front, slightly turned to the right, wearing a winged headdress; by Michelangelo (overdrawn with an apparently meaningless line).

F. A crab, seen from above; by Michelangelo.

G. A male head in left profile, wearing an elaborate head-dress, after D, by Antonio Mini.

H. A skull in left profile; by Antonio Mini, perhaps re-worked by Michelangelo.

Probably copied from a teaching sketch of a skull by Michelangelo at the lower left of Uffizi 598E verso/B185/Corpus 307; black chalk, 357 × 251 mm. This side of the sheet also carries a second copy by Mini of the skull.

I. Locks of hair; by Antonio Mini.

This closely resembles drawings by Mini, such as those on Cat. 28 verso S and X, suggesting that the two sheets were worked on at around the same time.

J. A series of indecipherable lines.

K. A grasshopper in left profile; by Michelangelo.

L. Immediately below K, indecipherable.



M. A horseman astride a rearing horse, in right profile, a cloak flying out behind him; by Michelangelo.

N. A vase with a double handle (it is unclear if this is supporting the horse; if so, it should be seen as continuous with it); by Michelangelo.

If the vase does perform a supporting function, then M and N must be taken as a unit; in which case, the most likely explanation is that Michelangelo was planning an inkwell in the form of a small bronze equestrian group.

O. A figure in an acrobatic pose, bending his legs over his shoulders; by Michelangelo.

This may be, as Frey thought, a sketch for a hanging lamp.

With the right edge as base

P. An easel with a supporting prop; by Michelangelo?.

Q. A diagram of another, squatter, easel, with a supporting prop; by Antonio Mini.

R. An alternative diagram of an easel with a supporting prop; by Antonio Mini (or Andrea Quaratesi?).

S. A left hand seen from the front in foreshortening holding an orb; by Antonio Mini.

T. A caricatural giraffe, in right profile; by Michelangelo? This sketch is interestingly analysed by Wallace who interprets this "childlike scrawl" as "the purposeful creation

of a clever rather than incompetent draftsman... a parody of... [his]... own giraffe on the same sheet and perhaps of the whole ludicrous endeavour to teach someone like Antonio Mini how to draw."

With the upper edge as base

U. A left hand seen from the front in foreshortening holding an orb; by Andrea Quaratesi.

V. A giraffe, in left profile; the figure sitting on its neck seems to have been drawn with the right edge as base; by Michelangelo.

This is connected by Wallace with the giraffe sent to Lorenzo the Magnificent in 1487, which Michelangelo would certainly have seen.

Surprisingly, the poem was penned before the drawings were made, as de Tolnay pointed out:

*Oilme, Oilme, chio sō tradito
dagiorni mie fugaci e dallo specchio,
che 'l ver dice ac ciascū, ch[e] fiso il guarda
Cosi n'aviē, chi troppo al fin ritarda
Como factio chel tempo me fuggito
si truova come me nū giorno vechio
ne mi posso pentir ne mapparechio*

ne mi consiglio cō la morte appresso
 nemico di me stesso
 inutilmēte ipianti e sospir verso
 Ch[e] nō e danno pari al tempo p so
 Oilme, oilme, pur reiterando
 vo l mio passato tempo e nō ritrovo
 in tucto un giorno ch(e) sie stato mio
 le fallaci speranze e lvā desio
 piangendo, amado, ardendo esospirādo
 Cha affecto alcū mortal nō me piu nuovo
 manno tenuto ondel conosco e pruvo
 lontā certo dal vero
 or comperiglio pero
 Ch'l breve tempo me venuto māco
 ne sarie ancor, se sallūgassi, stanco
 I' vo lasso, ólme, ne so ben dove
 anzi temo chil veggi el tempo andato
 me lmostra ne mi val ch[e] gliochi chiuda
 or che ltempo la scorza cangia e muda
 lamorte e lalma insieme ognior fan pruove
 La prima e la secōda del mie stato
 E sie nō sono errato
 Ch[e] diol voglia chi sia
 L'eterna pena mia
 nel mal libero inteso oprato vero
 vegg signior, ne so quel chio mi spero

Variants

Chil mi commesio
 ne . . . scusa appresso addio mi parti

Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger, pp. 60–1; Guasti, *canzoni* III; Frey XLIX; Girardi, no. 51; Residori, no. 51

Oïmmè, oïmmè, ch'i' son tradito
 da' giorni mie fugaci e dallo spechio,
 che 'l ver dice a.cciascun, che fiso 'l guarda!
 Così n'avien, chi troppo al fin ritarda,
 com'ho fatt'io, che 'l tempo m'è fuggito,
 si trova come me 'n un giorno vecchio.
 Né mi posso pentir, né m'apparecchio
 né mi consiglio con la morte appresso.
 Nemico di me stesso,
 inutilmente i pianti e' sospir verso,
 ché non è danno pari al tempo perso.

Oïmmè, oïmmè, pur riterando
 vo 'l mio passato tempo, e non ritrovo
 in tutto un giorno che sie stato mio!
 Le fallaci speranze e 'l van desio,
 piangendo, amando, ardendo e sospirando
 (c' affetto alcun mortal non m'è più nuovo)
 m' hanno tenuto, ond'i 'l conosco e pruvo,

lontan certo dal vero.

*Or con periglio però;
 ché 'l breve tempo m'è venuto manco,
 né sarie 'ncor, se s'allungassi, stanco.*

*I' vo lasso, oïmmè, né so ben dove;
 anzi temo, ch'i' 'l veggio, e 'l tempo andato
 mel mostra, né mi val che gli occhi chiuda.
 Or che 'l tempo la scorza cangia e muda,
 la morte e l'alma insieme ognior fan pruove,
 La prima e la seconda, del mie stato.
 E s'io non sono errato,
 (Che Dio 'l voglia, ch'io sia)
 l'eterna pena mia
 nel mal libero inteso oprato vero
 veggio, Signior, né so quel ch'io mi spero.*

Ryan, no. 51

Alas, alas, I have been betrayed by my fleeting days and by the mirror that tells the truth to everyone who looks steadily into it! This is what happens to anyone who too long puts off thinking about his end, as I have done, while time has suddenly slipped me by: like me, he suddenly finds himself old. And I cannot repent, nor do I prepare myself, nor reconsider my ways, even with death near. My own worst enemy, I uselessly pour out tears and sighs, for there is no harm to equal that of wasted time.

Alas, alas, though I keep going over my past life, I do not find a single day that has been my own! False hopes and vain desire have kept me weeping, loving, burning and sighing (for no mortal emotion is stranger to me now), as I well know and daily prove again, far indeed from the true good. Now in danger I perish: Time's short passage has run out for me, and even if it were to lengthen, I should not tire of my ways.

I go wearily on, alas, yet without really knowing where; or rather I fear I do, for I see where, and my past shows this to me, and it does me no good to close my eyes. Now that time is changing skin and moult, death and my soul are locked in battle every hour, one against the other, for my final state. And if I am not mistaken (God grant that I may be), I see the eternal punishment due for my having, in freedom, badly understood and acted on the truth, Lord; nor do I know what I may hope for.

Discussion

This sheet of drawings, which must have been worked on c. 1524–5, is one of the most complicated produced by Michelangelo and his pupils to survive. It is in part a teaching drawing, and the sheet would have been passed around from hand to hand over a table. As demonstrated by Wallace, Michelangelo employed visual and verbal wit

to enliven his teaching and spark his young pupils. This sheet is closely connected with two others:

1. London British Museum, W33/Corpus 236; red and black chalk, 255 × 350 mm.
2. Frankfurt, Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, Inv. 392/Corpus 322; red chalk, 260 × 410 mm.

All three sheets, which share a provenance from Casa Buonarroti, contain sketches by Michelangelo, his pupil Antonio Mini, and probably a second pupil, Andrea Quaratesi: Parker shrewdly and, in the compiler's view, correctly, distinguished two hands among the pupil drawings on the present sheet. The British Museum sheet bears on its recto three autograph studies of grotesque heads, which were developed further by a pupil and Michelangelo working together on the recto of the Frankfurt sheet. The verso of the latter contains another version of the left leg found on the recto of the present drawing, and it also carries in red chalk at the upper right the roman number XVII, which corresponds to numbering found on several drawings in Casa Buonarroti and on Cat. 56.

The most significant autograph drawings on the present sheet are the two studies for a *Hercules and Antaeus* group. The British Museum sheet carries a single study about the same size as the smaller of the two on the present sheet, but somewhat less developed, in which Antaeus is seen from the rear. These drawings relate to a project very close to Michelangelo's heart.

Soon after Michelangelo had completed the *David* for the Florentine Republic in 1504, the idea arose of carving another statue to pair with it. By late 1506, a large block had been excavated in Carrara and was reserved for the Republic. Owing to Michelangelo's protracted absences in Bologna and Rome between 1506 and 1512, nothing was then done, and with the return of the Medici to Florence in 1512, and the consequent exile of Piero Soderini, the project lapsed. Although the evidence is not quite conclusive – the subject is not mentioned in the contemporary correspondence – it is virtually certain that Michelangelo initially planned to carve a *Hercules and Antaeus*. Versions of the subject had been executed in bronze in the quattrocento, most notably by Antonio Pollaiuolo, but to execute an over-life-size group in marble would have been a triumphant demonstration of sculptural *virtù*. One fragmentary autograph drawing survives of *Hercules and Antaeus* (Washington, National Gallery of Art, O'Neal Collection, 1991.150.3; pen and ink, 79 × 36 mm) datable about 1505; and the Louvre possesses a page of copies (Inv. 863/J68; pen and ink, 201 × 137 mm) after lost pen sketches of

the subject by Michelangelo, probably executed by him c. 1508.

It may be that Leo X considered commissioning a statue or group representing Hercules shortly after he ascended the papal throne in 1513, perhaps a *Hercules and Cacus*. Indeed, Vasari ascribes the project to Leo, either deliberately suppressing, or unaware of, Soderini's role. Nothing seems to have come of this scheme, although a large plaster *Hercules*, standing with a shouldered club, modelled by Baccio Bandinelli was erected in the Loggia dei Lanzi in 1515 as part of Leo X's celebratory entry into Florence. The project for a two-figure marble group was revived only in 1524 after Leo's cousin Clement VII had in his turn been elevated to the papal throne. Although heavily occupied with the New Sacristy, Michelangelo was eager for the commission and tried hard to recover the block, certainly identical with that reserved for him by Soderini. At this time, Michelangelo planned to carve a *Hercules and Antaeus*: This is reported by Vasari and confirmed by the contemporary chronicler Giovanni Cambi who speaks of "un Ercole che scopiassi Anteo gigante." This is the subject of the present sheet of drawings and that in the British Museum. Both are datable to 1524–5.

Michelangelo undoubtedly made further drawings of the subject. The sale of the collection of Pierre Crozat in 1741 included among the twenty drawings attributed to Michelangelo contained in lot 21 a *Hercule étouffant Antée*: Its specific mention in a catalogue in which most of Michelangelo's drawings were undescribed suggests that it was an impressive sheet. This drawing was probably acquired by Pierre-Jean Mariette and is no doubt identical with that which appeared in the sale of Julien de Parme (who had bought heavily at the Mariette sale of 1775–6), Paris, 21–22 February 1794, as part of lot 12: *Quatre Dessins & Etudes, dont Hercule qui étouffe Anthée, dessinées au crayon rouge*. As far as the compiler is aware, this drawing has not re-appeared, but assuming the attribution to be correct, it is likely that this was a more developed treatment of the project, again drawn in 1524–5.

Michelangelo also made a plastic model of the subject. According to Vasari, he gave to Leone Leoni, in appreciation of his medallic portrait struck by Leoni in 1560, a wax model of *Hercules Crushing Antaeus*, and although in principle this could have been unrelated, it is likely that this too was made for the revived project.

Other drawings are sometimes connected with this project. There is a beautiful red chalk drawing of *Two Men Wrestling* in the Louvre (Inv. 709 recto/J30/Corpus 267; red chalk, 237 × 195 mm), but it is doubtful whether this was made for the *Hercules and Antaeus* group. An

autograph outline sketch on a small scale, more in the nature of a *ricordo* – or perhaps a teaching drawing – than a *concetto*, is found on a sheet in Casa Buonarroti (CB53F recto/B174/Corpus 229 bis; red chalk, 353 × 242 mm). And three pupil drawings no doubt reflect with greater or lesser fidelity Michelangelo's ideas:

1. Casa Buonarroti CB 40A verso/B98/Corpus 177; black chalk, 398 × 243 mm. By Antonio Mini, and datable c. 1524.
2. British Museum W34; pen and ink, 162 × 145 mm, reasonably attributed to Antonio Mini by Wilde, but somewhat later than 1.
3. Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Brejon de Lavergnée, no. 808 recto; pen and ink, 210 × 138 mm. This drawing by Raffaello da Montelupo, on fol. 91 recto of the sketchbook executed jointly by Raffaello and Francesco da Sangallo, seems to represent Antaeus on the point of expiry. It is difficult to determine whether it was made after a prototype by Michelangelo dating from c. 1524, or after an idea of c. 1508.

It was acutely noted by Wilde that one of Michelangelo's drawings or models of *Hercules and Antaeus* was employed by his friend Giuliano Bugiardini for the central group in the *Rape of Dinah*, a composition begun by Fra Bartolommeo – another friend of Michelangelo – but left unfinished at his death in 1517. The version of the *Rape of Dinah* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (oil on canvas, 158.5 × 183 cm), seems to be an autograph version of the lost original, which had been completed by 1531, but there is every reason to believe that it is identical with it in form, and Wilde's observation seems convincing to the compiler. But it is unlikely to be coincidence that about this time Michelangelo made a drawing, now in Haarlem (A24/VT 63/Corpus 238; black chalk, 115 × 95 mm), showing a man abducting a writhing figure who is clearly female. Perhaps Michelangelo created this for Bugiardini, but in the event his friend preferred an option less violently dynamic.

Michelangelo was unsuccessful in his efforts to regain the block which, in November 1525, Clement allocated to Baccio Bandinelli. Some years earlier, in 1517, Bandinelli had been favoured by Michelangelo, and the two men no doubt remained on terms as late as 1522 (see Cat. 107). But his acceptance of this commission would have eliminated whatever warmth remained. Bandinelli began work in 1526 and made rapid progress on a *Hercules and Cacus*, not a *Hercules and Antaeus*. On 22 August 1528, however, following the expulsion of the Medici from Florence and the re-installation of a Republican govern-

ment, Michelangelo was re-allocated the block by the Signoria, and Bandinelli was compelled to relinquish it. Michelangelo was given carte blanche to carve what he wished. According to Vasari, what Bandinelli had done in the interim prevented Michelangelo from realising his original intentions, and he instead devised a new group, of *Samson Killing Two Philistines*, to fit the block's changed shape. Preoccupied with his work for the defence of Florence, he did not begin carving this, although he did produce a masterly model in wax or clay. This was later cast, probably in the workshop of Daniele da Volterra, who reproduced it in both versions of his painting of the *Massacre of the Innocents*. It became very famous: Tintoretto and his pupils made numerous drawings after it, and it was also copied by Naldini, among many others.

With the fall of the last Republic in 1530 and the definitive re-establishment of Medici rule, the block was returned to Bandinelli, whose *Hercules Victorious over Cacus* was completed in 1534 and set up, probably as Soderini and Michelangelo had intended, beside the *David* in Piazza della Signoria.

The other sketches on the recto and the verso of the sheet are listed and described above with the compiler's views of their authorship appended. However, a few comments follow on what seems to be the more interesting of these.

Recto

Although the small sketch of a perched owl is unlikely to have been made in preparation for the bird that accompanies *Night*, it was probably based on it, to facilitate a pupil copy. The profile head of the old woman is clearly a teaching drawing, with a copy immediately beside it; a similar juxtaposition, this time of the head of an old man, is seen on the verso of Michelangelo's famous drawing of *Zenobia* in the Uffizi (598E/B185/Corpus 307; black chalk, 357 × 252 mm), made for his friend Gherardo Perini about 1524. Michelangelo seems to have been concerned to introduce his pupils to selective exaggeration by the road of caricature. This profile of an old woman bears a resemblance, as W. Dreesmann has pointed out (personal communication), to another profile of an old woman in Florence (CB3F/B190/Corpus 309; black chalk, 163 × 120 mm); this drawing, although often excluded from Michelangelo's oeuvre, does seem to be by him, as de Tolnay recognised. Its portrait-like objectivity suggests that it may represent one of Michelangelo's servants, and it probably served him as the starting-point for the more exaggerated profile on the present sheet.

Verso

The sketch of a rider recalls motifs generated by Michelangelo for the *Battle of Cascina*; why he should have reprised aspects of that scheme at this date is conjectural. However, if the vase below the horse's front legs is connected, then, as suggested previously, it may have been a design for some small decorative piece in bronze, perhaps an inkwell; around the same time Michelangelo made a drawing for a bronze hanging lamp on the recto of a sheet now in the Fogg Art Museum (1932-152/Corpus 438; black chalk, 157 × 156 mm).

The winged female head [K] is similar in reverse to a head by Michelangelo on a truncated sheet in the Uffizi (251F verso/B243; red chalk, 279 × 133 mm; this side of the sheet also carries some drawings apparently by Mini). The recto of this sheet, in which Michelangelo has combined red and black chalk, shows a standing *Venus* and was probably made in preparation for a now-lost presentation drawing known only in a later copy by Salviati, also in the Uffizi (14673F; red chalk, 355 × 243 mm). The winged head – identified by Frey as that of Mercury but by Thode simply as an imaginary form – might conjecturally be related to one of the standing allegories to be placed on either side of the seated dukes in the New Sacristy. However one would generally associate wings with the element of air, and even though this would be appropriate to one of the two figures flanking Duke Giuliano, representing *Heaven* and *Earth*, neither of them as shown on Michelangelo's *modello* for that tomb (Paris, Louvre, Inv. 838/J27/Corpus 186) wears a winged headdress. The identities of the pair planned to flank Lorenzo are not known, but it is possible that one of them could have worn a winged headdress; however, their most likely identities are *Fire* and *Water*, and wings would not have been appropriate for either.

The head in profile with an Amerindian-style headdress is difficult to account for, but it may be simply one of Michelangelo's experimental coiffures, a genre in which he was exceptionally inventive. The sketches of a grasshopper and a crab are also hard to explain, but a crab is represented in Michelangelo's later presentation drawing of *Tityus* at Windsor (PW 429/Corpus 345; black chalk, 190 × 330 mm), and he may have considered employing crustacean and insect forms in headdresses for his *Ideal Heads* – no surviving drawing by him demonstrates such a use, but at least one of the *Ideal Heads* by Jacomo Ligozzi includes a locust (Paris, Louvre, Inv. 1704), and the idea may have originated with Michelangelo. The relation of the diagrammatic skull to those on the verso of Uffizi 598E, one of the sheets given to Gherardo Perini, suggests their probable contemporaneity.

The poem is dated c. 1530 by Girardi and others, but given its priority over the drawings, it must be of c. 1525 or even a little earlier. The emphasis on a struggle between death and the soul was to bear fruit in the lower areas of the *Last Judgement*, and this connection may have suggested the later dating. The mood of depression, if not despair, seems more appropriate to a man older than about fifty, and one who was, in fact, to live almost another forty years; but Michelangelo complained about his waning strength on more than one occasion during the 1520s and he was, in any case, always liable to depressions. In the present case, his mood may have been exacerbated by his anxiety over the *Hercules and Antaeus*, and his work on the tombs in the New Sacristy would naturally have focused his mind on the inevitability – and proximity – of death.

The watermark found on the present sheet also occurs on Cats. 35 and 42, as Robinson noted.

Drawn Copies

c. 1580 Andrea Comodi copied:

D on the recto on Uffizi 18609F verso.

F on the verso on Uffizi 18609F recto.

H on the verso on Uffizi 18608F recto.

M on the verso on Uffizi 18609F recto.

History

Casa Buonarroti, by c. 1580?; Jean-Baptiste Wicar?; William Young Ottley, his sale, 6 June 1814 and days following, lot 1760; ("One – a leaf of masterly studies in red chalk; Hercules and Antaeus, etc. on both sides with one of his poems autograph. MOST INTERESTING. This poem is copied in facsimile in Mr Duppa's Life of Michael Angelo." £33.12.0); Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Ottley sale, 6 June 1814 etc., lot 1760 ("One – a leaf of masterly studies in red chalk; Hercules and Antaeus, etc. on both sides with one of his poems autograph. MOST INTERESTING. This poem is copied in facsimile in Mr Duppa's Life of Michael Angelo."). Woodburn, 1842, no. 9 ("This study appears to have been a lesson for a pupil."). Guasti, 1863, pp. 347–9 (Transcription of poem.). Robinson, 1870, no. 45 (Michel Angelo. Recto: "Two sketches of a group, evidently for sculpture in the round, of Hercules strangling Antaeus, the design nearly similar but seen from two rather different points of view; perhaps this is a sketch taken from a wax model by himself... they are apparently connected with the lines of a diagram which seems to indicate some problem

in perspective or optics.” Linked with British Museum, W33/Corpus 236 and of the same date as that, 1524. “Very likely” that they were made for the colossal marble group taken over by Bandinelli. The “two slight sketches of an owl . . . probably for La Notte.” Verso: “great diversity of sketches . . . several repeated by a weaker hand, probably that of a thoughtful scholar.” Lines of poetry “although here written continuously without any break, have been published as three separate madrigals.”). Ruskin, 1872, p. 100 (“[T]he vile face,” i.e., [K]). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 42. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 234. Springer 1878, p. 387 (One of three sketches for *Hercules and Antaeus*, which show that this is the subject initially planned by Michelangelo.). Springer, 1883, II, pp. 223–4 (As 1878.). K. Frey, 1897, pp. 37–8, no. XXXVII; pp. 332–3 (Transcription of verso poem; dates it 1532–3.). Berenson, 1903, I, pp. 214, 255, 261–2; no. 1712 (By Montelupo in Michelangelo’s studio, c. 1532, the date assigned by Frey to the verses. The studies of *Hercules and Antaeus* are variations on Haarlem A24/VT63/Corpus 238 and W33/Corpus 236. The lighter sketches “for children’s toys.”). Thode, 1908, I, p. 487; II, p. 294 (Verso [now recto]: sketches for *Hercules and Antaeus*, 1524–5; sketches for the owl accompanying *Night*). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 145 (Verso [now recto]: two hands, Michelangelo [F, I, and K]; the remainder by Mini, datable to period of Medici chapel. *Hercules and Antaeus* for statue commission; poem shows state of depression after the fall of Florence (no. 144); Recto [now verso]: by Michelangelo the rider [M]?, [O] the acrobat, probably a lamp, [H] the skull, [T] the giraffe; datable c. 1524.). Thode, 1913, no. 428 (Verso [now recto]: all sketches autograph, with the exception of the caricatural head [J] by a pupil. Recto [now verso]: fourteen sketches listed, eight of which are autograph: [E, M, N, O, H, I, V, perhaps D]; [G] a repetition of [D] by Mini, who is also responsible for the other sketches.). Popp, 1922, p. 143 (Recto: sketches of an owl, and *Hercules and Antaeus* and the two heads lower left by Michelangelo, 1524–5, but not the leg study.). Popp, 1925, p. 19 (Recto: *Hercules* sketches by Michelangelo. Profile possibly copied after a drawing by Michelangelo. Verso: by Mini; the old man, the vessel and the giraffe corrected by Michelangelo.). Panofsky, 1927–8, p. 224 (Recto: doubts about the authenticity of Windsor PW 423/Corpus 335 do not affect these *Hercules and Antaeus* sketches.). Popp, 1927–8, pp. 13–14 (Recto: sketches for *Hercules and Antaeus* by Michelangelo, rest by Mini.). Berenson, 1935, p. 275 (Not by Mini but “Andrea.”). Berenson, 1938, I, pp. 224, 365, no. 1712 (As 1935.). Delacre, 1938, pp. 341–2 (Recto: [F] – the owl – reproduced as Michelangelo.). De Tolnay, 1948, p. 214, no. 92 (Recto: sketches of

Hercules and Antaeus by Michelangelo, remainder by a pupil. 1525, linked with BM W33/Corpus 236). Wilde, 1949, p. 247 (*Hercules and Antaeus* sketches and those on BM W33/Corpus 236 of 1524–5.). Wilde, 1953a, pp. 65, 67–8 (Recto: *Hercules and Antaeus* sketches related to those on BM33 recto/Corpus 236. Verso: form of horse [M] relates to BM W32/Corpus 87.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 30 (1524–5. Not all the drawings on the recto and verso are autograph.). Parker, 1956, no. 317 (Recto: the *Hercules and Antaeus* sketches [F, I] by Michelangelo for the statue project of 1524; related studies in London, BM W33/Corpus 236 and Haarlem, A24/VT63/Corpus 238. The two grotesque profiles [J, K] also autograph; the leg [C] probably by a pupil. Verso: by Michelangelo are the rider [M], the head of Mercury [K], the profile [D]. “But apart from Mini’s relatively competent hand there are also scribbles by an utterly feeble one: the small owl to left of the larger one . . . on the recto, the two worthless paraphrases of the sketch of an easel to right on the verso.”). Dussler, 1959, no. 196 (Recto: [F, I] by Michelangelo for the *Hercules and Antaeus* group, linked with BM W33/Corpus 236. The remainder by Mini, mid-1520s; link with Frankfurt Inv. 392/Corpus 322.); no. 622 (Verso: by Mini.). Girardi, 1960, no. 51 (Transcription of poem.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1712 (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1962, p. 293, under no. 243 (Head closely similar to verso [K] is also found on Uffizi 251F verso; perhaps by Mini.). Gilbert, 1963, pp. 30–1, no. 49 (Verse translation of poem.). Berti, 1965, pp. 450, 463 (Recto: *Hercules and Antaeus* sketches [F, I] and profile of an old woman [J] authentic; Mini probably involved as well. Verso: weak, attributed to Mini.). Weinberger, 1967, pp. 240, 342 (With BM W33/Corpus 236 [F, I] proves that Michelangelo planned to carve a *Hercules and Antaeus* in 1525. [J] a caricatural drawing by Michelangelo, “copied at left by draughtsman of verso.”). Hartt, 1971, no. 302 (Recto: 1524–5. *Hercules and Antaeus* [F, I] for projected statue; “half-humorous sketches of an owl may be related to the owl below *Night*. Profile of an old woman exemplifies vein of caricature in the artist’s drawings . . . ineptly drawn leg and the diagrams made to show the optic rays appear to be the work of Antonio Mini.”); no. 312 (Verso: 1525–31?. Humorous sketches by Michelangelo and Mini.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 92 (Recto: *Hercules and Antaeus* [F, I] no doubt connected with group projected in 1524–5 like BM W33/Corpus 236. Not all the drawings are autograph.). Keller, 1975, pp. 30–1 (c. 1525; sketches by Mini and drawings by Michelangelo for the group of *Hercules and Antaeus* [F, I] to accompany his *David*). De Tolnay, 1976, Corpus II, no. 237 (Recto: [F, I] Michelangelo for *Hercules and Antaeus* group; [K]

also autograph, the remainder pupil copies. Verso: poem written first in Michelangelo's writing of the 1520s. The heads [D, E] and the crustaceans by Michelangelo, the remainder in part by Mini, in part by Quaratesi.). de Tolnay and Brizio, 1980, no. 66 (Recto: only *Hercules and Antaeus* sketches discussed.). Guazzoni, 1984, pl. 94 (*Hercules and Antaeus* sketches [E, I] by Michelangelo.). Wallace, 1995, pp. 115–18 (Verso: informal pedagogical drawings, with Michelangelo and Mini handing the sheet back and forth: the “childlike scrawl [of the giraffe, V] is by Michelangelo . . . the purposeful creation of a clever rather than incompetent draftsman” imitating a naive drawing.). Ryan, 1996, no. 51, pp. 38–41 (Transcription and prose translation of poem.); p. 278 (Commentary.). Ryan, 1998, pp. 60–2 (Discussion of poem.).

CATALOGUE 31

An Idealised Bust

1846.61; R.10; P.II 315; Corpus 323

Dimensions: 205 × 165 mm

Medium

Red chalk.

Condition

There is uneven pulp, a pressed-out horizontal fold, and another horizontal line of abrasion/crease. A major repaired loss and skinned area, minor edge losses, nicks, and skinning are visible. There are several scratches, incised marks, and deeper, diagonal surface scratches, abrasions, and accretions. The sheet is unevenly discoloured with dark foxing and local staining.

Discussion

This drawing, of the head and shoulders of a subject whose identity and sex are disputed, is generally considered to date from c. 1522. However, it may have been made a little later given that the particular elegance of the facial type and the delicacy of the pose have certain links with the figure of *Victory*, underway during the later 1520s. The stylisation of the features, with a long slightly fleshy nose, and prominent chin, has something in common with the female type seen in the drawing usually identified as the *Virgin with Child and Angels* in the Accademia in Venice (Inv. 199/Corpus 244; black chalk, 370 × 250 mm; for a copy see Cat. 65). The present head also recalls earlier work. The twist of the neck of the

figure – whose sex is also disputed – supporting the body of Christ at the right of the *Entombment* in the National Gallery (NG790; oil on wood, 161.7 × 149.9 cm) bears a resemblance to that of the present head and because the period towards 1530 seems to have been a period of graphic retrospection in Michelangelo's work, such a link would also support a later date. The exotic head-dress is presumably an invention by Michelangelo, whose fascination for such adornments goes back at least to the *Entombment* and is particularly notable among the Sistine Ancestors of Christ.

From the drawing's degree of finish and the self-sufficient nature of the image, it seems likely that it was made as a Presentation Drawing, probably in Florence rather than in Rome.

Unlike the three sheets of heads that Michelangelo made for Gherardo Perini around 1524 (Florence, Uffizi, 598E recto/B185/Corpus 307, 599E recto/B186/Corpus 308, 601E/B187/Corpus 306; all in black chalk, respectively, 357 × 252 mm, 343 × 236 mm, and 298 × 205 mm), which are dense in content and no doubt have didactic intent – as do those made in the early 1530s for Tommaso de'Cavalieri – the present head seems not to embody any specific message, and rather to be a study in character and temperament: perhaps melancholy. It was copied (see next section) but not frequently. Therefore, if Michelangelo gave it to a friend, it was probably not made widely available by its owner. If the provenance from Casa Buonarroti is correct, it was presumably acquired for or presented to the Casa in the early seventeenth century.

Drawn Copies

1. Florence, Uffizi, 602E/B188/Petrioli Tofani, 1986, p. 268; red chalk, 160 × 121 mm. The image size is identical with that of the original, and this copy was undoubtedly made directly from it, probably in the 1530s. Uffizi 602E was attributed confidently by Robinson to Battista Franco; Parker, Barocchi, and others have given it to Bacchiacca. But to the compiler, Uffizi 602E displays the characteristics of neither Franco nor Bacchiacca – who does not seem to have employed this head in any of his paintings – and he is inclined to think rather of an artist in the circle of Bronzino.

2. Oxfordshire, Private Collection; black chalk, 176 × 132 mm; from the collection of Carlo Prayer (Lugt, 2044). By Battista Franco; see Lauder, 2003, p. 96. Most of Franco's copies after drawings by Michelangelo are indirect, made from copies of them by Raffaello da Montelupo, but this seems likely to have been made from the original.



3. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum; black chalk, 148 × 163 mm. An adapted copy, no doubt also by Battista Franco. See Cat. 62.

History

Casa Buonarroti; Jean-Baptiste Wicar; Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti Case 3, Drawer 3, no. 10 [1830–13] (“Profile in red chalk of a youth in a helmet, highly finished.”). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 21 (“A Female Portrait – of very expressive countenance.”). The Literary Gazette, July 1836 (“[A]mong

the many productions in this gallery which rivetted our attention.”). The Athenaeum, 16 July 1836 (“[A]nother instance of the beautiful in this artist, not altogether so rare with him as is commonly supposed. The profound sentiment which inspires it is much rarer with other artists.”). The Court Journal, 23 July 1836 (“Did not the ‘Female’ [21] serve as a model for the *Night* or *Sleep* [which is it?] on the Medicean Tomb? The fine, yet haggard features, and the gloomy expression, so terrible in the statue, have a kindred resemblance to this woman’s face.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 27 (As 1836.). Woodburn, 1846, no. 24 (As 1842.). Woodburn, 1853, no. 19 (Reproduced.). Fisher, 1862, p. 4, pl. 13 (Vittoria Colonna.). Fisher, 1865, p. 23, II, pl. 13 (As 1862.). Robinson, 1870, no. 10 (A woman; “similar in character to the celebrated idealised

heads known as the *Marchesa di Pescara* and the *Conte di Canossa* and, like those “probably done in emulation of Leonardo da Vinci.” Datable “shortly before 1500.” Copies in Oxford [Cat. 62] and Uffizi [602E], both by Battista Franco.). Fisher, 1872, II, p. 21, pl. 13 (As 1862.). Ruskin, 1872, p. 99 (“Passing, for the moment, by No. 10.”). Black, 1875, p. 213, no. 10 (Reproduced in a photograph f.p. 214.). Gotti, 1875, II, p. 239. Blanc, 1876, f.p. 26 (Reproduction.). Philostrate, 1878, p. 215 (“[A] sketch of a woman’s head by Michael Angelo. It might be called a study of refinement. Nothing can be imagined more gentle than that mouth; the lips seem to tremble as we look at them; nothing could be sweeter than those clear-cut, down-cast eyes, every line round which seems to speak a subtle language of its own.”). Fisher, 1879, V/5 (“Head or Bust, in profile, of a Woman.”). Springer, 1883, I, p. 310 (Influence of Leonardo.). Wölfflin, 1891, pp. 64–6 (“[W]undervolle Röthelzeichnung, darstellend ein Weib mit fremdartiger Kopfbedeckung”; not early, reminiscent of *Night*). Berenson, 1903, I, p. 182, no. 1552 (“Bust of a Youngish Woman.” Datable 1508.). Colvin, 1904, II, no. 10 (“It belongs to the earlier period of the artist’s employment on the Sistine ceiling and represents a type of intellectual beauty which recurs often.”). Steinmann, 1905, II, p. 603, no. 55 (Study of a female head, employed for the youth to the right of the *Eleazar-Mathan* lunette.). Jacobsen, 1907, pp. 493–4 (Contests Steinmann’s view; if connected with Sistine more likely related to woman in *Ezechias* lunette.). Mackowsky, 1908 (and subsequent editions), p. 250 (“Frauenkopf.” Influence of Leonardo’s technique and fantasy.). Borough Johnson, 1908, p. 10, pl. III (Early; “majestic expression.”). Thode, 1908, I, p. 257; II, p. 337 (“Wundervolle Zeichnung”; for a Sibyl.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 172 b (Head of a woman. Influence of Leonardo. Painterly technique and type suggest Sistine period: datable 1511–12. No relation to Venice sheet, which is not by Michelangelo. Copies in the Uffizi [602E] and Oxford [Cat. 62].). Thode, 1913, no. 394 (All agree this head of a woman to be contemporary with the Sistine ceiling; direct relation to Sibylline Woman in Michelangelo’s drawing in Venice, Inv. 199/Corpus 244.). Zoff, 1923, pl. 31. Brinckmann, 1925, no. 30 (Head of a Sibyl, c. 1511.). Popp, 1925, p. 21 (By “Carlo” who is also the author of the London *Entombment*; the type is close to head of *ignudo* left above *Joel*). Popp, 1925b, p. 74 (Not by Michelangelo.). Hekler, 1930, p. 216 (Compared with a head in a Roman fresco from the François tomb at Volci.). Popham, 1930a, no. 503. Popham, 1931, no. 214 (Head of a Young Woman; c. 1508.). Berenson, 1938, I, p. 197, no. 1552 (“[T]en or more years later” than 1508.). Delacre, 1938, pp. 87, 173–6, 373 (Michelan-

gelo not “Carlo” “Tête de femme avec Turban.” Relation to CB 7F. Uffizi 602 perhaps also autograph.). De Tolnay, 1945, pp. 209–10, no. 15a (By Bacchiacca.). Goldscheider, 1951, no. 65 (Michelangelo, but “manner more mechanical” than in drawings for Perini; “model was a young man.” c. 1528–30.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 34 (Ideal head of a woman, c. 1516.). Parker, 1956, no. 315 (“The features are young and somewhat epicene in character”; that it could connect with and follow drawings made for Gherardo Perini is at least stylistically admissible.). Dussler, 1959, no. 342 (Autograph, c. 1520.). De Tolnay, 1960, p. 170, no. 152 (Head of a young woman; now regards as genuine, c. 1520–5.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1552 (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1962, p. 278 (Copied by Bacchiacca on Uffizi 602E.). Brugnoli, 1964, no. 27 (Female head; perhaps a Presentation Drawing. c. 1520.). Berti, 1965, pp. 456–7, 466 (Authentic, not Bacchiacca.). Goldscheider, 1965, no. 49 (Redated to c. 1522.). Hartt, 1971, no. 363 (1533–4. “The features are clearly those of a youth, seized by some haunting and nameless melancholy. The female dress, probably added from imagination, gives the work a strange, transvestite appearance . . . elusive delicacy of the surface is . . . closely allied to the style of the presentation drawings.”). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 112 (Datable 1512–25; sex of head unclear; perhaps made for presentation.). Hibbard, 1975, p. 189. Keller, 1975 (Ideal female head, in spirit of younger Sibyls of the Sistine; c. 1520.). Keller, 1976, fig. 164 (Ideal Head of an ancient heroine; a Presentation Drawing.). De Tolnay, 1976, Corpus II, no. 323 (Head of a woman, 1525–30.). Pignatti, 1977, no. 20 (Head of a woman; survey of opinion on purpose and dating.). Murray, 1980, p. 154 (1532–4?). Lamarche-Vadel, 1981, p. 136, no. 157 (1522–34.). Pignatti, 1981, p. 110 (“[L]inked with the group of so-called ‘finished drawings’, datable to around 1522.”). Hirst, 1988, p. 108 (Earlier than the drawings made for Perini.). Hirst, 1988–9a, no. 23 (1518–20; represents a young man.). Perrig, 1991, pp. 77–8, 139–40, fig. 65 (By Cavaliere.).

CATALOGUE 32

Recto: Head of a Bearded Man in Left Profile
Verso: Various Studies

1846.68; R.11; P.II 322; Corpus 310

Dimensions: 155 × 125 mm. Severely cut down.

Watermark: An orb, with a crescent-shaped insert at the top, with a line proceeding out of it; the lower part of the



orb inscribed, apparently with a letter which might be T, and a convoluted shape, which might be a decorated L. Not in Roberts.

Medium

Recto: Red chalk.

Verso: Pen and ink, red chalk, traces of black chalk.

Condition

There is a slightly sloping horizontal pressed-out fold and a minor crease. Major vertical and edge tear repairs, fractures, supported skinned holes, small "pin" holes, and other repaired corner damage and toned infills are visible. There is general discolouration and ingrained dirt.

Description

Verso

Some of the drawings on the verso are difficult to interpret; this side of the sheet was no doubt flattened and abraded when it was laid down. However, it does seem that the work in pen lies above that in red chalk.

Top line

A. Pen: a bust-length outline study of a nude woman seen from the front, her head turned to her right, looking down, with her right arm drawn across her body; perhaps by Antonio Mini.

B. Pen: a sketch of a male figure seen from the front, with his head turned slightly to his left. His right elbow may be



bent outwards, with the right hand resting on the right hip; perhaps by Antonio Mini.

C. Red chalk: a series of scroll-like forms; perhaps by Michelangelo.

Second line

D. Left edge, red chalk: a double scroll bracket in profile; perhaps by Michelangelo.

E. Centrally placed, very faint red chalk, perhaps an offset: a female head seen from the front, turned to the left?; perhaps by Antonio Mini.

Discussion

As Whistler observed, this drawing, which has been drastically cut down, once showed two – possibly three – men in conversation, probably at half length: “Immediately to

the left of the principal head is a fragment of another head study, this time of a younger man turned slightly to the left, whose hair, right eye, jawline, neck and collar can be seen.” Like Cat. 29 the treatment is semi-caricatural. Whether or not the drawing has a specific subject is conjectural, but Michelangelo certainly planned a contrast between an angry old man and, it would seem, a calmer, younger onlooker.

Woodburn thought that the drawing was made from life. Michelangelo probably made quick jottings from casual observation, and it has plausibly been suggested that the old man on Cat. 14 recto was sketched from a figure noted in the street. Michelangelo clearly looked at vernacular facial types for the Ancestors of Christ. However, although the irascible old man who dominates the present composition may well be based on

observation, the planning of this sheet seems cogitated rather than jotted down, and its execution more laborious than that of a sketch.

As Whistler further notes, the expression, apparently furious, inevitably recalls Leonardo's shouting heads for the *Battle of Anghiari*, one of which, planned in a drawing now in Budapest (Inv. 1775 recto; black chalk, 191 × 188 mm) was the inspiration for Michelangelo's famous *Anima Damnata* (Uffizi 601E/ B187/Corpus 306; black chalk, 288 × 205 mm), one of the sheets presented to Gherardo Perini c. 1524. The present drawing also has links with Leonardo in conception: Leonardo's drawing in Windsor, of a Caesarian bust surrounded by leering faces (CP 12495; pen and ink, 260 × 205 mm), shows his interest in juxtaposing expressive heads at half-length, and in this, and the grotesque emphasis, Michelangelo is surely following in his footsteps. Too much is missing from the present drawing for it to be reconstructed, but like Leonardo, Michelangelo juxtaposed elderly and ugly faces with idealised younger ones, as is demonstrated by his drawing in Princeton (Gibbons 437; black chalk, 183 × 124 mm; see Joannides, 1995a), and this may have been part of the message here.

Michelangelo made his drawing over other sketches. Quite emphatic lines may be seen under the main character's hat, which Whistler interpreted as studies of an eye (cf. Cat. 28 verso) but which seem to the compiler to be curls of hair; more softly drawn, a tubular form protrudes upwards into the field from the lower right corner. These may well have been executed by his pupil Antonio Mini, as Panofsky suggested. Michelangelo probably began working on the sheet as a teaching exercise, but it seems soon to have metamorphosed into a Presentation Drawing. Whistler relates the present drawing to a famous one in Florence, probably representing the fourth-century Queen of Palmyra, Zenobia (Uffizi 598Erecto/B185/Corpus 307; black chalk 357 × 251 mm), another of Michelangelo's gifts to Perini. In that, as in the present drawing, the main head is executed densely while the subsidiary forms are drawn more loosely. There is also a similarity with another of Michelangelo's Presentation Drawings of about the same period (Uffizi 603E/B189; black chalk, 203 × 163 mm; rejected by many critics and sometimes attributed to Bacchiacca, but certainly an autograph work by Michelangelo) in the relation between the principal and subsidiary heads. However, the compiler would date the present drawing a little later than those, in the second half of the 1520s.

The verso, uncovered after 1992, contains a series of sketches whose authorship is problematic. The two red chalk sketches C and D might be by Michelangelo: The latter would presumably have been made in con-

nection with one of his architectural projects. The pen sketches A and B may be by Antonio Mini, but they show a level of accomplishment higher than he generally exhibits and, if by him, were presumably made towards the end of his time with Michelangelo. In motif, two of the drawings interestingly support the reminiscence of Leonardo noted of the recto. A seems to be a loose sketch, no doubt from memory, of Leonardo's standing *Leda*, executed as a painting during his period in Florence c. 1505, and now lost, though known from many contemporary copies, of which the earliest is probably Raphael's drawing in the Royal Collection (PW789; pen and ink over stylus, 308 × 192 mm) and innumerable later ones.

The sketch B, if the compiler's interpretation of it is correct, seems to take up a familiar Donatellesque pose. More surprising is C, the intertwined scrolls, which bears an unexpected resemblance to sections of the more stylised of Leonardo's drawings of *Deluges* in the Royal Collection, Windsor Castle (CP 12377–12384; all in black chalk, some with additions in pen and ink). The firmness of the line work in this small sketch could be that of Michelangelo. The larger form in the centre, E, might be by Mini, but the compiler is far from confident of this attribution, or that he has interpreted this drawing accurately.

The present sheet came from the Dukes of Modena and was perhaps one of the two drawings by Michelangelo recorded on exhibition in 1771. Much of the Modena collection was seized for the French state in 1796, perhaps advised by Wicar, through whose hands this drawing may – but cannot be proved to – have passed. Nothing seems to be known in detail about the sources of the Modenese drawings collection, and this provenance offers no clue to the present sheet's original recipient.

History

Duke of Modena; Jean-Baptiste Wicar?; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445, fragmentary); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Woodburn, 1836b, no. 33 ("This beautiful drawing is evidently from nature, and is highly interesting, from its extreme finish and truth."). Woodburn, 1842, no. 6 (As 1836.). Woodburn, 1846, no. 53 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1862, p. 4, pl. 11 ("[A]s if singing. . . Evidently from nature."). Fisher, 1865, II, p. 23, pl. 11 (As 1862.). Robinson, 1870, no. 11 ("[D]esign borders on caricature and recalls in some degree the well-known grotesque heads of Leonardo da Vinci" datable between 1500 and 1512.). Ruskin, 1872, p. 99 ("Passing by."). Fisher, 1872, II, p. 21, pl. 11 (As



Discussion

This famous drawing shares features with some of the other drawings catalogued here, and it too was dated by de Tolnay to c. 1500. Although this is not acceptable, it is clear why he thought so, since there are distinct similarities with a drawing that probably is of that period, in Haarlem (Teyler Museum A22/VT 45/Corpus 10; pen and ink, 269 × 194 mm).

It seems unlikely that the drawing was made with a specific project in mind. Obviously, in the case of an artist like Michelangelo, who frequently surprises, dogmatism would be unwise. Thus, the figures, who seem to be dressed in stylised uniforms might, in principle, be bystanders in a multi-figure *Crucifixion*, at least one example of which Michelangelo designed in this period, but they seem too caricatural to make such an idea plausible. Indeed Robinson's description is too acute not to quote: "The group seems to represent a soldier, with a sympathising companion leaning on his shoulder, disputing or arguing some knotty point with a civilian, whose cringing and obsequious attitude, at the same time expressive of feigned astonishment, is in almost ludicrous contrast with the erect bearing and earnest yet bewildered expression of the soldier."

The figures may have been drawn simply with satirical intent, sending up individuals Michelangelo disliked, possibly during the siege of Florence, when troops were very visible. Alternatively, they could have been made for Antonio Mini, or another student, to demonstrate the absurdity of some types of discourse. What the drawing does show is that to Michelangelo's highly developed gift for verbal satire was added one for graphic satire, but drawings of this type, in which he relaxed, were probably among the first to be destroyed. The drawing's caricatural qualities were well brought out by Robinson, but it must be admitted that the employment of two of these figures by Battista Franco in his painting of the *Battle of Montemurlo*, would seem to counteract such an interpretation.

As noted by Parker and others, the inscriptions are mutilated and show that the sheet was once larger. They date to 1526 and probably preceded the drawing. Frey, followed by Dussler, placed the *ricordi* between others datable between 23 June and 5 July 1526 on sheets now in the British Library.

Battista Franco's knowledge of this drawing was probably direct, and not through a copy by Raffaello da Montelupo. The provenance, however, provides no clues as to the first owner of the drawing – only that it seems never to have been in Casa Buonarroti.

Drawn Copies

1. Christie's sale, New York, 25 January 2005, lot 32; pen and ink, 364 × 239 mm, all four corners chamfered, the lower left corner additionally cut and made up.

This drawing is identical with that owned and discussed by Jonathan Richardson Senior, who describes the relation between it, which he believed to be by Battista Franco, and Michelangelo's original which he also owned (see following discussion). The sheet indeed bears the stamp of the elder Richardson. On its reappearance, its superiority to 2 was immediately evident, and it was widely agreed to be by Battista Franco.

From the collections of Jonathan Richardson Senior, John Barnard, Thomas Hudson, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sir Thomas Lawrence, and Samuel Woodburn. This version was etched by J. Basire in 1763 in the same direction and at precisely the same size as the original, inscribed: *Bat.a Franco del.t after Mic. Angelo*. In the collection of Mr Tho.s Hudson, Painter. J. Basire Sc.t, 1763, CR edid.t. Republished by Rogers, 1778, I, facing p. 71 (Basire's etching shows the chamfered corners found both in this version and 2, and the drawing is set on a Richardson-style mount). Franco's copy was evidently shown in Woodburn's 1836 exhibition above the original.

2. Plymouth, City Art Gallery and Museum, Cottonian Collection, CD98; pen and ink, 366 × 246 mm, all four corners chamfered (illustrated by Dussler, 1959, fig. 179), acquired for the Cottonian Collection by the museum in 1918. This drawing, whose mount bears a pencilled inscription to Battista Franco, was, when it was purchased, assumed to be identical with the copy by Franco described by Jonathan Richardson Senior, later owned by Charles Rogers and etched by Basire. This seems generally to have been accepted until Parker pointed out that there were numerous irreconcilable differences between the Plymouth drawing – which bears no collectors' marks – and Basire's etching and that it could not therefore be the Richardson–Rogers version. The reappearance of 1 proved Parker correct. Given the fact that the corners of the Plymouth sheet are chamfered in exactly the same way as 1, it might seem reasonable to conclude that it is a copy after it, made to deceive, at some time between 1836 and 1918, a period when 1 was lost to sight. However, although, as Parker noted, the presence of a pentiment in the chin of the central figure in the Plymouth drawing – a pentiment not reproduced in Basire's etching – does suggest that the draughtsman knew Michelangelo's original, the penwork is otherwise sufficiently different both from the original and Franco's copy, 1 (or copies, 1 and 3) to make unlikely the possibility that it is a forgery.

The Plymouth drawing is more probably an independent copy after Michelangelo's original by an unidentified sixteenth-century artist – perhaps from the circle of Bandinelli – less concerned than Franco to reproduce the master's penwork. The sheet's corners may have been chamfered by an owner or dealer prior to 1918 to make it conform with the then unlocated drawing by Battista Franco, as it would have been known through Basire's etching.

3. Private Collection, France; pen and ink (and lead-point for a small sketch of a face at the lower left of the recto), 355 × 251 mm. This copy is on the recto of a double-sided sheet, reproduced by de Tolnay, 1975, *Corpus* I, p. 28, as (formerly?) in Norfolk, Virginia, Payne-Ott Collection; it was previously in the Ludwig Pollack collection, and bears his stamp (L.788b) at the lower right of the recto.

The pen-work on both sides of this sheet, known to the compiler in a laser-print more legible than the poor reproduction in the *Corpus*, strongly suggests the authorship of Battista Franco. Although the recto is very faded, enough of the handling is visible to support this attribution. The verso, a copy after a Dionisiac sarcophagus in the Vatican, which is in better condition, also conforms with Battista's style. A somewhat weaker version of the verso drawing exists in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle (8360; pen and ink over lead-point, 178 × 317 mm, from the paper museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo; Blunt, 1971, no. 182 as attributed to Battista Franco) and this, as de Tolnay also suggested, may well be by Girolamo da Carpi, who was in contact with Battista Franco in Rome in the mid-1550s and who seems to have copied some of his drawings.

Other explanations are, of course, possible. It could be argued that both sides of this sheet are copies after Battista Franco by Girolamo da Carpi, which would relegate the Windsor drawing to the status of a copy after Girolamo, but on balance the compiler thinks it more likely that both sides of 3 are by Battista. In further support of this may be cited the small sketch, at the lower left of the recto, of a Michelangelesque face seen from the front, tilted at an angle of forty-five degrees to the vertical. This is radically unlike anything in Girolamo's work, but would readily fit with Battista's. This face, which bears some relation to facial studies by Mini, occurs on neither of the other two copies. It could well reflect a drawing by Michelangelo, such as the tilted faces on the recto and verso of a sheet in the British Museum (W33/Corpus 236; red and black chalk, 255 × 350 mm), both of which have been incised for transfer.

Alternatively, it could be argued that 1, despite its distinguished pedigree, is merely a facsimile copy of the recto of 3 by another hand. The attribution of 1 to Franco has not been challenged, and it seems satisfactory to the compiler who finds no difficulty accepting that Franco made more than one quasi-facsimile copy after Michelangelo's drawing. However, the additional head on the recto of 3 would suggest – although not prove – that it came before 1: It is more common for copies and second versions to simplify than to complicate.

Painted Copies

1. Florence, Palazzo Pitti, *The Battle of Montemurlo*, by Battista Franco; oil on panel, 173 × 134 cm. This allegorical painting, produced in 1538 to commemorate the victory of the forces of the young Cosimo de' Medici over the Florentine Republicans at the Battle of Montemurlo is virtually an anthology of borrowings from Michelangelo, to which are added at least one after a Raphael school composition known from a drawing of a *Tempest* also in the Ashmolean (P.II 577; pen and ink, 249 × 409 mm). Two of the three figures from the present drawing, which Franco would have had to hand in his own copy or copies, are prominent in the left foreground.

Etched Copy

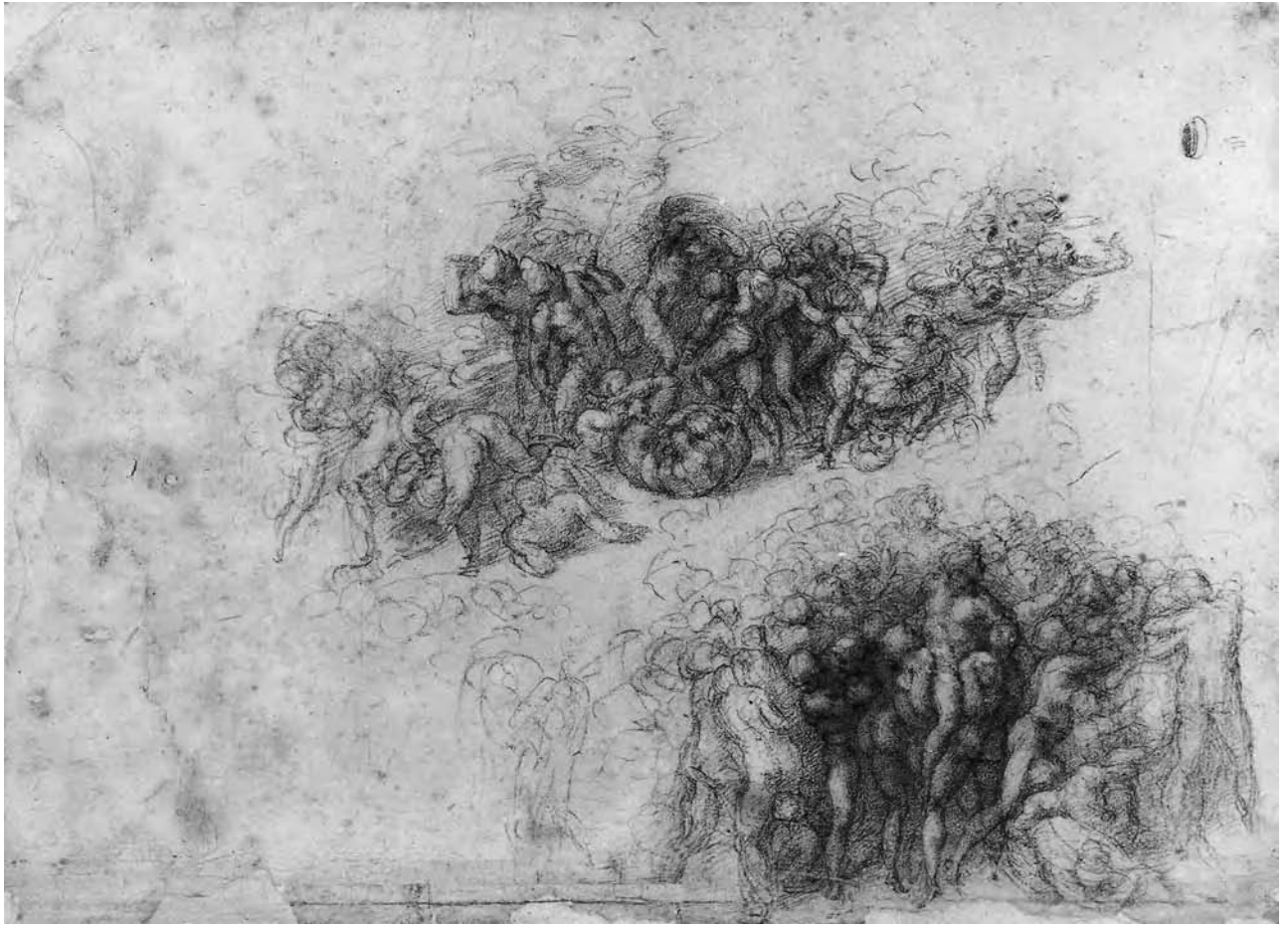
Published in aquatint by William Young Ottley, 1808–23, following p. 32, executed by W. Long under Ottley's direction, 1 May 1818, 393 × 262 mm.

History

Henry Trench? [Richardson does not give the name of the person from whom he acquired the drawing, but it is tempting to think that the “one who had just brought it from Abroad” was the painter and dealer Henry Trench, who returned from Italy to London in 1718, and whose version of Perino da Vinci's *Ugolino* Richardson describes enthusiastically in his *Science of a Connoisseur* on pp. 32–5]; Jonathan Richardson Senior (L.2184); Lord Spencer (L.1531) (his sale, 10 June 1811, etc., lot 475; “A conversation of three figures – masterly pen – R – The original from which Baptista Franco made that which is engraved in Roger's work of imitations.”); bought Champernowne, £5 15s; William Young Ottley (his sale, 6 June 1814, etc., lot 1766; “One – three figures in conversation – masterly pen – R[ichardson]. The original from which Baptista Franco made the copy, engraved in Mr Rogers's work. CAPITAL. See note on the back.” £20.0.0); Sir Thomas Lawrence (no stamp); Samuel Woodburn.

References

- Richardson, 1719, pp. 167–9 (“I have perhaps one of the greatest Curiosities of This kind that can be seen, because I have both the Coppy, and the Original; both are of Great Masters, the Coppier was moreover the Disciple of him he endeavour’d to Imitate, and had Accustom’d himself to do so, for I have several Instances of it, which I am very certain of tho’ I have not seen the Originals. *Michelangelo* made That I am now speaking of, and which I Joyfully purchased lately of one who had just brought it from Abroad; ’tis a Drawing with a Pen upon a large half sheet, and consists of 3 Standing Figures: the Coppy is of *Battista Franco*, and which I have had for several years, and always judg’d it to be what I Now find it is. ’Tis an amazing thing to see how Exactly the Measures are follow’d, for it does not appear to have been done with any other help than the Correctness of the Eye, if it has been trac’d off, or measur’d throughout, it is strange that the Liberty should be preserv’d that is seen in it; *Battista* has also been exact in following every stroak, even what is purely Accidental, and without any meaning; so that one woud think he endeavoured to make as just a Coppy as possible, both as to the Freedom, and Exactness. But Himself is seen throughout most apparently: as great a Master as he was, he could no more counterfeit the Vigorous, Blunt pen of *Michelangelo*, and that Terrible Fire that is always seen in Him, than he could have manag’d the club of *Hercules*.”). Ottley, 1808–23, p. 33 (cites Richardson; notes that Franco’s copy is engraved in Rogers, adds “another old copy is in my own possession; and I have seen others.” Reproduced following p. 3.). Lord Spencer, his sale, 10 June 1811, etc., lot 475 (“A conversation of three figures – masterly pen – R – *The original from which Baptista Franco made that which is engraved in Roger’s work of imitations*”). Ottley sale, 6 June 1814, etc., lot 1766 (“One – three figures in conversation – masterly pen – R[ichardson]. The original from which Baptista Franco made the copy, engraved in Mr Rogers’s work. CAPITAL. See note on the back.”). Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonaroti, Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–68i] (“Two [sic] figures conversing, pen, with a copy by B. Franco, very capital.”). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 52 (“[T]he copy by B. Franco is also in this Cabinet, so that the comparison can still be readily made.”). The Athenaeum, 16 July 1836 (“no. 53, ‘Figures Disputing’. *Battista Franco*’s imitation overhead (not, by the bye, so faithful to the line as Richardson pronounces) is the best evidence of that amazing vigour and boldness, distinguishing the original.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 44 (“There is a copy of it by B. Franco which belonged to Sir T. Lawrence.”). Woodburn, 1846, no. 8 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1852, p. 4, pl. 14 (“[I]nteresting . . . observations of its former possessor.”). Fisher, 1865, I, p. 17, pl. 14 (As 1852.). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 15, pl. 14 (As 1852.). Robinson, 1870, no. 1 (Perhaps before 1500; like [Cats. 24, 58].). Black, 1875, p. 213, no. 1. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 237. Fisher, 1879, I/1 (“A soldier with a sympathizing companion apparently debating some matter with a civilian.”). Wölfflin, 1891, p. 66 (*Michelangelo*: “Anfang des zweiten römischen Aufenthalts.”). Morelli, 1891–2, col. 544 (“Cambiaso als Nachahmer des *Michelangelo*.”). Berenson, 1903, I, p. 184, no. 1545 (“One of the most brilliant and, in some respects, one of the most troublesome of *Michelangelo*’s drawings,” with close analysis of technique. Sistine period, perhaps for a medallion.). Thode, 1908, I, p. 264 (*Michelangelo*, perhaps for a Sistine medallion.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 197 (Not *Michelangelo*. Umbrian, near Signorelli, but verso inscription in part by *Michelangelo* relating to concerns of 1526.). Thode, 1913, no. 387 (“[D]es Feldherrn Auftrag”; has doubted it but now accepts it; no longer believes it to be of the Sistine period, but of the time of siege of Florence.). Voss, 1920, I, p. 118 (p. 100 of English ed.), (*Battista Franco*). Zoff, 1923, pl. 52. Berenson, 1935, pp. 263–4. (By *Andrea di Michelangelo* who may be *Stefano di Tommaso Lunetti*). Berenson, 1938, I, p. 362, no. 1545 (As 1935.). Delacre, 1938, pp. 77–8 (*Michelangelo*: “particulièrement fort et jamais contesté” [sic]; critique of Berenson’s reconstruction of “*Andrea*.”). Goldscheider, 1951, p. 179 and fig. 203 (*Battista Franco*). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 49 (“[T]his brilliant if unusual drawing . . . can be by no one but *Michelangelo*” c. 1526. Copy by *Battista Franco* in Plymouth.). Parker, 1956, no. 326 (“[I]nscriptions by *Michelangelo* and *Bernardino di Pietro Basso* show that the sheet must have been very much larger, and that the writing preceded the drawing in date.” Attribution to *Michelangelo* “on balance of evidence remains preferable to any other yet made” but an attribution to *Battista Franco* “not to be lightly dismissed.” Link with [Cat. 24].). Dussler, 1959, no. 596 (Rejected. Not Mini, perhaps *Battista Franco*. *Ricordi* on verso by *Michelangelo* and Mini and datable 23 June–5 July 1526.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1545 (As 1903/1938.). Goldscheider, 1965, pl. Xe (As 1951.). Hartt, 1971, p. 390 (Rejected.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 102 (“Wilde surely right in his emphatic acceptance of the traditional attribution . . . superficial resemblance of the graphic technique to *Franco*’s can be accounted for by his intense admiration for *Michelangelo*; . . . fully compatible with . . . *Michelangelo*’s rough pen sketches.”). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 9 (*Michelangelo*, c. 1526. Position of legs of central figure derives, according to P. Meller, from a Bacchic sarcophagus engraved by *Battista*



Franco, B.XIV, 134,45. Verso: inscriptions in two different hands.). Hirst, 1988, p. 11 (Close to caricature.). Van Tuyll van Serooskerken, 2000, pp. 93–4 (This drawing and Cat. 24 recto seem later and more developed than the sheet in Haarlem, A22/VT45/Corpus 10.). Lauder, 2003, pp. 97–8, 111 (Discussion of the three copies.).

CATALOGUE 34

Recto: Stories of the Brazen Serpent
 Verso: An Anatomical Sketch
 1846.64; R.29; P.II 318; Corpus 266

Dimensions: 244 × 335 mm

Medium

Red chalk – in two different colours on the recto; an indecipherable detail in pen and ink on the recto.

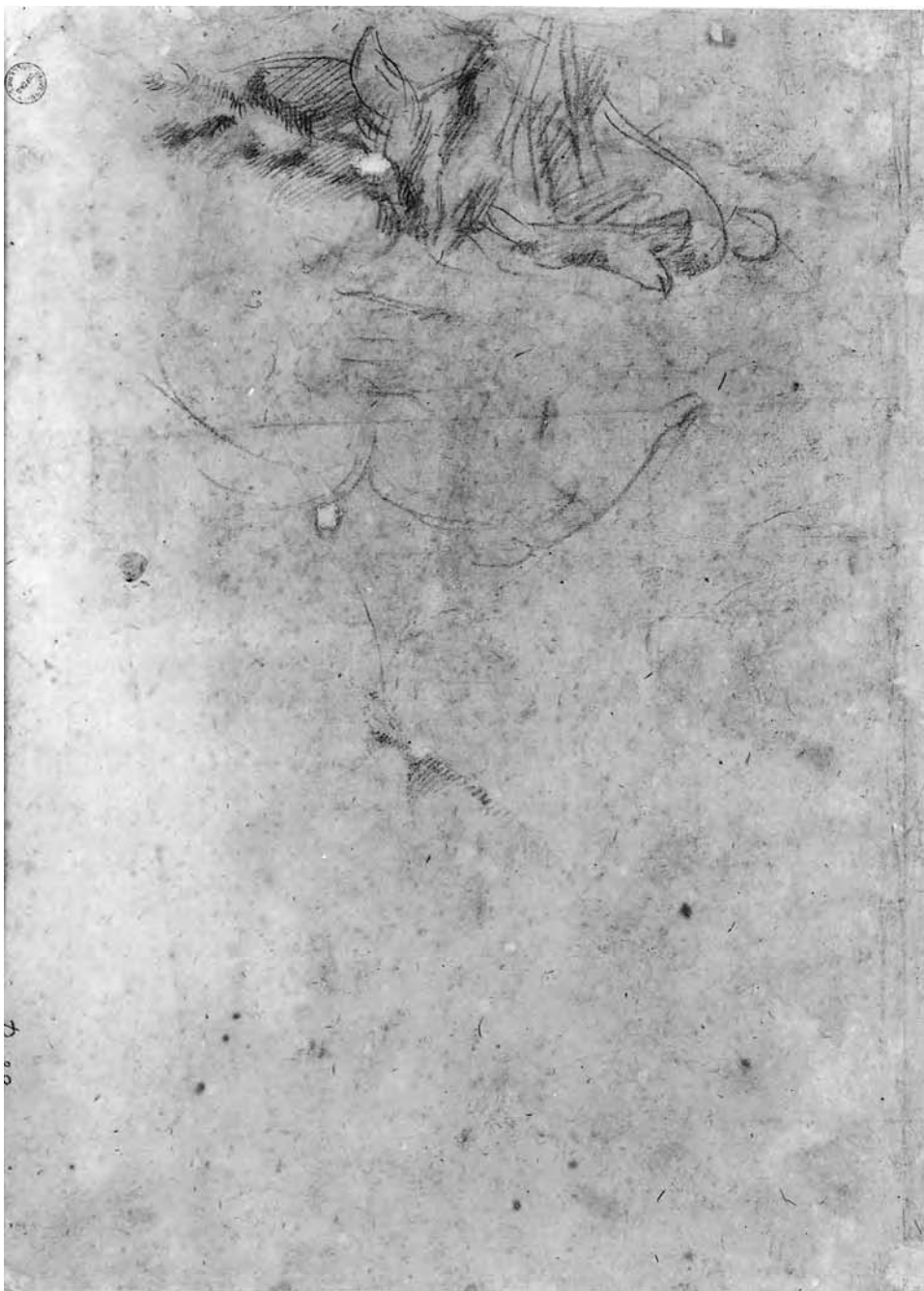
Condition

There is uneven pulp, and inherent wrinkles at the left margin. There are a number of major tear and toned infill repairs, a deep diagonal scratch, skinning, and fibrous accretions at the edges. The sheet has extensive uneven discolouration from adhesive residues, some foxing and a vertical dark line.

Discussion

Although Parker contested it, the drawing on the recto of this sheet clearly represents two distinct episodes in the story of the *Brazen Serpent*, probably planned as a pair. The upper group in a darker, liverish chalk, shows the attack of the serpents; the lower, in a lighter, orange-tinged chalk, shows the sufferers' salvation as they worship the brazen serpent raised by Moses on a cross – an episode taken as a prefiguration of Christ's Crucifixion.

The motif of biting serpents, initially inspired by the *Laocoon*, reappears in Michelangelo's work. The most famous is the fresco of the *Brazen Serpent* on the Sistine ceiling, but a snake also appears in the *Last Judgement*, biting the penis of Minos, and Michelangelo represented



the episode of the serpents' attack in two drawings, about contemporary with the present one, now in Düsseldorf (see discussion that follows). The subject was also treated by Antonio Mini (Uffizi 18721F recto/B175/Corpus 149 and CB 37F/B170, both probably after lost drawings by Michelangelo) and by direct followers of Michelangelo working in his manner, as in a drawing in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon (Inv. 1971-115) attributed to Clovio (see Costamagna, 1992, p. 171). The subject was obviously ideal for Michelangelo, with figures struggling against bonds, like the Slaves. The present page also

gave him the opportunity to revive ideas tried in studies for *Cascina* and associated projects around 1505. The man running forward in the upper group reprises the running figure from the combat between infantry and cavalry, Cat. 5, and the man supported by two others in the lower group develops a trio treated in somewhat different form in drawings in the British Museum (W5 recto/Corpus 46; black chalk, 315 × 278 mm) and the Louvre (Inv. 718 recto/J9/Corpus 47; black chalk over stylus indentation, 334 × 174 mm). At least one of these figures is anticipatory: The small figure seen from the back

at the lower left of the upper group was reprised for the angel supporting the Column in the upper right lunette of the *Last Judgement*.

As remarked by H. Chapman (personal communication) some of the serpents are winged, which, quite apart from zoological insouciance on Michelangelo's part, suggests that he may have drawn tangential inspiration from the assault of the Harpies as described in the *Aeneid*.

The purpose of the present drawing is unknown. It was argued by Popp that the two studies were made in preparation for scenes to be painted in the lunettes above the ducal tombs in the New Sacristy, and this view has been followed by several scholars. It is now known that these areas were to be filled with moulded sculpture, not paintings, but Popp's hypothesis has recently cautiously been revived by Zentai, who points out that copies of the present drawing made by Raffaello da Montelupo are to be found on the same sheets as copies by him after Michelangelo's *modello* for the ducal tomb. That Raffaello worked as a sculptor for Michelangelo in 1533 and 1534, and might have been delegated to make reliefs for the lunettes, obviously adds weight to Zentai's view. It could be reinforced by noting that, as copied by Raffaello, Michelangelo's groups are made more compact than in the present drawing and less unsuitable for the spaces above the tombs. Nevertheless, the compiler remains sceptical of this proposal. The designs, certainly in the present drawing and even in Raffaello's abbreviated versions, still seem too complex to carry at the distance required. Furthermore, neither group, even in Raffaello's versions, is composed as a lunette, a shape that would surely have been Michelangelo's starting-point for any composition planned to fit them. If these drawings were made in preparation for paintings or sculptures to be executed by another artist, their specific purpose remains unknown. However, it is also possible that they were made in preparation for a Presentation Drawing. Some Presentation Drawings were sufficiently complicated to require graphic preparation: The *Bacchanal of Infants*, for example, was prepared in an elaborate drawing now in Bayonne (Inv. 650 verso/Bean 69/Corpus 337; black and red chalk, 195 × 300 mm). Two larger red chalk drawings of the *Brazen Serpent*, in the Kunst Palast, Düsseldorf (F.P. 138, 250 × 265 mm, bearing a watermark Briquet 7392, found on paper employed by Michelangelo in the second half of the 1520s, and F.P. 139, 225 × 263 mm), attributed to Michelangelo by the compiler (Joannides, 1996b), while unrelated formally to the present groups, were probably done around the same period. But these compositions, which would indeed

have made effective reliefs, are designed as rectangles, not lunettes. Finally, two figures of spearmen on a sheet in the British Museum (W33 verso/Corpus 236; red chalk, 255 × 350 mm) are, as Wilde remarked, similar to figures in the present drawing, but not so close that one can be certain that they were made for the same purpose.

The date of the present sheet is likely to be of the early 1530s. The copies listed later, formerly believed to be by Francesco da Sangallo until Nesselrath observed that they were by Raffaello da Montelupo, would presumably have been made while Raffaello was working with Michelangelo in the second half of 1533 and the first three quarters of 1534 (see Cat. 66). The attribution to Raffaello is reinforced, if that were needed, by the fact that a number of these copies plus others after drawings by Michelangelo (some of which do not survive in the "original") and works by other artists were in turn copied by Raffaello da Montelupo's pupil, Giovanni Antonio Dosio (or re-copied by Raffaello himself), in an album of 153 folios in the Biblioteca Estense, Modena (YZ. 2 2.; pen, average page size 200 × 140 mm), which was probably made in Rome in the 1560s or 1570s. Indeed, the upper group of the present sheet was known in Rome in the 1570s, for it was employed in a fresco scheme in the frieze of the Galleria of Palazzo Sacchetti in the via Giulia in Rome, which has plausibly been attributed to Daniele da Volterra's pupil, Giacomo Rocca (for further comment on this scheme see Cat. 22). This fact would suggest that the present sheet had some circulation. Of course, Giacomo Rocca's knowledge of it – certainly via his master Daniele da Volterra – could, in principle, have come from a copy, but none of those now known – certainly none of those by Raffaello – would have provided sufficient information for Giacomo. It is conjectural whether Giacomo knew the original or a more precise copy of its upper group than is now known. If the former, one would have to assume that the present sheet was either donated to or acquired by the Casa Buonarroti at some later date and did not descend directly from Michelangelo. Some support is given this idea by the fact that it was not included among the copies made by Commodi, to whom, one would have thought, such small active figures would have appealed.

The slight anatomical sketch on the verso cannot firmly be connected with any other drawing or project, but the form suggests a date not far removed from 1530. As a conjecture, it might have been made in connection with the shoulders and neck of the *Victory*, an area of the statue to which Michelangelo devoted considerable graphic attention.

Drawn Copies

1. Uffizi 606E recto/Petrioli Tofani, 1986, p. 269; pen and ink, 202 × 139 mm. Abbreviated copy of the lower episode of the *Brazen Serpent*. Attributed in the Uffizi to Aristotile da Sangallo but undoubtedly by Raffaello da Montelupo, predominantly a left-handed draughtsman. Raffaello on occasion collaborated with both Francesco and Aristotile da Sangallo, which may explain the confusion. The companion sheet, Uffizi 607E/Petrioli Tofani, 1986, p. 270; pen, 200 × 136 mm, which contains sketches after the whole (recto) and details (verso) of an early *modello* by Michelangelo for the Magnifici Tomb is also by Raffaello. The page sizes of 606E and 607E are very close to that of the 92 leaf sketchbook, 210 × 138 mm, in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille (Brejon de Lavergnée, 717–808), which is predominantly by Raffaello but which includes a few pages by Aristotile. The Lille sketchbook largely comprises architectural drawings, and Raffaello could have kept a second sketchbook devoted to copies of sculptural projects. However, the final page of the Lille sketchbook contains a copy after a lost drawing by Michelangelo for the *Hercules and Antaeus* project (see Cat. 30) and it may be that it was followed by pages comprising primarily figure drawings, including Uffizi 606E and 607E, Budapest 1959, and the lost sheet formerly in Dresden.

2. Budapest 1959, pen and ink, 192 × 141 mm. Formerly attributed to Aristotile da Sangallo but now accepted as by Raffaello da Montelupo (Zentai, 1998, no. 23) and perhaps from the same sketchbook as Uffizi 606E and 607E. The recto carries an abbreviated copy of the upper episode of the *Brazen Serpent*. The verso bears a loose copy of some of the figures on Michelangelo's *modello* for a ducal tomb, now in the Louvre, Inv. 837/J27 (see Cat. 63 for some discussion of the companion sheet, Inv. 838/J26). This has been taken to support the connection of the recto group – and hence the present sheet – with the New Sacristy. Zentai points out that a lost sheet of drawings of unrecorded dimensions, formerly in Dresden (illustrated by de Tolnay, 1948, fig. 230) was probably en-suite with Uffizi 606E and 607E and Budapest 1959.

3. Düsseldorf, Kunst Palast, F. P.151, pen and ink over traces of black chalk, 230 × 160 mm. The recto, divided into two levels, which are drawn in different colours of ink, carries a copy of Uffizi 606E recto (i.e., the lower episode of the *Brazen Serpent*, above) and a copy of Budapest 1959 recto (i.e., the upper episode of the *Brazen Serpent*, below). It was presumably made by a right-handed pupil or associate of Raffaello: It is attributed

at Düsseldorf to Guglielmo della Porta, but Giovanni Antonio Dosio is also a possible candidate. The upper part of the verso of Düsseldorf F. P.151 contains part copies after Uffizi 607 verso and the lower part a simplified and more compact variant of the façade of San Silvestro al Quirinale as found on page 23 verso of the Lille sketchbook. This conjunction implies that Uffizi 607E, Budapest 1959, and the Lille sketchbook were together when the Düsseldorf draughtsman copied them.

4. Uffizi 6907F; pen and ink, brush and wash, 128 × 259 mm (irregular). A partial copy of the upper episode, probably indirect. Now classed as Clemente Bandinelli, the sheet bears an old inscription to Baccio Bandinelli. It seems to the compiler to have nothing to do with either artist but rather to stem from the circle of Guglielmo della Porta.

5. Uffizi 17371F; black chalk, 174 × 265 mm. Copy in outline of part of the upper episode of the *Brazen Serpent*, attributed to an anonymous eighteenth-century artist. This drawing, formerly given to Antonio Domenico Gabbiani, 1652–1726, and illustrated as such by Steinmann, 1905, II, p. 636, was certainly not made from Michelangelo's original, but from an earlier copy, probably, but not certainly, 2. It thus provides no evidence for the location of the original during the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. However, copies after Michelangelo are uncommon in this period and reproductions of his drawings, even indirect, are rare; in this context, it is worth mentioning several relevant copies among the Gabbiani drawings in the Uffizi (although whether they are by him is debatable; in the compiler's view, it is more likely that they simply formed part of his estate). They are:

- a. 14722F, pen and ink, 110 × 219 mm, copied after Uffizi 607E verso, upper reclining figure.
- b. 14724F, pen and ink, 162 × 219 mm, copied after Uffizi 607E verso, lower reclining figure and relief compositions.

These two copies were no doubt made on the same sheet and subsequently divided: Taken together they reproduce accurately the layout of Uffizi 607E verso.

- c. 14723F, pen and ink, 167 × 198 mm, copied after the two figures in Michelangelo's fragmentary drawing of an unidentified subject (Uffizi 618E/B145/Corpus 355; pen and ink, 90 × 65 mm), and the sketch of a figure carrying another on his back from a copy after a lost drawing by Michelangelo for the Sistine *Flood* (Uffizi 617E/B212/Corpus 127; pen and ink, 149 × 212 mm).

- d. 14766F, pen and ink, 427 × 261 mm, copied after Raffaello da Montelupo's copy of a lost Michelangelo drawing of the legs of a seated figure, no doubt for one of the Medici dukes (Uffizi 622E/B205/Corpus 223; pen and ink, 212 × 268 mm).
 - e. 14776F, pen and ink, 258 × 219 mm, copied after Uffizi 607E recto (identified by Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, inscription on mount). This drawing is on paper bearing the watermark Roberts Cross B, datable around 1500, implying that it, and presumably the other copies in this series, are of sixteenth- rather than eighteenth-century origin.
 - f. 16292F, pen and ink, 140 × 200 mm, copied after Michelangelo's two preliminary sketches, once joined, of *Prophets* for the Sistine ceiling (Uffizi 17379F and 17380F/B13 and B14/Corpus 151 and 152; pen and ink, both 108 × 62 mm).
6. Formerly Hugh Blaker Collection, from the collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445), red chalk, 130 × 194 mm. Exhibited Leicester Galleries Exhibition, no. 877, March 1948, no. 41. A same-size copy of the lower group, tentatively attributed by Parker to Giulio Clovio.
 7. Copies of sections of both groups were made by Sir Edward Burne-Jones in 1866–7, on fols. 9 recto, 16 recto, and 17 recto of his sketchbook in the Fitzwilliam Museum, 1070–2 (see Østermark-Johansen, 1998, pp. 122, 125, fig. 31).

Painted Copy

Rome, Palazzo Sacchetti, Galleria, fresco in the frieze, which makes use, in modified form, of the upper group from the present drawing, not the abbreviated version on Uffizi 606E. The frescoes in this room are undocumented but were in all probability commissioned in the 1570s for the Ceuli family who then owned the palace. They were plausibly attributed by Luigi Salerno to Daniele da Volterra's pupil Giacomo Rocca (see Cat. 22).

History

A. Daniele da Volterra?; Giacomo Rocca?; Giuseppe Cesari, Il Cavaliere d'Arpino?; the Ciciaporci family and Filippo Ciciaporci?; Bartolommeo Cavaceppi?.

or

B. Casa Buonarroti?; Jean-Baptiste Wicar; Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

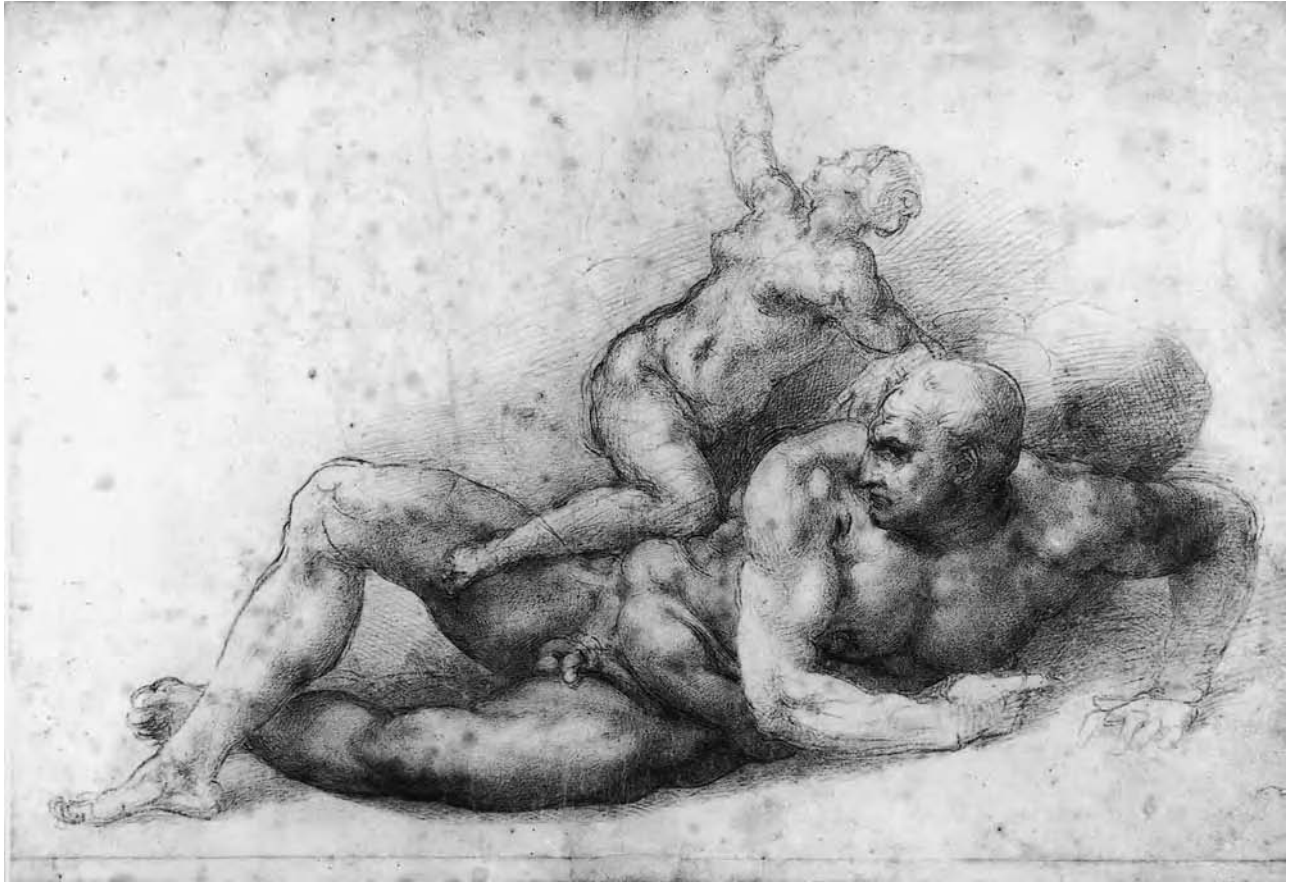
References

Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–58] (“A Crowd of persons looking at the Brazen Serpent, highly finished in red chalk, two

different studies on the same leaf.”). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 32 (“It forms part of the vault of the Sistine Chapel”; provenance given as M. Buonarroti and Wicar.). The Athenaeum, 16 July 1836 (One of the “[S]triking proofs of the ultimate degree to which Michael Angelo as well as Raffael, Leonardo, and all the great artists, carried elaboration; 32, in particular, is finished with a smoothness that Vanderwerff could not surpass, yet with a greatness of style such as no Dutchman ever dreamt of.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 11 (As 1836.). Woodburn, 1846, no. 37 (As 1842.). Robinson, 1870, no. 29 (Michel Angelo. “Although these admirable designs are entirely different from the well-known fresco on the ceiling, the agreement in the style of design render it highly probable that they were executed at the same time.” Two separate episodes: the attack of the serpents above and salvation sought from the brazen serpent below. A “pen sketch of the two men lifting up a third . . . [in the Uffizi] . . . does not appear to be an exact replica or copy of the group in the present drawing.”). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 29. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 221. Springer, 1878, p. 501 (Variant of Sistine composition.). Springer, 1883, I, p. 192 (As 1878.). Berenson, 1903, I, pp. 184–5, no. 1564 (For the Sistine spandrel. “An unsurpassed masterpiece of draughtsmanship . . . almost an epitome of Michelangelo, for, while we are, on the one hand, reminded of the juvenile *Centaurs and Lapithae*, we are, on the other hand, shot forward as far as the *Last Judgement*. Of parts of this late work there are suggestions here . . . in the very touch of the more loosely drawn figures. Indeed, had I but these figures alone, I should scarcely have suspected their having been done at so early a date.”). Ferri and Jacobsen, 1905, p. 32 (In relation to Uffizi 18721F/B175/Corpus 149 which shows subject in a roundel. An incomplete copy of the present drawing by Gabbiani in the Uffizi, 17371F, was made before it left the Buonarroti Collection.). Steinmann, 1905, II, pp. 296, 596, 635 (Studies for the pendentive composition in the Sistine chapel, but very different from it.); pp. 597, 636 (Gabbiani's copy reproduced.). Jacobsen, 1907, p. 396 (Any connection with Sistine fresco doubtful.). Thode, 1908, I, p. 251; II, p. 444 (Not for Sistine; link with “Acrobat” group on BM W5 recto/Corpus 46 and Louvre Inv. 718/J9/Corpus 47, but this not made for that. Datable to early 1530s, as Frey proposed. Notes Gabbiani copy and Düsseldorf FP 151. Connects subject with drawings in Casa Buonarroti 37F/B170 and Düsseldorf FP 138 and 139.). K. Frey, 1909–11, 51 (Not for Sistine; datable to 1530s; mood reminiscent of drawings for Cavalieri; some copies listed.). Thode, 1913, no. 417 (As 1908. For the middle group Michelangelo made use of an earlier

drawing, Louvre Inv. 718/J9/Corpus 47.). Gantner, 1920, p. 6 (Recto: for Sistine ceiling.). Panofsky, 1921–2, col. 36 (Not for Sistine; early 1530s.). Popp, 1922, pp. 159–62 (Two episodes, the *Attack of the Serpents* and the *Appeal to the Brazen Serpent*; studies for frescoes in the lunettes above the ducal tombs, developed from military scenes initially planned for these spaces. The man supported by two others in the centre of the lower scene developed from BM W5 recto/Corpus 46. All the drawings datable c. 1530. The upper scene developed from Cats. 4 and 5. It was originally planned to include military figures – i.e., the dukes – in these scenes, but that project changed after 1530.). Zoff, 1923, pl. 67. Brinckmann, 1925, no. 45 (c. 1532; two compositions; Popp's hypothesis apparently accepted.). Baumgart, 1937, p. 9 (For a fresco in the New Sacristy.). Berenson, 1938, I, pp. 349–50, no. 1564 (Rejects Popp's hypothesis about the New Sacristy but she “may possibly be right about the dating”; therefore, perhaps not for Sistine. Motif of two men lifting another similar to BM W5 recto/Corpus 46.). Delacre, 1938, pp. 246–8 (Not for Sistine; debatable whether BM W5 recto/Corpus 46 and Louvre Inv. 718/J9/Corpus 47 related. Uffizi 606E of high quality.). De Tolnay, 1943, p. 136 (Perhaps for lunettes of New Sacristy.). De Tolnay, 1948, pp. 49, 218, no. 107 (c. 1530. For New Sacristy. Upper scene planned for lunette above Lorenzo, lower one for that above Giuliano.). Goldscheider, 1951, no. 91 (Popp's suggestion “stimulating but cannot be proved”; “manner in which a mass of human figures . . . is combined to form an entity of movement, was . . . entirely new in Renaissance art . . . incunabulum of new manner, subsequently developed by El Greco as far as . . . the *Opening of the Fifth Seal* and by Rubens in his *Fall of the Damned*,” c. 1533). De Tolnay, 1951, p. 292 (Attack of serpent and the healing by the *Brazen Serpent*, c. 1530–2.). Wilde, 1953a, pp. 11, 28, 67 (c. 1528.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 98 (No evidence of the purpose for which it was drawn.). Parker, 1956, no. 318 (Datable c. 1528–30. Upper group shows attack, lower group the cure. “Little doubt that . . . they were conceived . . . as one, and that together they were to form the left-hand portion of a larger composition, having presumably the cross with the brazen serpent in the centre, and a right-hand portion adjoining it to correspond with the present one. The fact that the scale of the figures in the lower [nearer] group is somewhat larger than in the upper [more distant] one is significant.” The link with figures in BM W5 recto/Corpus 46 “may be accidental.” No connection with Sistine composition. Popp's theory “remains at best a specious conjecture, hinging, moreover, on the assumption, probably incorrect, that the two groups were conceived as

separate units.” Verso: a male thorax partly dissected at shoulders and neck.). Dussler, 1959, no. 195 (Two separate scenes. 1530–2. Purpose unknown; Popp's hypothesis implausible.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1564 (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1964a, p. 215 (CB 37F by Mini in part derived from this.). Barocchi, 1964c, no. 25 (Recto: links back to *Cascina* and forward to *Resurrection* drawings.). Brugnoli, 1964, no. 36 (From Michelangelo's last years in Florence; reprise of figural motifs from *Cascina*; Popp's hypothesis unproven.). Berti, 1965, pp. 450, 463 (c. 1530. Choral, dramatic quality.). Goldscheider, 1965, no. 88 (As 1951.). Hartt, 1971, no. 257 (Recto: 1520–5?. For the lunettes above the ducal tombs; perhaps refers to “Lutherans attacking the faithful with poisonous doctrine.”); no. 412 (Verso: 1545?. Close in style to [Cat. 49]. Study for the impenitent thief?). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 105 (“[A]round 1530 . . . purpose unknown.”). Keller, 1975, nos. 32–3 (c. 1530–2. Subject, shown at two moments, prefigures the Crucifixion; probably intended for the lunettes above the ducal tombs, with? BM W52/Corpus 46 for the lunette above the Magnifici tomb.). De Tolnay, 1975, fig. 231 (As 1951, “possibly for lunettes in the New Sacristy.”). Keller, 1976, fig. 165 (As 1975.). De Tolnay, 1976, Corpus II, no. 266 (Recto: as 1948; reprise of motifs from *Cascina* noteworthy. Verso: c. 1530.). Pignatti, 1977, no. 21 (Two episodes represented; survey of opinion on purpose and dating; emphasis on extraordinary quality.). De Tolnay and Brizio, 1980, no. 65 (As 1975, but omits “possibly.”). Joannides, 1981b, p. 683 (Recalls motifs in Leonardesque manner from *Cascina* studies.). De Vecchi, 1984, p. 121 (Cites Popp.). Hirst, 1986a, p. 44 (Reappearance of motif of a man being lifted by two others from Louvre Inv. 718 recto/J9/Corpus 47.). Perrig, 1991, pp. 31–2, 47, fig. 29 (Recto: copy; workshop of Clovio. Verso: workshop of Clovio.). Joannides, 1996a, pp. 161–2 (Implausible as a project for a New Sacristy lunette; perhaps a preliminary sketch for a Presentation Drawing.). Zentai, 1998, pp. 64–8 (The appearance of copies after different sections of the present drawing together with copies after lost or surviving drawings by Michelangelo for the Medici tombs on the sheets by or after Raffaello da Montelupo in the Uffizi, Düsseldorf, Dresden [formerly], and Lille reinforces Popp's hypothesis that the scenes of the *Brazen Serpent* were planned for the lunettes of the New Sacristy.). Perrig, 1999, pp. 233–4, 277 (As 1991; from Farnese Collection. Identifiable with a drawing described in Clovio's posthumous inventory, fol. 385v “Due Gruppi di Figurine piccole di Michelangelo Fatti da Don Giulio.” This reference is missing from the publication of the inventory by Steinmann and Wittkower, 1927, pp. 433–4.).



CATALOGUE 35

Samson and Delilah

1846.65; R.55; P.II 319; Corpus 297

Dimensions: 272 × 395 mm

Watermark: Robinson Appendix no. II. Roberts Anchor
F. Briquet 527, Verona, 1558.

Medium

Red chalk with subsequent? stylus indentation.

Condition

There is a central, vertical rope mark, a pressed-out horizontal fold with ingrained dirt, and other creases. The sheet has a tear repair, edge repairs, minor infills, a small hole with skinning, accretions, ingrained dirt, local staining, and widespread foxing.

Numbering

Robinson's numbering in graphite: 55.

Discussion

This drawing may have been made as a gift for one of Michelangelo's friends and, if so, was presumably acquired later for the Casa Buonarroti. However, it is not brought to the same degree of finish as most of his Presentation Drawings, and it could also be seen as a design for a work to be executed in relief sculpture or painting. It is similar both in conception and composition to Michelangelo's design of c. 1532 for the painting of *Venus and Cupid* to be executed by Pontormo for their common friend Bartolommeo Bettini. In both, a smaller figure clambers triumphantly over a larger one, but there is no evidence that the two compositions were planned as a pair. It is rather that the triumphal theme in the present drawing was re-used, with a more complex pattern of interaction between the two characters, in the *Venus and Cupid*. It was again recalled, more straightforwardly, in Michelangelo's sketches of *David and Goliath* of the 1550s (see Cat. 46a). The form of Samson also refers back to earlier work by Michelangelo: There are close resemblances between it and the conquered figures at the base of the *Victories* in Michelangelo's projects in Berlin (Inv. 15305 recto/Corpus 55; pen and ink with brush and wash over stylus indications and traces of black chalk, 525 × 343 mm)

and Florence (Uffizi 608E recto/B244/Corpus 56; pen and ink with brush and wash over black chalk, 290 × 361 mm) for the Julius Tomb.

An odd feature of the present drawing is that Samson's thigh is visible through Delilah's leg. Whether this was no more than carelessness on the part of an artist who was rarely careless, or whether Michelangelo was playfully acknowledging the artificiality of his conception is a matter for conjecture.

The drawing was presumably made c. 1530 and certainly before 1532 since it was copied by Antonio Mini – who left Florence late in 1531 – in a truncated sketch on the verso of a drawing by Michelangelo at Windsor (see discussion that follows). Indeed, it would be tempting to think that the subject of the drawing, sensual indulgence leading to loss of strength, might have been planned as a warning to Mini, who was involved in an unhappy love affair at about this time. However, had that been the case, one would have expected the drawing to have been taken by Mini to France; there is no indication that he did so, and the existence of sixteenth-century Italian copies after the drawing counts against it.

Vasari records that the young Francesco Salviati, whilst still in Florence, therefore before 1531, painted a *Samson and Delilah* for Francesco Sertini. Salviati's painting is lost or unidentified and since it is not described by Vasari, there is no way of knowing whether it reflected Michelangelo's influence, but, in principle, this is not unlikely.

The subject is not common in this period, but it is treated, realistically rather than symbolically, in a fine drawing by Polidoro da Caravaggio (Paris, Louvre, Inv. 6093; red chalk, 120 × 176 mm), which must be roughly contemporary with the present rendition.

The watermark found on the present sheet also occurs on Cats. 30 and 42, as Robinson noted.

Drawn Copies

1. Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, PW 425 verso/Corpus 236bis; red chalk, 248 × 119 mm. This copy, no doubt made from the original, and with virtual certainty by Antonio Mini, was truncated when some previous owner of the sheet cut it down to frame the recto drawing, a fine study of a Grotesque Head.

2. London, British Museum, 1946-7-13-365: W90; red chalk, outlines pricked, 275 × 383 mm. Early and probably made from the original and no doubt the basis for further versions of the composition lost or unidentified. Although the compiler would not feel confident in giving this drawing to Salviati, such an attribution would not be impossible.

3. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. 35433/J105; pen and ink with brown wash, 274 × 389 mm. Attributed by C. Monbeig Goguel to Marco Marchetti da Faenza. Marco treats the present drawing simply as an image and makes no effort to evoke modelling or texture. But he may very well have worked directly from Michelangelo's original since his version is identical in size, and he first drew Delilah's right foot placed on Samson's thigh, as in the original, and then cancelled it.

4. Oxford, Christ Church, 0086/JBS S1528, as after Baccio Bandinelli (?); pen and ink, 190 × 289 mm. This is not a copy of the Ashmolean drawing but is sufficiently close to it to warrant citing here. Byam Shaw is no doubt correct to place it in Bandinelli's circle.

History

Casa Buonarroti; Jean-Baptiste Wicar; Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti Case 3, Drawer 3, no. 24 [1830–261] (*Samson and Delilah*, in red chalk. "A most splendid drawing."). Woodburn, 1842, no. 31 ("[A] superb drawing."). Woodburn, 1846, no. 27 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1862, p. 4, pl. 10 ("[A] superb drawing, 1510–1512."). Fisher, 1865, II, p. 23, pl. 10 (As 1862.). Robinson, 1870, no. 55 ("[B]readth and gradation of light and shade which recalls the style of Correggio. The design appears to be essentially pictorial." Windsor fragmentary copy mentioned.). Fisher, 1872, II, p. 21, pl. 10 (As 1862.). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 50. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 221. Fisher, 1879, XXXVII/ 39 ("Probably produced between 1530 and 1540."). Portheim, 1889, p. 148 ("Falsch"; reminiscent of Correggio.). Berenson, 1903, I, p. 254 (More like Mini than Montelupo.); no. 1718 (Perhaps Raffaello da Montelupo "after some slight sketch" by Michelangelo.). Thode, 1908, II, p. 445 (Berenson's attribution not to be excluded, but the design is by Michelangelo; contemporary with his *Venus and Cupid*, late 1520s–early 1530s.). Thode, 1913, no. (434) (As 1908.). Popham, 1935b, p. 65 ("[T]he workmanship does not appear to be his."). Berenson, 1938, I, p. 256, no. 1718 (If by Mini, late.). Wilde, 1949, p. 250 (Style corresponds to that of *Labours of Hercules* [Windsor, PW423]; truncated copy of Samson at Windsor [PW425 verso] perhaps by Mini.). Goldscheider, 1951, no. 67 (1530. "This composition was the immediate source of . . . a *Venus and Cupid*." "Partial copy at Windsor by Antonio Mini."). Wilde, 1953a, p. 125 (c. 1528–30, of the type of his presentation sheets.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 97. Parker, 1956, no. 319 (Michelangelo, c. 1530.



Handling relates to Windsor labours of Hercules. Composition the forerunner of the *Venus and Cupid*. BM and Windsor copies listed.). Dussler, 1959, no. 624 (Copy.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1718 (As 1903/1938.). Goldscheider, 1965, no. 72 (As 1951.). Hartt, 1971, no. 466 (1540?. “Perhaps a presentation drawing.”). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 121 (Autograph, c. 1530.). De Tolnay, 1976, Corpus II, no. 297 (c. 1530. The composition follows *Venus and Cupid* and anticipates the Morgan Library *David and Goliath* drawings.). Joannides, 2002a, p. 200 (Relation to Michelangelo’s *Venus and Cupid* design of 1532.).

CATALOGUE 36

A Salamander Amid Flames?

1846.66; R.53a; PII 320; Corpus 304

Dimensions: 133 × 210 mm

Medium

Black chalk.

Condition

Undulation and distortion are visible within the centre of the sheet. There are edge nicks toned in with graphite on the backboard, corner, and edge; minor infills; some

abrasions; accretions; and a vertical incised line, possibly a tear. There is general discolouration from foxing. The primary support is drummed by four edges to the backboard of the mount so the verso is not visible.

Discussion

The scene is clearly unitary and the mood allegorical, although the recoiling figure and the zephyr were added by Michelangelo after he drew the animal. De Tolnay’s interpretation of this drawing, which sees it as an allegory of love and relates it to a madrigal by Michelangelo seems very reasonable.

*Se ‘l foco dal tutto nuoce
et me arde et non cuoce,
non è mia molta ne sua men virtute,
ch’io sol trove salute
ual salamandra, là dove altri muore;
né so chi in pace a tal martir m’ha volte.*

However, while the zephyr on the left might well be fanning the flames, the recoiling figure cannot very plausibly be seen as Orpheus.

Several scholars have suggested that there might be a relation to François Ier: It was well known in Italy that the salamander was one of his emblems, and Raphael had included them in a design for an incense burner to

be sent to the French king, one well known through Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving after it. However, a figure recoiling in fear from a salamander seems more likely to have been planned with some kind of temporary political significance. Michelangelo noted in the autumn of 1525 on a sheet in the British Museum (W35/Corpus 227; pen and ink, 137 × 209 mm) the (false) rumour that Francis I had died whilst in captivity in Spain, and one might conjecture – among other possibilities – that the present drawing was made in response to this news.

The present drawing has generally, and surely rightly, been linked with a sketch on a sheet in the British Museum, which might have formed one with the present sheet (W50/Corpus 305; black chalk, 127 × 92 mm). The British Museum sketch, reproduced horizontally by all scholars save Hartt, should, as he realised, be orientated vertically with the left edge as base; it shows a fantastic animal, with a greyhound's body – like the present drawing – and, apparently, a dragon-like head, sitting on its haunches in right profile, extending its right forepaw. The drawing is assumed by Wilde also to represent a salamander, which may be correct but is far from certain. It is made in a style reminiscent of Pontormo's loosest sketches, which might suggest some stylistic exchange.

Wilde suggested that the present drawing might have been done to assist Mini with potential commissions in France, but there is no evidence that the present sheet was ever part of Mini's cache, which one might have expected had that been so, and the presumed Casa Buonarroti provenance would count against it. Furthermore, neither of the animals resembles any of the sprightly salamanders placed above the frescoes in the Grande Galerie at Fontainebleau.

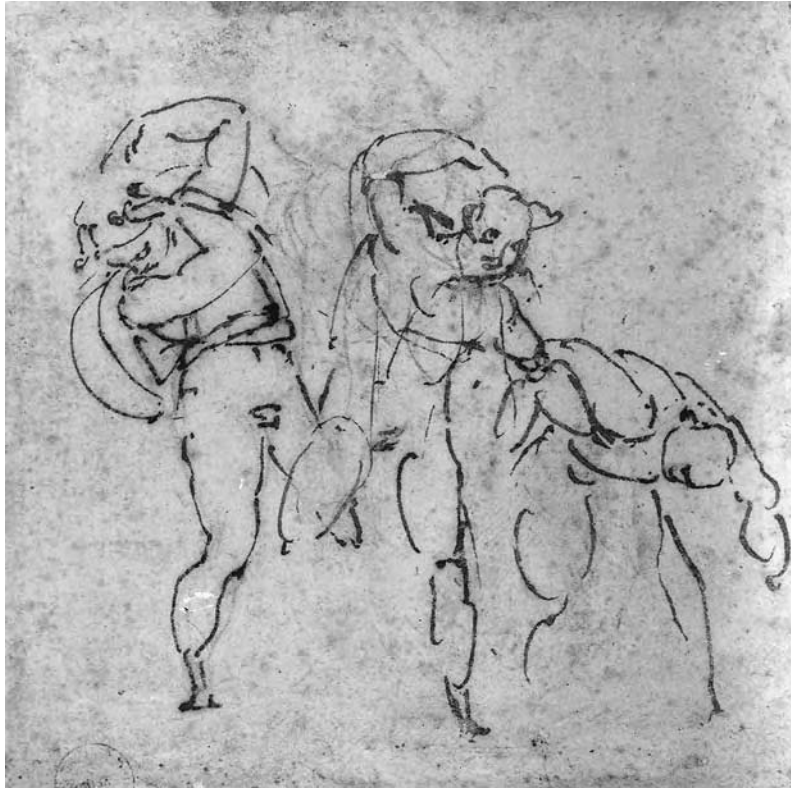
It seems likely that this drawing was part of lot 268 in Ottley's sale of 1804 and part of lot 1587 in 1814, in which case Ottley would have remounted it in the interim.

History

Casa Buonarroti; William Young Ottley (his sale, 11 April 1804, part of lot 268 ("Ten – ditto [i.e., studies of legs and thighs from the Martelli collection at Florence], and arms etc. – 2 arms, one foot, red chalk, three arms and one leg and thigh, in black chalk; an arm, pen; a horse's head and a monstrous animal in black chalk – from the Buonarroti collection – on the back of one are some verses autograph of this great artist"); his sale, 6 June 1814, etc.; part of lot 1587 ("Two black chalk studies on one leaf [see Cat. 62] . . . and a dog lying in the midst of flames, an emblematic design. From the Buonarroti collection at Florence"; £10.10.0); Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Ottley sale, 11 April 1804, part of lot 268 ("Ten – ditto [i.e., studies of legs and thighs from the Martelli collection at Florence], and arms etc. – 2 arms, one foot, red chalk, three arms and one leg and thigh, in black chalk; an arm, pen; a horse's head and a monstrous animal in black chalk – from the Buonarroti collection – on the back of one are some verses autograph of this great artist."). Ottley sale, 6 June 1814, etc., lot 1587 ("Two black chalk studies on one leaf [see Cat. 62] . . . and a dog lying in the midst of flames, an emblematic design. From the Buonarroti collection at Florence."). Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–108i] ("Two studies in black chalk, one [Cat. 62] the other a representation of a Dog."). Woodburn, 1842, no. 75.2 ("Two studies upon one mount . . . also for a dragon."). Woodburn, 1846, no. 52 (As 1842.). Robinson, 1870, no. 53.1 (Michelangelo, c. 1530. "[P]ossibly . . . made with a view to some work projected for King Francis I."). Black, 1875, p. 213, no. 48a. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 239. Berenson, 1903, no. 1568 (Probably by Michelangelo, c. 1530.). Thode, 1908, II, p. 112 (For the candelabra of the New Sacristy altar.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 178 (Perhaps an allegory; period of Cavalieri drawings.). Thode, 1913, no. 433 (Linked with BM W50; rejects Frey's interpretation; doubtful whether animal and figure connected. c. 1530.). Berenson, 1938, no. 1568 (Perhaps done in connection with New Sacristy.). Wilde, 1953a, p. 86 (A Salamander, connected with BM W50. Perhaps made for a colleague working for François Ier, or for Mini, who hoped to do so.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 124 (A salamander, c. 1531–3. Similar animal decorates helmet of Count of Canossa.). Parker, 1956, no. 320 (c. 1531. Relation to BM W50. Idea that they link with device of François Ier and Mini's trip to France has "much to recommend it" but "the fact remains however that the animal bears very little resemblance to the salamander as it was normally represented." Any relation to figures either side "is rather doubtful."). Dussler, 1959, no. 346 (Ascribed. Unlikely to be connected with François Ier. Similarities with BM W50 and device of Count Canossa.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1568 (As 1903/1938.). Berti, 1965, p. 465 (Salamander, linked with BM W50; perhaps related to work for François Ier.). Hartt, 1971, no. 188 (1517–8?. A salamander. The subsidiary figures could hardly have been intended as an addition to the design. Probably [together with BM W50] for an ornamental figure to go on the bases of the six great columns of the lower storey of the San Lorenzo façade.). De Tolnay, 1973, p. 4 (c. 1530. Salamander of François Ier taken over by the artist for a personal allegory showing himself burning with the flames of love.



The use of the salamander initiated by Petrarch and taken up by Bembo and in Michelangelo's own poetry, e.g., Girardi 1960, no. 122.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 107 (Connected with BM W50/Corpus 305, of c. 1530. "The generally accepted identification of the animal as a salamander seems to be based on the fact that it is represented amid flames. Otherwise one would have little hesitation in seeing it as a cringing hound. . . . The figures on either side . . . seem certainly to be connected with the central motif, in spite of the discrepancy of scale: on the left a zephyr blowing on the flames, and on the right a figure apparently recoiling from them. Is this perhaps some kind of complicated allegory in the manner of Leonardo?"). De Tolnay, 1976, Corpus II, no. 304 (As 1973.).

CATALOGUE 37

Three Figures in Violent Movement

1846.67; R. 71; PII 321; Corpus (inadvertently omitted, should be 83bis)

Dimensions: 103 × 105 mm

Medium

Pen and ink over lead point.

Condition

There is a very small square-cut loss, a minor repaired fracture, an irregular score line, other faint lines with indentation, and abrasion with ingrained dirt. The sheet is extensively foxed with edge discolouration, general uneven discolouration, and local staining with skinning. The primary support is drummed by four edges to the backboard of the mount, and the verso is not visible.

Discussion

This present drawing clearly shows Michelangelo's ideas developing on the page. The pen-line of the left-hand figure follows fairly faithfully the underlying work in lead-point, the pen drawing of the central figure diverges considerably from the initial lead-point layout, and in the right-hand figure underdrawing is virtually abandoned. Even within such small confines, Michelangelo's energies expand. The drawings here are inseparable from a group of seven lively sketches in the same media, six in Casa Buonarroti, and one, in lead-point alone, in the British Museum:

1. CB17F/B125/Corpus 79: 95 × 91 mm
2. CB18F/B127/Corpus 82: 88 × 104 mm
3. CB38F/B124/Corpus 83: 170 × 207 mm
4. CB58F/B129/Corpus 78: 101 × 110 mm
5. CB67F/B128/Corpus 80: 70 × 72 mm

6. CB68F/B130/Corpus 81: 110 × 92 mm
7. BM W51/Corpus 252bis: 91 × 40 mm (part of the 1859 Buonarroti purchase)

Of these drawings, 38F alone – in which three figures are completed in pen while several other groups on the page remain in lead-point only – may retain its original dimensions. The others are clearly fragments of one or more sheets of drawings. Six of the eight sheets, including the present one, show three figures reacting violently to some event taking place above them; the seventh, CB 58F, clearly represents the Transfigured Christ between Moses and Elijah. Because this last drawing is not physically attached to any of the groups of three reacting figures, and because the original layout of the sheet (or sheets) cannot be reconstructed, it is impossible to be certain that Michelangelo planned to situate the *Transfiguration* group above the reacting figures – presumably the disciples. However, this was the traditional way of representing the subject, and it is difficult to imagine how these figures could have been employed otherwise than below Christ.

It may be presumed, therefore, that Michelangelo planned a composition of the *Transfiguration*, in which the group of Christ and His Old Testament forerunners was fixed more or less at the outset, while the startled disciples were tried in several variations. The vertical orientation of the scheme rules out a connection, proposed by Hirst, with the *Transfiguration* frescoed by Michelangelo's friend Sebastiano del Piombo c. 1516 in the semi-dome of the Borgherini chapel in San Pietro in Montorio. The area available in the semi-dome demands the horizontally oriented composition that Sebastiano supplied: Space was lacking for a vertical layout. Furthermore, were such a connection accepted, it would entail for this group of sketches a date of c. 1516, and they seem to be several years later than that: Wilde proposed that they were of 1531–2.

The figures in the present drawing and those in the Casa Buonarroti, with the exception of the *Transfiguration* drawing, were linked by Wilde with figures in the foreground of Bugiardini's vast *Martyrdom of Saint Catherine* (Florence, Santa Maria Novella). Vasari stated that Michelangelo helped his friend by drawing the foreground figures, which were followed by Bugiardini as best he could. But Vasari's account implies that Michelangelo sketched these figures directly on the panel, not that he made preliminary drawings, although, of course, some preparation cannot be ruled out. Vasari adds that Tribolo subsequently made clay models after Michelangelo's figures, further to assist Bugiardini. Nevertheless, even though there is some resemblance between the reacting

figures in the Casa Buonarroti–Ashmolean sequence and those in Bugiardini's painting, there seem to be no direct links, and it is unlikely that they were made in that connection. The approximate dating implied by Wilde's proposal, however, is very plausible.

It is not of course certain that the drawings on this sheet are connected with those on the suite of fragments in Casa Buonarroti and the British Museum, and it is possible that they are involved with some other project. But on balance, the focus on three figures makes the connection likely.

The purpose of this and the other drawings remains uncertain. There is no record that Michelangelo treated the Transfiguration, and none that Sebastiano was offered a commission of that subject to be executed on a vertically oriented field. However, it is possible that after Cardinal Giulio decided to retain Raphael's great painting in Rome, he thought of offering the subject to Sebastiano so that two altarpieces by the same hand could go to Narbonne. If so, Sebastiano might well have asked Michelangelo for a sketch. Finally, of course, a replica of Raphael's painting was commissioned from Penni but that panel was not sent to Narbonne either, which received only Sebastiano's *Raising of Lazarus*. However, it must be stressed that such a suggestion, which would probably entail a date for the drawings earlier than c. 1530, remains entirely conjectural and, in the compiler's view, not very plausible. Michelangelo might, of course, have made a design of the subject for execution by another of his painter friends, but no evidence has been uncovered to substantiate such an hypothesis.

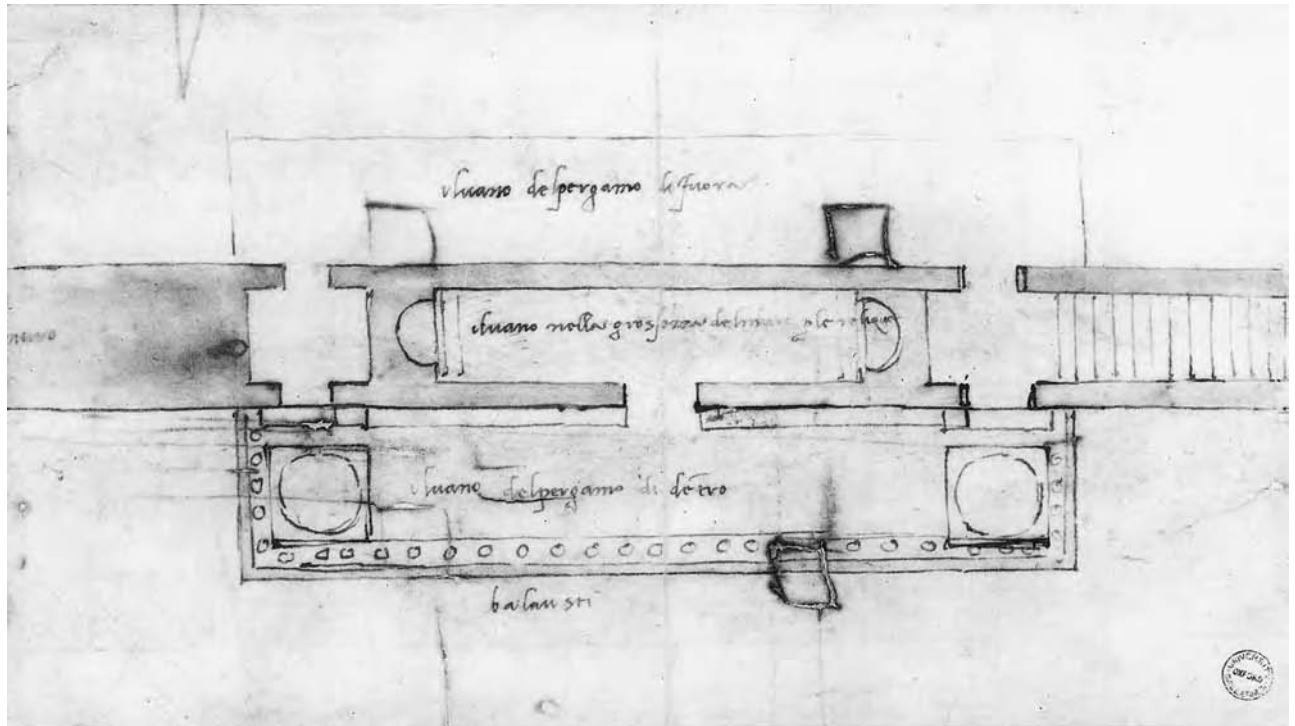
One of the drawings linked by Wilde with this series, Haarlem A31/VT61/Corpus 341; red chalk, 110 × 194 mm, is a study for one or other version of Michelangelo's *Fall of Phaeton* and not directly connected with the sheets under discussion.

History

Casa Buonarroti?; Jean-Baptiste Wicar?; William Young Ottley; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn

References

Woodburn, 1842, no. 69 ("Three figures fighting."). Woodburn, 1846, no. 19 (As 1842.). Robinson, 1870, no. 71 ("[P]robably for the composition of Christ driving the money changers out of the Temple." Related to three black chalk drawings "of the later period of the master" in the British Museum, W76–78.). Black, 1875, p. 215, no. 61. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 228. Berenson, 1903, I, p. 222, no. 1573 (Late, probably for the *Expulsion of the Money Changers*. "Interesting as an example of the master's



use of the pen in his last years. How little it has changed in sixty years!”). Thode, 1908, II, pp. 80, 445 (Perhaps for the *Conversion of Paul* but the *Fall of the Rebel Angels* or *Brazen Serpent* also possible.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 279c (Perhaps for a composition of the *Brazen Serpent*). Thode, 1913, no. 445 (Connected with a group of drawings in the Casa Buonarroti; probably for Bugiardini’s *Martyrdom of Saint Catherine*). Baumgart, 1935a, p. 345 (Daniele da Volterra). Berenson, 1938, no. 1573 (Much earlier, perhaps related to *Brazen Serpent* on ceiling.). Delacre, 1938, pp. 402–4 (Links with Casa Buonarroti group including a sketch of the *Transfiguration*). Wilde, 1953a, pp. 86–7 (Other drawings in group are the Casa Buonarroti group, BM W51/Corpus 252bis and Haarlem A31/VT 61/Corpus 341. Studies for an outline drawing made to help Bugiardini with his *Martyrdom of Saint Catherine*, probably 1531–2.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 123. Parker, 1956, no. 321 (c. 1532; made for Bugiardini; connected with Casa Buonarroti group, Haarlem A31/Corpus 341, and BM W51/Corpus 252bis.). Dussler, 1959, no. 350 (Ascribed to Michelangelo; link with Casa Buonarroti group.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1573 (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1962, pp. 155–60 (Grouped with CB17F, 18F, 38F, 67F, 68F, and, probably, 58F. Purpose uncertain: Connection with Bugiardini’s *Martyrdom of Saint Catherine* possible, but also with *Last Judgement* and *Brazen Serpent*. c. 1531–2.). Berti, 1965, pp. 448–50 (Has been connected with Bugiardini’s *Martyrdom of Saint Catherine* but this is uncertain; with related sketches in Casa Buonarroti, forms a chain of

movements in the spirit of a ballet. Neither tragic or dramatic but series of amusing variations.). Hartt, 1971, no. 170 (1517–18?. Connected with group of drawings in Casa Buonarroti, for a relief of the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* for the San Lorenzo façade.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 110 (Connection with Bugiardini questionable; “Figures of this kind would have been equally in place in a *Resurrection*.”). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. IV, p. 135 (Omitted by error; one of the series of studies for the *Transfiguration*). Barolsky, 1979, p. 149 (Notes Baumgart’s attribution.).

CATALOGUE 38

Recto: Plan of the Interior Reliquary Platform of San Lorenzo and the Unexecuted Exterior Balcony
Verso: A Standing Male Figure Seen from the Right
1846.57; R.49; P.II 311; Corpus 260

Dimensions: 258 × 332 mm

Watermark: Robinson Appendix no. 13, Roberts Lamb C.

Medium

Recto: Pen, brush, and wash.

Verso: Black chalk; lightly squared in black chalk at 31 mm.



Condition

There are major tear repairs, with associated ingrained dirt at the right and left edges, and toned repairs in the image where the heavier application of the ink has burned through. There is a minor hole, a pressed-out central, vertical fold with associated creasing and dirt, and many inherent wrinkles. There is severe adhesive discolouration around the edges and some paper remnants. There is also general discolouration, primarily from ink bleed, foxing, and local staining.

Description and Inscription

Recto

The drawing bears labels by Michelangelo's hand, identifying the different parts of the structure:

*il vano del pergamo di fuora/muro/il vano nella grossezza del
muro p[er] le reliquie/il vano del pergamo di
de[n]tro/balaustri.*

Verso

A full length nude figure of the Risen Christ, standing on a sarcophagus, seen from half left. His left arm is shown in two different positions: (i) raised and pointing upwards; (ii) bent, with the forearm across the upper chest. His right hand holds a staff, no doubt that of a standard; His right leg is bent, in two different positions and is supported on the sarcophagus lid; His head is tried in three different positions: (i) looking down to His right; (ii) looking up to His left (this is very faint); (iii) looking slightly downwards to His right in what seems to be the final position in this drawing; a fold of drapery sweeps down to the right.

At the right edge, two-pen lines meet; they presumably indicate the corner of some object.

Discussion

Recto

On 14 October 1525, Pope Clement VII wrote to Michelangelo requesting designs for an architectural structure for San Lorenzo that could be used to display the church's collection of relics. As Ackerman elucidated, three different sites and structures were considered in the correspondence that continued until November 1526. These comprised:

1. A ciborium to be placed as a canopy over the altar – an interesting return to a type of structure with strongly Roman associations, but one that was gradually going out of fashion even in Rome by the later quattrocento. Several drawings by Michelangelo have been related to this project, which the Pope preferred, but a structure above the altar would have clashed visually with the tombs of the Leo X and Clement VII planned for the side walls of the choir.
2. A site above the entrance door to the New Sacristy was mentioned by the Pope in a letter of 29 November 1525 but that – probably for obvious reasons of space and location – apparently had no sequel. There seem to be no drawings that can be connected with this.
3. A balcony to be constructed on the interior façade of the church, above the main door was the other project mentioned in the letter of 29 November 1525.

The last was the location preferred by Michelangelo, and even though the Pope was concerned that it might be too high for the clear display of relics, it was that chosen when the project was revived at the end of 1531. The scheme, as far as the interior was concerned, was finished by December 1533, when the relics were installed. Michelangelo seems to have regarded the project as, essentially, a structural issue. Choosing not to treat the tribune as a vehicle for personal expression, he planned it to

conform with, rather than, as one might have expected, to contrast with the pre-existing Brunelleschian architecture of the church's interior. His stated admiration for Brunelleschi may have influenced this decision. But while the tribune shows little that is Michelangelesque in architectural detail, Wallace (1987b) showed that Michelangelo was himself involved in carving the distinctive and innovative "horse-head" coat of arms. And Wallace was also able to demonstrate, by an analysis of documents, that Michelangelo's architectural inventiveness, somewhat repressed in the tribune itself, flowered in the tabernacle frame of the door to the passage that leads to it. Wallace showed that de Tolnay was correct in his belief, dismissed by most scholars, that Michelangelo designed this portal, which opens off the upper cloister of San Lorenzo. This door type, developed from the tabernacles in the *ricetto*, was evidently considered so successful by Michelangelo that he re-used it virtually unchanged in the lower storey of the Palazzo Conservatori.

The labelling on the present drawing suggests that it was made for a client to read. The criticisms of the plan made by the Pope certainly correspond to this plan, and Ackerman's contention, that it was the very drawing sent to the Pope, is plausible. However, it is largely executed free-hand, and Michelangelo might have got a pupil to make a fair copy. If it was the sheet sent to the Pope, it was certainly returned to Michelangelo, for he employed the verso for an unrelated sketch. It seems likely that he would, simultaneously, have provided an elevation drawing, but if he did so, it is lost.

The plan is not identical with the project as put into practice, and Ackerman accurately notes the differences. The space at Michelangelo's disposal was very limited, but he does seem to have taken some advantage of it to include in the chamber apsidal ends, before both of which are two lightly sketched steps. It was no doubt that in these apses the relics were to be stored and displayed, and Michelangelo seems to have envisaged for them an altar-like approach. Barbieri and Puppi attribute this idea to Michelangelo's knowledge of Roman architecture, probably tomb chambers: An allusion to catacomb burials might even have been intended.

The plan also implies that some articulation of the exterior was still planned. As Ackerman notes, Figiovanni in a letter to Michelangelo of late October–early November 1531 (*Carteggio*, III, pp. 339–41; letter MCCCXXXII) remarked that the exterior balcony should not be of *pietra serena*, like that on the interior, but of "marmo per unirlo con la facciata," which suggests that a marble façade was still envisaged. But no known drawing for the façade by Michelangelo is compatible with a balcony, and because nothing else is heard about a façade, it seems unlikely that

Michelangelo was re-designing one to accommodate a balcony in 1531. Indeed, were it not for Figiovanni's letter, the inclusion of a balcony in the present drawing would surely be taken to indicate that Michelangelo had abandoned hope of any overall façade scheme. Failing further evidence, the matter can only be left open but, for whatever reason the exterior platform was never executed, although, as Wallace notes, one of the two passages to the façade was opened and then re-sealed.

The loosely drawn squares beneath the exterior platform are puzzling. The façade was planned to be articulated with columns, and these forms are smaller than the columns supporting the interior which are clearly indicated as such and provided with bases. Perhaps they were no more than utilitarian consoles to support the balcony, on which, strangely, Michelangelo did not, as in that of the interior, indicate a balustrade.

Verso

The verso drawing, which clearly represents the *Risen Christ*, is one of sixteen treatments of the subject drawn by Michelangelo in the early years of the 1530s. There has been virtual unanimity about the attribution and approximate date of these drawings but little about their purpose. Broadly speaking, the drawings divide into two series. One comprises multigure compositions, in which guards scatter in alarm as Christ rises from the tomb. The second consists of single-figure – or primarily single-figure – compositions, showing Christ at His moment of triumph over death.

There exist two, arguably three, multi-figure *Resurrection* designs, all relatively fully worked-out:

Multi-figure 1. The Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, PW427 recto/Corpus 255 (black chalk, 240 × 347 mm); this was prepared in a preliminary sketch in the Louvre (Inv. 691bis/J37/Corpus 253; red chalk, 152 × 169 mm) and a single-figure study, for the guard sprawled on the sarcophagus lid, in Florence (CB 32F/B139/Corpus 254; black chalk, 139 × 196 mm, irregular). The Windsor composition is orientated horizontally and lit from the left.

Multi-figure 2. British Museum, W52/Corpus 258 (black chalk, 326 × 289 mm) is roughly square in composition but could be seen as lunette-shaped. It is lit from the right.

Multi-figure 3. British Museum, W53/Corpus 264 (black chalk, 406 × 271 mm) is more problematic. It is orientated vertically and lit from the left, but it is debatable whether it should be classed as a multi-figure composition because the subsidiary figures are entirely

subordinate, and it might more legitimately be seen as a modified single-figure design.

Various suggestions have been advanced as to the purpose of these drawings and others representing the Resurrection. Popp suggested that multi-figures 1 and 2 were alternative schemes for a fresco to be executed in the lunette above the Magnifici Tomb in the New Sacristy; de Tolnay and Hartt agreed with this view of some of the drawings but detached others. Hartt, 1971 (entirely improbably) considered multi-figure 3 to be for a relief for the Julius Tomb in 1516, whereas de Tolnay thought it was for an (equally improbable) altarpiece for the Sistine Chapel of c. 1534. Hirst, in 1961 and subsequently, suggested that Michelangelo made all these drawings to assist his friend Sebastiano with his altarpiece of the *Resurrection* for the Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria della Pace. First contracted for in 1520, the commission was renewed in 1530, and Sebastiano might well have requested Michelangelo's aid then, or some time thereafter, when Michelangelo was in Rome, so that any such request would have left no epistolary trace.

Given the diversities of format and illumination among them, it seems to the compiler improbable that the two (or three) multi-figure compositions can have been intended for the same project. In his view, the design seen in multi-figure 1 can be separated from the others, and for this he finds most plausible the explanation of Gamba – generally dismissed – that it was made in preparation for a fresco of the *Resurrection* to be executed on the entrance wall of the Sistine chapel, where the fresco of that subject by Michelangelo's master, Ghirlandaio, had been irreparably damaged in a fall of masonry on Christmas Eve 1522. Subject, lighting-direction, and proportions are appropriate for the location and both the fresco that had to be replaced and the fresco that finally replaced it are multi-figure scenes.

Most of the other suggestions do not hold water. There is no evidence that a relief of the *Resurrection* was planned for the front face of the Julius Tomb whose iconography, throughout all its versions, is primarily Marian. The assumption that a *Resurrection* might have been planned as an altarpiece for the Sistine Chapel is based on the misinterpretation of a letter of 2 March 1534 referring to the *risurrezzione* (the general resurrection of the dead) or the *Last Judgement*, whose preparation was by then well underway. The question of what subjects were planned for the lunettes in the New Sacristy remains unresolved, but it is certain that they were to be sculpted, and the only design that might fit into a lunette (but not readily) is hardly appropriate for execution in sculpture. The most reasonable hypothesis is that of Hirst, who connected the

drawings with the commission to Sebastiano to paint a *Resurrection* as the altarpiece of the Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria della Pace. However, once again, it is improbable that all the *Resurrection* drawings can have been made for this scheme since the field available for the altarpiece in Santa Maria della Pace was relatively small. Nevertheless, Sebastiano was to receive 1,200 ducats for this commission, only 300 less than for the very large altarpiece in the second Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo, also commissioned from him, so that although the sizes of the altarpiece cannot have been comparable, it is likely that the Pace painting was to be of some complexity.

The figures frescoed above the altar by Raphael c. 1512 are lit from the right, and the presumption is that the altarpiece would also be (this, incidentally, was also the planned direction of illumination in the Popolo Chapel). The lighting of 2, therefore, fits the Pace Chapel, but the composition does not seem particularly appropriate to the presumed shape of the altarpiece. When this drawing was executed as a painting by Marcello Venusti (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum; oil on panel, 600 × 400 mm), he greatly increased the distance between Christ and the guards. In composition, the most appropriate design for the Pace would be 3, but that is lit from the left.

The Pace altarpiece also provides the most plausible purpose for the single-figure series. There are four highly worked variants of the single figure of Christ emerging from the tomb:

Single-figure 1. The Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, PW428 recto/ Corpus 265; black chalk, 372 × 220 mm.

Single-figure 2. British Museum, W54 recto/Corpus 263; black chalk, 414 × 274 mm.

Single-figure 3. Casa Buonarroti CB65F verso/B142/Corpus 347; black chalk, 420 × 297 mm; this, though somewhat more loosely handled than the others, counts among them.

Single-figure 4. A lost drawing known in two copies:

a. Rotterdam, Boymans Museum I.20 (Formerly Dezallier D'Argenville and Sir Thomas Lawrence [1836–56]; black chalk, 357 × 171 mm; attributed by Wilde to Giulio Clovio.

b. Florence, Uffizi 1450S; black chalk, 374 × 256 mm; as Alessandro Allori. In support of the Pace location is that all these figures are lit from the right.

In addition to the present drawing, there survive six other rough sketches on five sheets all of which concentrate on the single figure of Christ:

Sketch 1. Casa Buonarroti CB61F recto/B137/Corpus 261; black chalk, 380 × 252 mm.

Sketch 2. Casa Buonarroti CB61F verso/B137/Corpus 261; black chalk, 380 × 252 mm.

Sketch 3. Casa Buonarroti CB66F/B136/Corpus 262; black chalk, 331 × 198 mm.

Sketch 4a. Windsor, PW429 verso, right side/Corpus 345; black chalk, 149 × 252 mm.

Sketch 4b. Windsor, PW429 verso, left side/Corpus 345; black chalk, 149 × 252 mm.

Sketch 5. Archivio Buonarroti (now in Casa Buonarroti) AB VI, fol. 24 verso/B346/Corpus 259; black chalk, 210 × 138 mm.

Sketch 6. Archivio Buonarroti (now in Casa Buonarroti) AB XIII, fol. 148 verso/B367/Corpus 252; black chalk, 267 × 195 mm.

Sketches 1–4a probably prepare primarily single-figure 2, although there are some similarities between the upper part of the body in 4a and that of single-figure 1; sketches 4b and 5 primarily prepare single-figure 1, although in the case of 4b this is evident mainly in the legs and the upper part of the figure relates more closely to single-figure 2. The present drawing, which is not closely related to any of the others, presumably prepares a different version of the subject, either never executed or lost. Sketch 6, which seems to show Christ half-kneeling, looking upwards and indicating the wound in His right side was made for a radically different design. As far as can be seen, all these figures are lit from the left.

It may be that the single-figure drawings, although prompted by Sebastiano's putative request, developed an independent existence as Presentation Drawings as Wilde suggested in 1953. The highly finished and exceptionally beautiful single-figures 1 and 2, and the lost original of that known in the two copies of single-figure 4, would have made splendid gifts. Some support is given to this view by the fact that, in addition to the copies by Alessandro Allori and Clovio of single-figure 4, facsimile copies after both single-figure 1 and single-figure 2, also attributable to Allori, and no doubt conceived as pendants, survive in, respectively, Paris (Louvre Inv. 1505/JIII; black chalk, 372 × 224 mm) and Frankfurt (Städelisches Kunstinstitut, 3976; black chalk, 373 × 221 mm).

The specific date of 1533 for the present drawing, a year or so later than the recto, is supported by the drawing of the *Risen Christ*, which most resembles it: that on the verso of the *Tityus*, a Presentation Drawing sent by Michelangelo in Florence to his young friend Tommaso Cavalieri in Rome in, it seems, September 1533 (Windsor, PW 429 verso/Corpus 345). The present study shows Christ's head in two positions, tilted slightly to His right, the viewer's left, looking round and down to His left, the

viewer's right, and again higher up and closer to the vertical. The arm is also shown in two positions, the upper arm down and the forearm bent across the chest and then raised with the hand pointing upwards – a pose more usually associated with Saint John. This study is unusual, although not unique, among Michelangelo's drawings in being squared – lightly, in black chalk, at about 150 mm – which strongly suggests that he intended to carry the design further.

History

Casa Buonarroti; Jean-Baptiste Wicar; Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445, damaged and difficult to descry); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–74] (“A Figure Slightly sketched, on the reverse a plan.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 77 (“Study of female figure – in black chalk, with study at the back, in pen and bistre, for the Laurentian Library at Florence [sic].”). Robinson, 1870, no. 49 (Michel Angelo. Recto for reliquary chamber over the principal door at the west end of San Lorenzo.). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 44. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 232 (“Disegno, forse, per la piccola camera fatta per conservare le reliquie, in San Lorenzo a Firenze. . . . Al rovescio del foglio, una figura d'uomo.”). Berenson, 1903, I, p. 255, no. 1713 (Recto: Michelangelo for reliquary chamber. Verso: Montelupo, proved by comparison with [Cat. 77].). Thode, 1908, II, pp. 106, 451 (Recto: Michelangelo, for Reliquary Tribune, 1531–2; demonstrates that an exterior balcony was planned. Verso: contemporary, for Risen Christ.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 135 (Recto: designed to display relics both to the interior and exterior. Not executed in this form and not a definitive plan; could be before 1527 as well as 1530–1.); no. 136 (Verso: for a *Risen Christ*; doubtful, perhaps by Montelupo, 1531–2.). Thode, 1913, no. 432 (As 1908: recto plan probably that sent to the Pope.). Popp, 1925b, p. 75 (Not Michelangelo.). De Tolnay, 1928, p. 445 (Verso: original sketch for a *Resurrection*, but somewhat re-worked.). Berenson, 1938, no. 1713 (As 1903; cannot accept de Tolnay's view.). De Tolnay, 1948, p. 219, no. 112 (Verso: *Ascension of Christ*, c. 1531–2. Related to a series of drawings preparing a fresco in the lunette above the Magnifici Tomb. “The outlines have been retraced so that it is difficult to determine whether it was an original or a copy. The pose is similar to the verso of the *Tityus* drawing” [Windsor, PW429 verso].). Wilde, 1949, p. 251 (Verso datable 1532 by recto: one of series of *Resurrection* drawings.). Wilde, 1953a, pp. 89–90 (Verso:

study for *Risen Christ*. Recto: datable first half of October 1532.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 84 (Verso). Parker, 1956, no. 311 (Recto: for reliquary chamber. Verso: related to series of *Resurrection* drawings, closest to Windsor, PW 429 verso.). Dussler, 1959, no. 199 (Both sides authentic. Verso, *Risen Christ*, perhaps drawn first.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1713 (As 1903/1938.). Ackerman, 1961, II, p. 32 (Recto: “The design differs from the final solution in that the lateral doors are on axis with the supporting columns and are framed by thin pilasters; there are fewer balusters and they do not alternate with posts. The care with which the drawing is finished and inscribed suggests that it was prepared for the Pope. It was probably the project accepted in the autumn of 1531, since the correspondence mentions the exterior balcony; the *terminus ante* is Figiovanni’s letter of 19 October 1532, which recommends shifting the side doors from their position in the drawing towards the centre, as in the executed structure. The fact that a balcony was planned for the exterior as well as the interior . . . and that Figiovanni assumed that ‘it would be of marble to unify it with the façade’ is of interest for the façade design, since the balcony could not be integrated with any of Michelangelo’s façade projects.”). Ackerman, 1964, II, p. 32 (As 1961.). Barocchi, 1964c, no. 44 (Recto: for Reliquary Tribune. Verso: one of *Resurrection* series.). Barbieri and Puppi, 1964a, pp. 881, 1010 (Recto: the “sacrario, ricavato nello spessore del muro; si configura come un lungo vano ad arca, indubbiamente derivato da reminiscenze archeologiche, di forma eccezionale nell’artista.”). Barbieri and Puppi, 1964a, tav. 56 (“La planimetria prevede un eventuale sviluppo della tribuna all’esterno.”). De Angelis d’Ossat, 1965b, p. 315 (Recto: shows alignment of doorways and columns criticised by Clement VII in October 1532.). Hartt, 1971, no. 347 (Verso: 1532; for a fresco of the *Resurrection*, intended for the altar of the Sistine Chapel.); under no. 347 and p. 390 (Recto: Michelangelo, for reliquary tribune erected in 1531–3.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 43 (Verso: *Risen Christ*. Recto: datable 1532; relation to Windsor, PW 429 verso, datable to late 1532.). De Tolnay, 1976, Corpus II, no. 260 (Recto: before October 1532. Verso: 1531–2, quality not as high as usual.). Nova, 1984, pl. 44 (Recto: for the San Lorenzo tribune.). Ackerman and Newman, 1986, p. 299 (As 1961/1964.). Wallace, 1987b, pp. 56–7 (Recto: “reveals his intention to construct a balcony on the exterior façade of San Lorenzo to complement that on the interior. This unusual plan for interior and exterior balconies indicates that Michelangelo was aware of the public role and ceremonial potential of the relics. . . . [T]he annual display of the Medici relics was to be one of the most impor-

tant public ceremonies in Florence. . . . The exterior balcony was never carried out although the left door of the tribune opens into a blocked passageway that was to have led to the exterior façade. Had this balcony been built . . . it would have been the centrepiece of the grandiose façade that Michelangelo had conceived years earlier, and apparently still intended to carry out.”). Contardi, 1990, p. 200 (Recto: Michelangelo 1531: significant differences from scheme as executed.). Perrig, 1991, pp. 76–7, fig. 62 (Verso: by Cavalieri.). Paoletti, 2000, p. 76 (Verso: notes two divergent heads of Christ.).

CATALOGUE 39

Recto: Studies for a Double Wall Tomb in Plan and Elevation

Verso: Outline Sketch for the Ceiling of the Reading Room of the Laurentian Library

1846.54; R.40; P.II 308; Corpus 191

Dimensions: 264 × 384 mm

Medium

Recto: Pen.

Verso: Black chalk.

Condition

There is a small central infilled puncture, a minor indent and a diagonal scratch or pulp fault across the upper right corner. A shiny yellow deposit with black accretions is visible. There is minor show-through from some heavily inked areas, discolouration from adhesive residues, localised staining, general foxing, and ingrained dirt.

Inscriptions

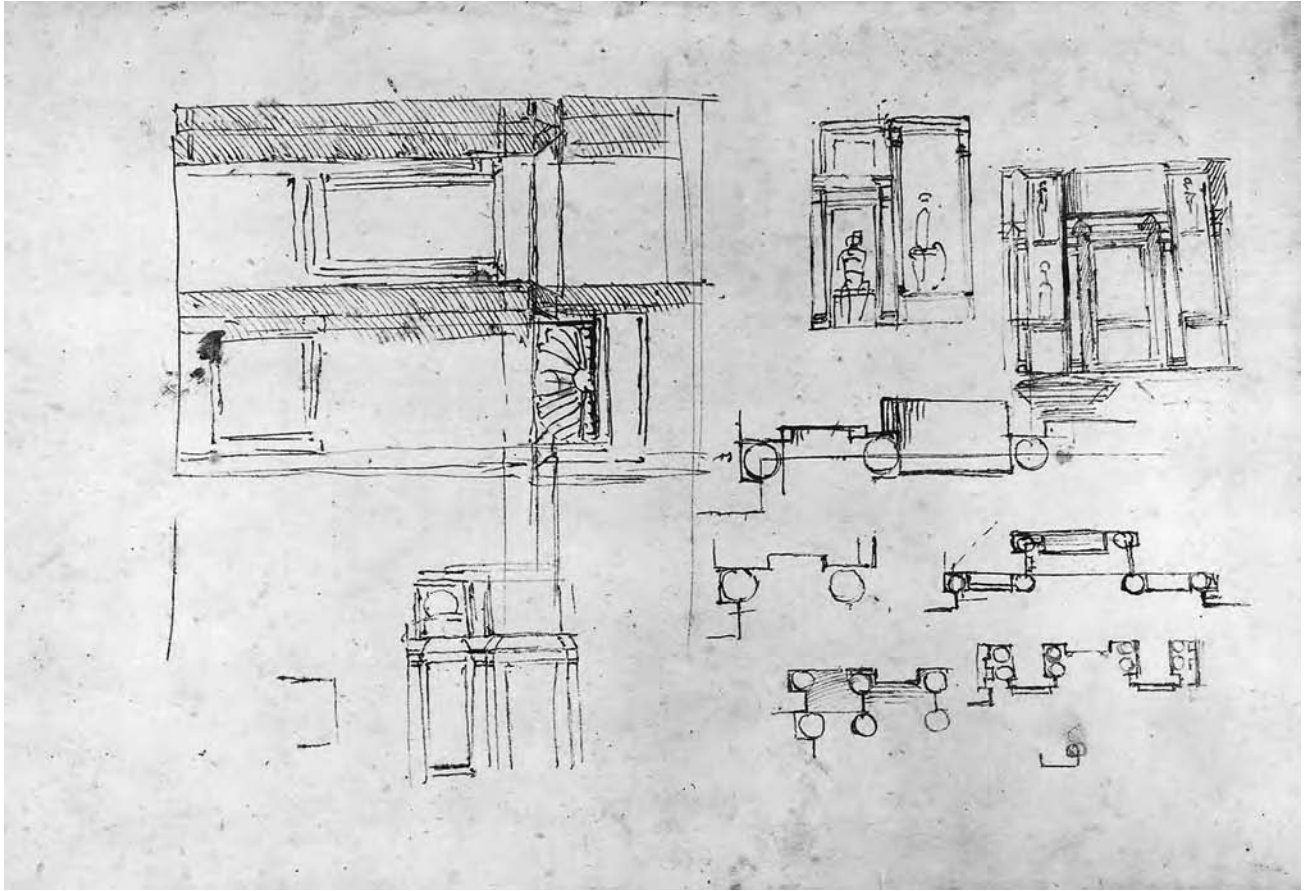
Verso, in pencil: Presumably made before the verso was laid down, Robinson’s numbering: 40. In an unknown, presumably Italian hand: *Michelangiolo Buonaroti*.

Description

Recto

Top line

A. The left-hand and central bays of the upper section of a tomb; a seated figure raised on a podium in the central bay and a seated figure placed somewhat lower at the left. The side bays, which are widened at the expense of the central one, are surmounted by rectangular panels, while the central bay, framed internally by tall pilasters, is open as far as the upper cornice of the structure. This



was no doubt drawn after B. In widening the side bays, Michelangelo no doubt intended to produce a more vertical alignment of sarcophagi and statues.

B. A three-bay double tomb, in elevation with the central bay containing two stories and the side bays containing three, on a common base against which are situated two sarcophagi without surmounting effigies. Two figures are indicated in the upper two stories of the left-hand bay; one, corresponding to the upper one on the left, is in the right-hand bay. The central bay is surmounted by a rectangular panel, perhaps intended to carry an inscription. The central and side bays are framed by what seem to be partially inset columns. This drawing makes it clear that all the other drawings on this page represent only the upper parts of double-wall tombs, omitting the common base and sarcophagi.

Second line

C. A plan of A at base level.

Third line

D. A revised plan of the left-hand bay of A and C at a higher level.

E. A plan of B, probably at base level.

Fourth line

F. An incomplete rectangle, no doubt the beginning of a plan

G. The left and central bays of a three-bay structure with a continuous cornice and an attic storey. The side attic bay seems to be articulated with an incomplete roundel, or oval, and it may be that Michelangelo has also sketched a segmental pediment here.

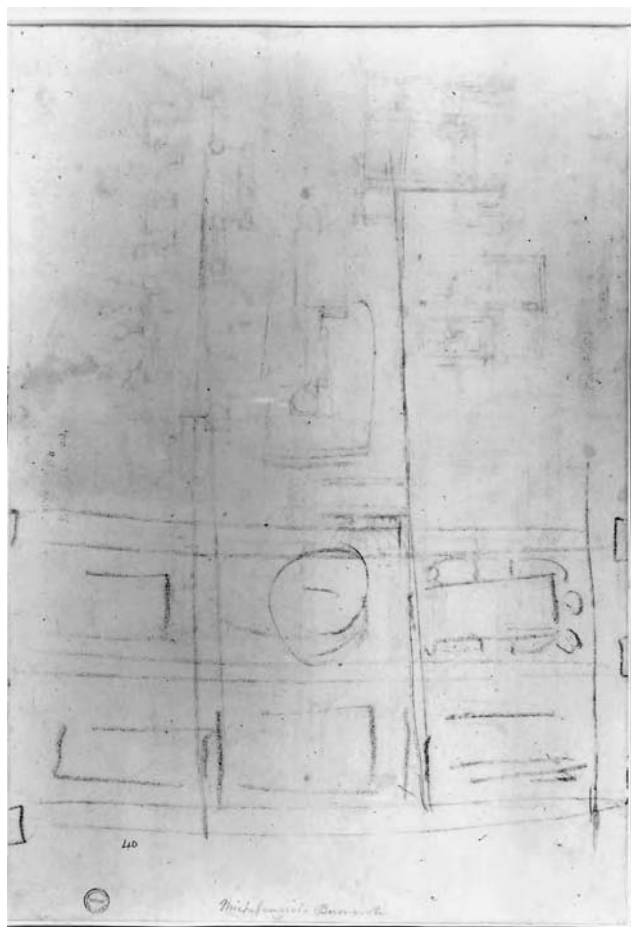
H. The left-hand and central bay of a three-bay structure, in plan, with each bay framed by two columns set one behind the other. The left-hand bay shows a pilaster deep enough as to qualify as an attached pillar protruding between the two columns so as partly to conceal the rear column.

I. A three-bay structure in plan, with each bay framed by two columns set in depth. Unlike H, the columns are not separated. The outer bays show that each column faces a pilaster deep enough to qualify as an attached pillar.

J. A section of a base with a column.

With the left edge of the sheet as the base

K. The left-hand and central bays of a three-bay structure. The side bays seem to contain a base, a rectangular



niche framed with at least three mouldings surmounted by a powerful cornice, in turn surmounted by a roughly square attic. The bay is closed at either side with two inset columns or pillars that rise as far as the cornice of the niche, and above this level by, apparently, inset colonnettes or smaller pillars. The central bay contains a high base whose top edge is level with the lower edge of the niche in the side bay and is topped by a shell head with a flat top that rises above the level of the cornice or the side bay. Above the shell-head is a rectangular field divided into two emphatic horizontals. The cornice of the side bays is registered in the central one by, apparently, a thin moulding.

Verso

Outline sketch of the ceiling of the Laurentian Library, compartmented approximately as executed.

Discussion

The recto is a controversial page, which has provoked a number of different interpretations. It connects closely

with, and seems to be developed from, a drawing in London (BM W38/Corpus 561; pen and ink, 427 × 258 mm). Wilde suggested that both drawings were made in preparation for a double tomb of the Medici popes to be placed against the end wall (the liturgical East) of the choir of San Lorenzo. In Wilde's view, this project came before the final project for the choir, which comprised a large facing tomb of a single pope on each of its side walls. In this final scheme, Michelangelo was probably inspired by that of the choir of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome, no doubt devised by Bramante, in which two nearly identical tombs, sculpted by Andrea Sansovino, face each other. Michelangelo produced a grandiose project, which is known from a developed sketch in the British Museum (W39/Corpus 192; pen and ink, 175 × 182 mm) and two large drawings in Casa Buonarroti, probably successive pages of the same album; a half elevation (CB128A/B95/Corpus 279; pen and ink, brush and wash over black chalk, 399 × 274 mm); and a diagrammatic analysis of the entire, highly inventive, columnar structure (CB116A/B251/Corpus 190; black chalk 270 × 385 mm), probably made with a view to ordering the marble for the architectural membering.

In favour of Wilde's suggestion is the play made with columns, which attaches the present sheet closely to the final design of facing single tombs shown in the two Casa Buonarroti drawings, and the plastic force of the design. Indeed, Fasolo in 1927 already made the same connection, although he assumed that the Casa Buonarroti drawings were intended for the New Sacristy. However, W38 unmistakably shows the structure surmounted by a lunette, whereas the lower storey of the end wall of the choir of San Lorenzo is and always was delimited by a straight entablature. In fact, the similarity of organisation of, in particular, A and B on the present page to Michelangelo's design of 1521 for the tombs of the Magnifici on the entrance wall of the New Sacristy (see Cats. 63 and 64) suggests rather that they and the other drawings on this page are revised designs for the entrance wall, probably made after the renewal of work in 1530 following the four-year interruption caused by the collapse of papal finances in 1526 and the expulsion of the Medici from Florence in 1527. In favour of this view is, especially, the drawing B, the most informative of those on this side of the sheet. It includes two sarcophagi, the statue of a seated figure in the central space, and two standing ones in the upper levels of the side compartments, whose lower sections too were presumably intended to house seated figures. The complement of statues, and their arrangement, is so close in basic design to Michelangelo's project of 1520–1 for the Magnifici Tombs that it is hard to avoid

the conclusion that it represents a simplified and more plastic variant of it, designed after Michelangelo had discovered for himself the sculptural effect of pure architecture in the *ricetto* of the Laurentian Library, a project that, of course, also influenced his design of the columnar tombs of the popes planned for the choir of San Lorenzo in 1526. If this interpretation is correct, it strongly suggests that shortly after 1530 Michelangelo re-planned the Magnifici tombs with a reduced figural complement and more emphatically plastic architecture. Like the projects for the papal tombs in the choir of San Lorenzo, by which this new design was strongly influenced, it became the prototype for a large number of later tombs. However, it must be admitted that some of the drawings on this page do seem to represent free developments of Michelangelo's ideas. It is hard to believe that a plan of the complexity of H and J could ever have seriously been intended for construction.

In a letter of 1546 to Cosimo I keeping him up to date with Tribolo's efforts to set the New Sacristy in order, Pier Francesco Riccio mentions, in connection with what is certainly the Magnifici Tomb, "li marmori e le colonne lavorati in maggior parte" (Aschoff, 1967, p. 136), but he does not provide further details or indicate how many columns were involved.

The verso, uncovered only in 1953, is, as de Tolnay first pointed out, a sketch for the ceiling of the reading room in the Laurentian Library. Although quickly and roughly drawn, it shows a structure close to that of the ceiling as executed, which was further prepared in a careful red-chalk drawing in Casa Buonarroti (CB126A/B91/Corpus 542; 374 × 210 mm). Execution of the woodwork of the ceiling seems to have been anticipated only in later 1533 and probably did not commence before Michelangelo left Florence for good in late 1534. On first publication, the present sketch was dated to 1524; it and the Casa Buonarroti drawing are now generally dated to 1526. But it would be highly unusual for Michelangelo to have retained the same design more or less unaltered for some six years. The situation is not entirely clear, but from correspondence between Michelangelo and his patron Clement VII, it would seem that as late as April 1526, it was still planned to articulate the reading room with three corridors, one in the centre, and one at either side, with two banks of benches between them. There is no indication that the final scheme, in which the benches are butted against the walls, with a single wide corridor in the centre of the room, had then been determined, and it seems more likely that this was finalised only after 1530. Thus, both sides of the present sheet would have been drawn at about the same time, that of the revival of Medicean works that

took place after the city returned to the family's rule in August 1530.

History

Casa Buonarroti; Jean-Baptiste Wicar; Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Woodburn, 1842, no. 70 ("Sheet of architectural studies – of doors, windows etc."). Woodburn, 1846, no. 13 (As 1842.). Robinson, 1870, no. 40 (Michel Angelo: sketches for the tombs of the Medici princes, c. 1520.). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 37. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 229. Berenson, 1903, no. 1566 ("The one with a large statue in the middle niche, and a smaller one lower down at the side [A], may possibly have been for the Tomb of Lorenzo the Magnificent, the larger statue representing the Madonna."). Baum, 1908, p. 1115 (Recto: most important drawing is [B], which follows BM W28 verso. Followed by the school drawings in the Louvre, Inv. 686 recto/J24/Corpus 193 and Inv. 837 recto/J26/Corpus 194.). Thode, 1908, I, p. 455; II, p. 218 (A–D for a double tomb at a moment when Michelangelo considered two facing double tombs; [E–G] and [I–K], perhaps for a reliquary chamber in San Silvestro.). K. Frey, 1909–11, p. 143 (Michelangelo; for Medici Chapel; criticism of Thode's view.). Thode, 1913, no. 423 (Admits error of 1908; all for the Magnifici Tomb, following BM W28/Corpus 189 and preceding Louvre Inv. 686/J24/Corpus 193.). Popp, 1922 p. 131 (Not Michelangelo, but by an inferior artist aware of the architecture of the Laurenziana.). Fasolo, 1927, pp. 445 ([B] is a design for a double tomb – reconstructed graphically by Fasolo in his fig. 27 – to be placed in the New Sacristy in response to the Pope's request that the scheme be changed to accommodate three double tombs (one each for the Magnifici, the Dukes, and the Medici Popes). This double tomb was generated from ideas for a single tomb [A], reconstructed graphically by Fasolo in his fig. 26. Close relation of architectural composition to the contemporary forms of the Laurentian Library. Developed further in BM W39 recto/Corpus 192, and Casa Buonarroti 128A/B95/Corpus 279.). Popp, 1927, p. 405 (Not by Michelangelo; weak imitation of his papal tomb projects for the choir of San Lorenzo; the same applies to BM28/Corpus 189.). Berenson, 1938, no. 1566 (As 1903.). H. W. Frey, 1951, pp. 68–70 (Recto: Michelangelo, studies for the double tomb in the entrance wall of the New Sacristy. The angular sarcophagi take up ideas from BM [W28 verso/Corpus 189]. The side bays of [A] widened from those of [B] to produce a

closer alignment with the sarcophagi. Stylistic relation to studies for tombs of the Popes for the choir of San Lorenzo.). Wilde, 1953a, pp. 75–6 (Made between BM W38/Corpus 561 and W39/Corpus 192; study for double tombs of the Popes to be placed in a recess in the end wall of the choir of San Lorenzo.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 145 (c. 1525–6.). De Tolnay, 1955, pp. 237–40 (Publication of the verso, uncovered in 1953: sketch for ceiling of Laurentian reading room.). Parker, 1956, no. 308 (Recto: essential genuineness... seems beyond doubt, though architectural plans [C–E, H, I] “could conceivably be by another hand.” The connecting link between W38 recto/Corpus 561 and 39 recto/Corpus 192, for papal tombs either in the New Sacristy or Choir of San Lorenzo. Verso: uncovered in 1953, for ceiling of Laurentian reading room.). Dussler, 1959, no. 345 (Recto: autograph; comparable with numerous other plans and line drawings of the 1520s; precise purpose controversial. Verso: for Laurenziana ceiling c. 1524). Ackerman, 1961, II, p. 29 (This and BM W38/Corpus 561 although “related in style [to drawings for the Papal tombs in the choir of San Lorenzo]... were not necessarily drawn for the same project.”); p. 38 (Verso: “Indications of the wall pilasters demonstrate co-ordination of wall and ceilings in the same proportions as the final solution.” Placed after CB126/B91/Corpus 542 because of “its more mature integration with the wall system.” Before August 1524.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1566 (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1962, p. 119 (Related to CB46A/B94/Corpus 277 for the papal tombs in San Lorenzo.). Ackerman, 1964, II, p. 29 (Recto: as 1961.); p. 38 (Verso: as 1961. Before August 1524.). Barbieri and Puppi, 1964a, p. 1010 (Recto: for the papal tombs in the choir of San Lorenzo; comes between BM W38/Corpus 561 and CB128A/B95/Corpus 279.); pp. 859–60, 1005 (Verso: summary sketch for reading-room ceiling.). De Angelis d’Ossat, 1965b, pp. 310–1 (Recto: follows from BM W38/Corpus 561 and leads to Casa Buonarroti, 128A/B95/Corpus 279, for the tombs of the popes on the rear wall of the choir of San Lorenzo.). Berti, 1965, pp. 433, 436 (Recto: relates to New Sacristy. Verso: for the ceiling of the Laurenziana reading room.). De Tolnay, 1969a, p. 13 (Recto: sketch for Magnifici Tomb, prior to final design recorded in [Cat. 64], etc.). De Tolnay, 1969b, p. 80 (As 1969a.). Hartt, 1971, no. 222 (Recto: 1520–1. Not for a papal tomb in the choir of San Lorenzo; “clearly... for the double tomb of Lorenzo and Giuliano the Magnificent on the end wall of the Medici chapel.”); no. 286 (Verso: 1524; early sketch for Laurenziana ceiling.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 56 (Recto: c. 1525–6; for double tomb probably to be placed

in choir of San Lorenzo.). Joannides, 1975, p. 262 (Recto: with BM W38/Corpus 561 perhaps a revised project for the Magnifici Tomb, c. 1526.). De Tolnay, 1976, Corpus II, no. 191 (Recto: 1524; [K] for the wall articulation of the Laurentian reading room; the other drawings for the Magnifici Tomb, and in direct relation with the upper drawing on BM W38/Corpus 561, also for the Magnifici Tomb. Verso: as 1955; datable April 1524, a sketch for the plan sent to Clement VII.). Nova, 1984, pl. 24 (Plans and elevations for Medici tombs.). Ackerman and Newman, 1986, p. 299 (Recto: as 1961/1964.); p. 302 (Verso: as 1961/1964.). Argan, 1990, p. 24 (Recto: sketch of wall articulation for reading room of Laurentian Library and studies for Medici tombs.). Contardi, 1990, p. 184 (Recto: Michelangelo: related to CB 128A/B95/Corpus 279, CB116A/B251/Corpus 190, BM W38/Corpus 561, CB 46A/B94/Corpus 267 recto, and AB V. 38, fol. 213 verso/B349/Corpus 278, for the projected papal tombs in the choir of San Lorenzo; notes de Tolnay’s disagreement. Close in style to Laurenziana articulation; should be dated c. 1526.); p. 195 (Verso: Michelangelo: perhaps a little earlier than April 1526, date of confirmation of plan of reading room ceiling.). Morrogh, 1993, pp. 588–90 (Recto: revised project for Magnifici Tomb, datable 1524; elaborate analysis. Verso: for Laurenziana ceiling, c. 1524.). Joannides, 1996b, p. 152 (Recto: revised project for Magnifici Tomb, probably datable 1532. Verso: probably also datable 1532.).

CATALOGUE 40

The Descent from the Cross with Ten Figures
1846–88; R.37; P.II 342; Corpus 431

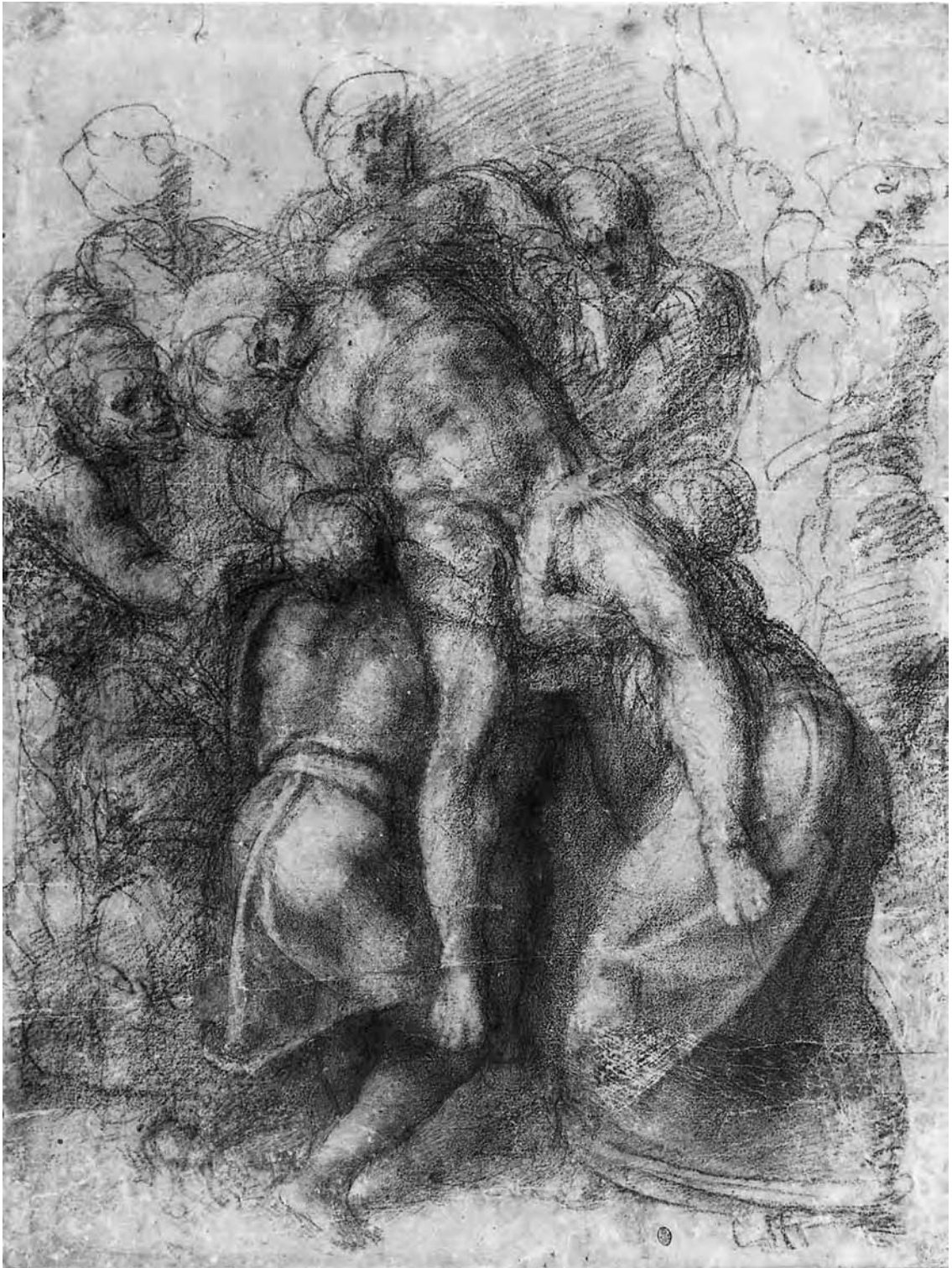
Dimensions: 375 × 280 mm; the upper right corner made up

Medium

Red chalk in two shades on pre-prepared grey-washed paper; some indications in stylus under the satyr-like figure at the left. Possibly some water staining in the centre of the sheet.

Condition

The sheet is fully lined; there are major tear repairs and infilled losses, some toned. There are many horizontal creases and fractures, particularly at the lower quadrant, and numerous creases of all the edges of the



primary support. There are numerous circular worm holes, mostly unfilled but supported by the lining. Dark lines with fracture indicate the brown ink inscription on the verso. The sheet has small accretions, some abra-

sion, cross-hatched scratches, local stains, and discolouration. The lining has pressed-out creases, skinning, adhesive residues, small rust spots, accretions, and uneven discolouration.

Numbering

Verso: visible through the backing sheet an old numeration in pen and ink: 396. R37, twice in graphite, in two different hands on the old backing sheet, obviously registering Robinson's numbering.

Discussion

It is often claimed that this drawing has been overworked by a second hand, but the compiler can see no evidence for this: however, it has clearly been brought to different levels of finish, a common feature of Michelangelo's drawings.

The date is controversial. Assigned to the period of the Cappella Paolina by de Tolnay, the drawing is placed still later by Hirst. However, from his surviving oeuvre, it may be inferred that Michelangelo rarely used red chalk after the early 1530s. No drawings in the medium are known for the *Last Judgement*, the Pauline Chapel frescoes, or any of the late architectural projects. Only one Presentation Drawing post-dating the series for Tommaso Cavalieri is in red chalk: the *Madonna del Silenzio*, probably of c. 1540, but apparently not made for Vittoria Colonna (Duke of Portland Collection/Corpus 388; 322 × 285 mm); the forms and handling of that drawing, incidentally, are unlike those of the present study.

More specifically, the differentiated technique of this drawing, with broad hatching and loose contour work establishing the subsidiary figures, while smoothly stumped modelling is employed for the main ones, seems to the compiler to count against a date either in the 1540s or the 1550s. This also seems true of the forms of the figures. In all these features, the drawing is most similar to a drawing of an eight-figure *Lamentation* in the Albertina, Vienna (BK 102 recto/Corpus 269; red chalk, 320 × 251 mm), generally agreed to date from the early 1530s. The complexity of the arrangement in both is remarkable. In addition, the foreground motif of Christ's dangling legs in the present drawing is closely related to a drawing in the Louvre (Inv. 704 verso/J36/Corpus 243; red chalk, 290 × 174 mm), also datable around 1530. In the present design, this motif also recalls the Sistine *Ionas*.

It was suggested by Nagel (1996 and 2000) that the present drawing was executed in two phases. In his view, the composition was sketched-in in the early 1530s, but the more finished central figures were elaborated in the mid-1540s, when Michelangelo would have returned to the sheet. However, even though this might explain the advanced appearance of the densely worked figures that, as Nagel noted, do resemble forms that Michelangelo was to employ in the 1540s, close examination of the

drawing detects no signs of re-working in this area. The dense figures do not overlay others more lightly sketched: There are no lines beneath their surface resembling those of the more lightly sketched figures around them. This, if Nagel's two-phase scheme of execution were to be accepted, would entail Michelangelo's having left a void in the centre of his composition in the early 1530s, to be filled in some fifteen years later. There is, in principle, no barrier to the hypothesis that Michelangelo re-worked one of his own drawings; on occasion, he demonstrably used the recto and the verso of the same sheet at different dates, and in his very last years certainly re-worked some earlier architectural drawings (see Cats. 55 and 56). But the compiler finds it hard to accept that Michelangelo would initially have omitted the centre of his design, and then seamlessly have completed it a decade and a half later. Such a procedure seems uncharacteristic of so imperious an artistic personality.

Scholars from Thode onwards have been attracted by the fact that the cartoon of a *Pietà* containing nine figures was recorded in Michelangelo's studio after his death and have considered that the present drawing might be a study for it. But it contains ten figures, not nine, and because Michelangelo returned to and reconsidered earlier models and themes in his later life, the relation need be no more than generic. Furthermore, Michelangelo certainly retained in his Roman workshop drawings made over several decades, and that the *Pietà* cartoon was a work from his final years is no more than assumption. It is also worth noting that an alternative candidate exists for a preparatory drawing for this lost cartoon in a drawing of c. 1550 in the Teyler Museum, Haarlem (A35 verso/VT 65/Corpus 434; black chalk, fragmentary, original dimensions approximately 300 × 305 mm). The condition of this drawing does not allow a full reading, but traces of seven figures are now visible, and it might well have contained more.

Although it is not a strong argument, the fact that the earliest ascertained appearance both of the present drawing and of Albertina 102, which bears Mariette's stamp, is French might suggest that both were given by Michelangelo to Antonio Mini, who certainly took Louvre 704 with him to France. The fact that the verso of Albertina 102 carries a partial copy by a pupil or associate – the qualitative level seems higher than usual for Mini, but it might be by him at the very end of his stay with Michelangelo – of a figure from Michelangelo's early drawing of clothed and nude variants of antique models (Chantilly, Musée Condé; Lanfranc de Panthou 28 recto/Corpus 24; pen and ink, 261 × 386 mm) reinforces the probability of such a provenance, at least for that

sheet. A further two-figure *Pietà* in the Albertina (BK 103/Corpus 432; red chalk on paper in part washed in grey, 404 × 233 mm), comparable with the present sheet in size, medium, and, in the compiler's view, date, also has a French provenance. Finally, an unpublished drawing in the Schlossmuseum, Weimar, KK 8797 recto (red chalk, 390 × 239 mm), which may well be by Antonio Mini, seems to be after a lost preparatory study – or a plastic model – made by Michelangelo for a *Pietà* with five figures, a design that provided the germ of the later *Pietà* now in Florence. If the attribution to Mini of the Weimar drawing is correct, it must antedate his departure for France and would establish that the basic scheme of the Florence *Pietà* was already in Michelangelo's mind before 1532. The verso of Weimar KK8797 bears another version of Cat. 75.

History

Baron Dominique-Vivant Denon (L.779); Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Woodburn, 1836b, no. 76 (“[A] very splendid composition, most important, as no picture is known of this subject.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 28 (As 1836.). Woodburn, 1846, no. 34 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1862, p. 4, pl. 9 (As Woodburn, 1842.). Fisher, 1865, II, p. 22, pl. 9 (As 1862.). Robinson, 1870, no. 37 (Michel Angelo. “If intended as the design for a finished work, the arrangement of the figures suggests that it must have been for a picture . . . certainly rather of the early than the later time of the master.” c. 1511–c. 1520. Some parts of the drawing much more precisely defined than others.). Fisher, 1872, II, p. 20, pl. 9 (As 1862.). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 34. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 225. Springer, 1878, p. 455 (Similarity of theme with National Gallery *Entombment*; implicitly dated to Michelangelo's third Florentine period.). Fisher, 1879, XXVIII/30 (“[T]his particular rendering of the subject is unique.”). Springer, 1883, II, pp. 310–11 (As 1878.). Berenson, 1903, I, pp. 234–5, no. 2491 (Sebastiano, 1515–18.). Colvin, 1904, II, no. 13 (Lists “weaknesses”; agrees with Berenson's attribution to Sebastiano.). Borough Johnson, 1908, p. 10, pl. XLV (Michelangelo.). D'Achiardi, 1908, p. 324 (Sebastiano.). Thode, 1908, II, pp. 408–9, 499, 502 (Michelangelo, perhaps made for Sebastiano: criticism of Berenson's attribution of this and Albertina BK 102/Corpus 269; link with Gathorne Hardy drawing; relation to *Pietà* with nine figures recorded in Michelangelo's posthumous inventory?).

K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 150 (Michelangelo in conception, save for the right-hand figure, but not in handling; perhaps but not certainly by Sebastiano; datable before the *Last Judgement*.). Thode, 1913, no. 420 (Michelangelo, in 1540s.). Brinckmann, 1925, no. 76 (Michelangelo, c. 1550. Similar to Albertina BK 102/Corpus 269; linked with Florence *Pietà*.). Popp, 1925b, p. 75 (Not Michelangelo.). Venturi, 1926, pl. CCXCI (Michelangelo.). Berenson, 1938, no. 2491 (As 1903; a reminiscence of female figure in Rosso's Volterra *Deposition*.). Delacre, 1938, pp. 20–1 (Michelangelo; similarities with BM W64/Corpus 270, and Albertina BK 102/Corpus 269 and BK 103/Corpus 432; critique of Berenson's and Colvin's attribution to Sebastiano.). Dussler, 1942, p. 194 (By neither Michelangelo nor Sebastiano.). Pallucchini, 1944, p. 82 (“v'è una insistenza nella definizione plastica specialmente delle masse di primo piano, che certo transcende le intenzioni stilistiche di Sebastiano.”). Goldscheider, 1951, no. 88 (c. 1542.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 95 (Michelangelo: Descent from the Cross, c. 1555. “A large cartoon of a *Pietà* with nine unfinished figures is noted in the [posthumous] inventory of Michelangelo's possessions.”). Parker, 1956, no. 342 (“There can be little doubt that the drawing has been extensively reworked . . . perhaps not so late as 1555.”). Dussler, 1959, no. 616 (Not by Michelangelo or Sebastiano. Link with Albertina BK 102/Corpus 269.). De Tolnay, 1960, pp. 217–18, no. 227 (Prefers to leave attribution open. Queries Parker's view that the drawing is re-worked. Date uncertain. Albertina BK 102/Corpus 269 seems to be c. 1525–30.). Berenson, 1961, no. 2491 (As 1903/1938.). Clark, 1964, p. 443 (“[T]he central forms are modelled like bronze, but the surrounding figures are indicated with a colouristic freedom which might seem to argue a Venetian origin . . . date[s] from a period later than that of his close connexion with . . . [Sebastiano].”). De Tolnay, 1967a, p. 23 (Michelangelo, c. 1545–50.). Hartt, 1971, no. 456 (1550–5?. Composition linked with the Florence *Pietà*. “[S]tarted by Michelangelo, finished in small part . . . and then completed by another hand, possibly many years later. There are appalling passages, especially the head of Christ and the completely misunderstood lines superimposed on His chest.”). Mantura, 1973, p. 200 (Favours earlier rather than later date.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 159 (Purpose unknown “unless it is a study for the large unfinished cartoon of a *Pietà* with nine figures listed in the posthumous inventory of Michelangelo's effects.”). Pignatti, 1977, no. 22 (Survey of opinion on attribution; datable in the 1550s.). De Tolnay, 1978, Corpus III, no. 431 (Michelangelo, after 1550. Some

re-working especially in the centre. Link with Albertina BK 102/Corpus 269 dated late.). Hirst, 1988, p. 7 (Late use of red chalk.). Hirst, 1994–5, p. 139, no. 26 (After 1550.). Nagel, 1996, pp. 565–6 (“[T]he different parts of the sheet were done not only in two different techniques but at two different times. The hypothesis that the sheet is a palimpsest helps to resolve some of the confusion over the dating.” The drawing begun c. 1530–4; the central three figures in the style of the Pauline Chapel figures added in the 1540s.). Paoletti, 2000, p. 77 (“[T]he somewhat satiric features of the turbaned male” resemble Michelangelo’s. Notes similarity of head-covering to that of the Louvre portrait drawing of Michelangelo, Inv. 2715/J R27 [see Cat. 107].). Nagel, 2000, pp. 204–5 (As 1996.). Joannides, 2002–3b, p. 321, under no. 187 (Nagel’s hypothesis of execution at two different periods not supported by the physical evidence.).

CATALOGUE 41

Recto: Studies of a Left Leg, a Steeply Raised Right Arm, and a Raised Right Elbow

Verso: Two Studies of a Raised Right Arm
1846.75; R.67; P.II 329; Corpus 362

Dimensions: 240 × 145 mm

Medium

Black chalk.

Condition

There are major repairs to edge tears, major and minor losses infilled, edges skinned, and some abrasion. There is discolouration and local staining from the medium and adhesive.

Description

Recto

A. The bent legs of a nude figure, perhaps kneeling; the knee of the right leg is only briefly indicated.

B. A raised right arm and hand.

C. It is disputed whether this drawing should be read in the same sense as the others or with the right edge as the base.

- i. In the first case (that sustained by the compiler), it would seem to represent a very powerful right bicep, elbow and upper forearm, bent at a right angle.
- ii. In the second case (suggested by W. Dreesmann), it would show part of the left thigh, the knee, and part of the upper calf of a seated nude figure.

Verso

A. Upper drawing: a raised right arm, seen from the front.

B. Lower drawing: a left arm bent across the body, with the hand raised.

An alternative view (found in Dussler, no. 629 and de Tolnay, Corpus 362) that the page should be read with the Oxford stamp in the upper left corner and that the drawings represent a lowered left arm, seems to the compiler to be less likely, and it is countered by the direction of the hatching.

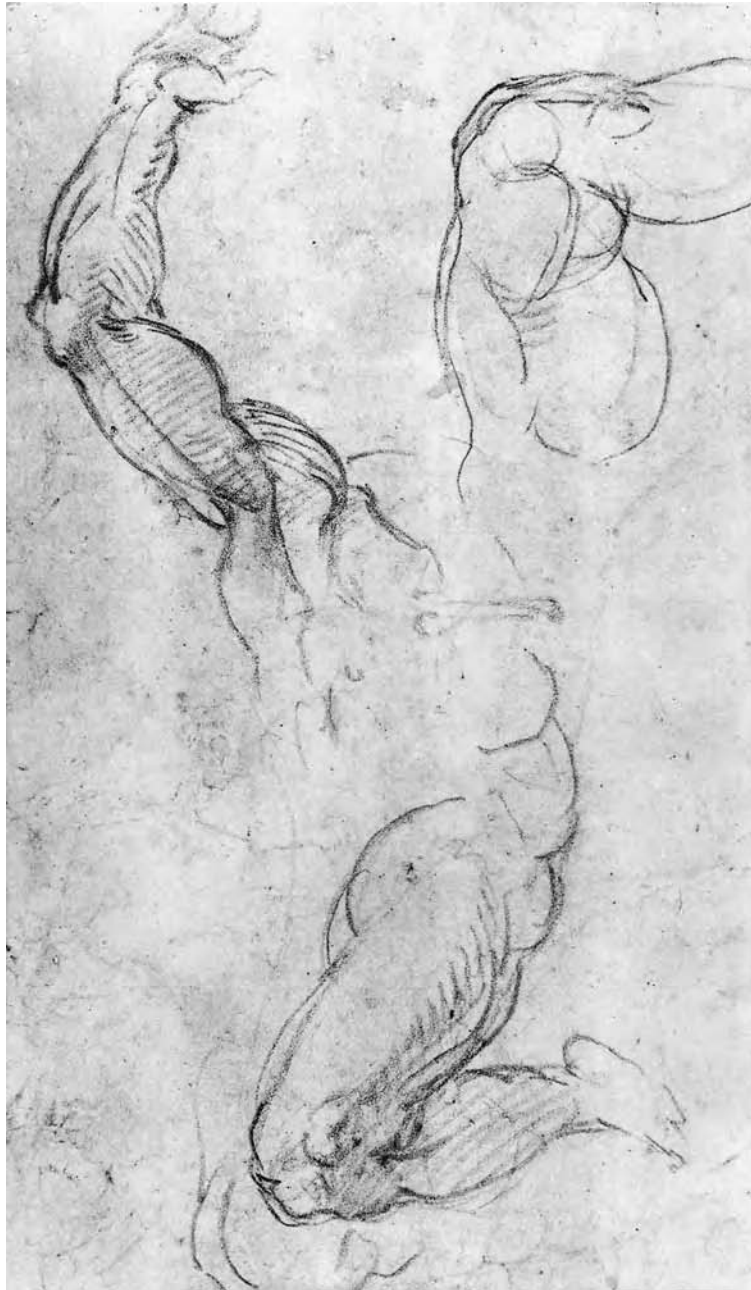
Discussion

The sketches of a raised right arm and a right elbow on the recto were probably made, as most scholars have accepted, for the right arm of Christ in the *Last Judgement*. His gesture is the focal point of the whole composition, and it obviously preoccupied Michelangelo: Even when it had been painted, he revised it, enlarging the dimensions of the upper arm.

It is probable but not certain that the sketch of bent legs was also made for Christ. None of the drawings connected with the fresco shows Christ with a leg bent quite so tautly, but in the largest surviving compositional drawing (CB65F recto/B142/Corpus 347; black chalk, 420 × 297 mm), His left leg is quite strongly bent, and the present drawing may register a stage in the design of His figure for which no other evidence survives. However, this drawing of a leg also contains some similarities to the study of two legs and a groin at the left side of W61 verso/Corpus 352 (black chalk, 396 × 263 mm), a sheet that contains exclusively studies for angels with the Instruments of the Passion in the upper right lunette. It is not, therefore, to be excluded that the present sheet might be connected with these figures as well as with that of Christ.

In any case, with their broad diagrammatic hatching and swiftly drawn decisive contours, all the drawings on this side of the sheet powerfully establish key expressive units. Michelangelo must have made large numbers of sketches of this type, but very few survive.

The upper of the two verso drawings also shows a right arm, but one raised at a much shallower angle. It does not seem to be for the gesture of Christ and probably represents a preliminary idea, not retained in execution, for that of one of the angels in the upper right lunette. A preliminary sketch for the same right arm is found on a drawing in Florence (CB14A verso/B117/Corpus 577; black chalk, 388 × 558 mm), which also contains three other



sketches related to the present sheet and to W61/Corpus 352. These are as follows:

1. A sketch of crossed arms for an angel, an arrangement developed further at the lower right of W61/Corpus 352, but not used in the fresco.
2. A raised right arm and forward-projecting forearm with the hand facing forward, perhaps planned for the figure shown on the verso of W61. Another drawing in London (BM W80/Corpus 397; black chalk, 113 × 156 mm), dated by Wilde to the 1550s and connected with

one of the *Annunciations* designed by Michelangelo for Marcello Venusti, is probably a detailed study for this gesture, made for one of the angels in the *Last Judgement*.

3. A raised left arm, similar to the larger study on the recto of the present sheet, in reverse, which was probably also made in view of one of the angels.

If the compiler's interpretation of the lower drawing on the verso is correct, it shows a left arm bent across the chest at a rising angle, with the hand raised as though warding off a rebuke: The similarity with the left arm of Adam in



the Sistine *Expulsion* is evident, and Michelangelo might well have intended to recall this gesture in modified form in one of the Damned in the *Last Judgement*.

It is worth remarking that CB14A verso bears an inscription by Michelangelo with the date *25 luglio, 1528*. This relates to the large drawing on the sheet's recto, which was made to prepare a defensive bastion planned for Florence's Porta del Prato. The juxtaposition demonstrates Michelangelo's casual use of the verso, four or five years after he drew the recto, for an entirely unrelated project. The only connection between the two might be of interest for the artist's psyche: The bastion was drawn for Florence's defence against the forces

working to restore Medici rule; the verso was part of the planning process of a fresco commissioned by the man whose rule the siege of Florence was undertaken to restore.

History

Casa Buonarroti; Jean-Baptiste Wicar?; William Young Ottley (his sale?, 11 April 1804, part of lot 274, "One ditto [i.e., One leaf] containing several studies of attitudes for the Last Judgment, and a study for the Annunciation, all in black chalk, from ditto [i.e., Casa Buonarroti]"; Sir Thomas Lawrence (no stamp); Samuel Woodburn.

References

William Young Ottley (his sale? 11 April 1804, part of lot 274, “One ditto [i.e., One leaf] containing several studies of attitudes for the Last Judgment, and a study for the Annunciation, all in black chalk, from ditto [i.e., Casa Buonarroti]”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 54 (“A pen-timento of arms and leg – in black chalk.”). Robinson, 1870, no. 67 (“The writer is not able to identify them as for any particular work; in general style of design, however, they seem to resemble the Last Judgement study” [Cat. 42]). Black, 1875, p. 215, no. 57. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 233. Berenson, 1903, no. 1570 (Recto: “of small importance but may be Michelangelo’s.” Perhaps for a Risen Christ, c. 1535.); no. 1724 (Verso: follower of Michelangelo.). K. Frey, 1909–11, nos. 195, 196 (Recto and verso authentic; period of *Last Judgement*). Thode, 1913, no. 440 (Recto and verso authentic; period of *Last Judgement*). Brinckmann, 1925, no. 27 (1509–10, for *God the Father Separating Light from Darkness*). Popp, 1925b, p. 74 (Not Michelangelo.). Berenson, 1938, no. 1570 (Recto.); no. 1724 (Verso.) (As 1903.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 122 (c. 1545–50). Parker, 1956, no. 329 (Later 1530s; 1545–50 “seems unaccountably late.”). Dusler, 1959, no. 629 (Rejected. Recto and verso by the same hand, perhaps a pupil making use of Michelangelo’s drawings of the 1530s.). De Tolnay, 1960, pp. 198–9, no. 204 (“[A]uthenticity . . . not . . . established.” If original, of Paolina period.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1570 (Recto: as 1903/1938.); no. 1724 (Verso: as 1903/1938.). Hartt, 1971, no. 382 (Recto: 1534–5. The arm for the right arm of Christ in the *Last Judgement*; “the thigh, but not the lower leg, was utilised for the first of the group of martyrs seated at the extreme right.”); no. 71 (Verso: 1510?. Study for the right arm of Adam in the Sistine *Expulsion*). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 146 (Unconnected with a known work.). De Tolnay, 1978, Corpus III, no. 362 (Recto: Michelangelo, c. 1545. Verso: weaker than recto, but probably autograph and contemporary.). Perrig, 1999, pp. 224, 238 (Recto and verso: by Clovio; part of Farnese group.).

CATALOGUE 42

Recto: A Man Rising from the Tomb

Verso: Studies of Legs

1846.76; R.58; P.II 330; Corpus 361

Dimensions: 216 × 266 mm

Watermark: Robinson Appendix no. 11. Roberts Anchor F. Briquet 527, Verona, 1558.

Medium

Black chalk.

Condition

There is uneven pulp. An unevenly cut triangular strip is at the left edge. There is a pressed-out horizontal fold with associated abrasion and ingrained dirt. There are several indents, tears and losses, abrasion, infills, and skinning. The sheet has widespread discolouration, local foxing, and surface dirt.

Inscription

Verso: Lower right: Robinson’s numbering in graphite: 58.

Description

Verso

A figure seen in foreshortening; traces of pouncing.

Discussion

The recto was made for the figure at the lower left of the *Last Judgement* who forces himself up from the ground. It is very close in form to the figure as executed and was probably made shortly before the preparation of the cartoon. Given Michelangelo’s habit of revising, it is likely that this drawing was made only in the later stages of work, probably not much before the end of the 1530s.

The artist has concentrated on the musculature of the shoulders expressing the figure’s volition and self-help. The head is no more than outlined, since it was only a subsidiary instrument of expression, to act in adjunct to the symphony of the body. This is very much the mode of the resolved figure-studies for the *Last Judgement*, but the drawings made in the final stages of work such as the present one and a companion in the British Museum (W63/Corpus 360; black chalk, 293 × 233 mm) have a weight and density, combined with clarity, which places them among Michelangelo’s highest graphic achievements. It is worth noting that both contain a series of small circles on the most convex parts of the figure. This feature is also found on some earlier drawings, such as that for the *Haman* in the British Museum (W13 recto/Corpus 163; red chalk, 406 × 207 mm) as first noted by Woodburn in his catalogue entry of 1836 for that drawing (no. 36). Hirst has suggested that it may have been one of Michelangelo’s ways of reminding himself of those parts of his figures that required particular plastic emphasis; alternatively, it may indicate areas of greatest highlight.

The study of the figure’s right hand and wrist at the bottom of the page shows a broader and more emphatic form, which increases the figure’s power. This



subsidiary sketch emphasises once again Michelangelo's concentration on the expressive part of his forms: When it is compared with his first version of this detail, the greater strength of this version becomes immediately evident.

The verso sketches are probably for another of the resurrected figures, who seems to be disentangling one leg from another. But, as scholars have pointed out, the figure cannot be found in the fresco nor in any of the other preparatory drawings, and this seems to document an idea that Michelangelo did not develop further. He eschewed foreshortened poses for the figures of the Resurrected at the lower left. The use of crossed legs, however, is retained in the figure subjected to a tug of war between an angel and a devil, immediately to the left of the mouth of Hell.

The traces of pouncing on the verso were no doubt made by Michelangelo from another sheet but were not pursued. Pouncing is not found elsewhere in his surviving drawings, but there is no reason not to accept that

he might have made use of the technique on occasion. He certainly employed pouncing in some of his cartoons as can be seen from the traces left in some areas of the Sistine ceiling and, notably, in the famous cartoon fragment for the *Crucifixion of Saint Peter* in Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte (Inv. 398/Corpus 384; black chalk, 2630 × 1560 mm).

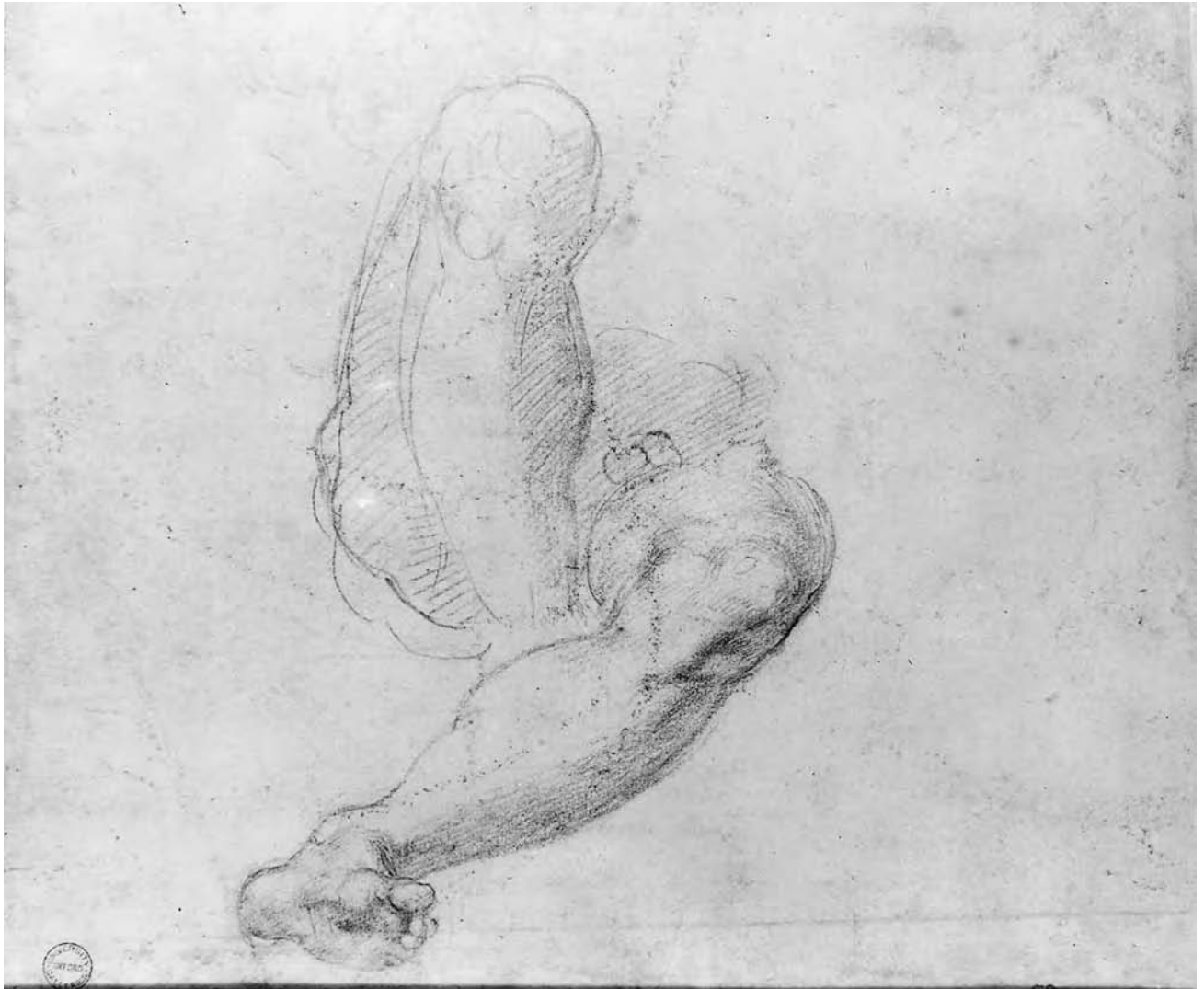
The watermark found on the present sheet also occurs on Cats. 30 and 35, as Robinson noted.

History

Casa Buonarroti; Jean-Baptiste Wicar; Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–62] ("Study in black chalk for one of the figures in the Last Judgement, on the reverse study



of legs.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 78 (“A very fine study for one of the figures rising from the tomb – in the bottom part of the *Last Judgement*.”). Robinson, 1870, no. 58 (For the lower part of the *Last Judgement*. The recto “figure [is] drawn with consummate mastery.”). Black, 1875, p. 215, no. 53. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 227. Berenson, 1903, I, p. 263; II, no. 1721 (After the fresco by Cungi, a “hard and dry but clever draughtsman” responsible for several drawings believed to be preparatory.). Thode, 1908, II, p. 13 (Authentic.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 148 (Recto.); no. 149 (Verso: doubtful of authenticity of this sheet; perhaps by a pupil overworked by Michelangelo.). Thode, 1913, no. 435 (Authentic, for, not after, the fresco.). Popp, 1922, pp. 144–5 (Recto: copy after the *Last Judgement*. Verso: not after the *Last Judgement* but after a model for a River God for the New Sacristy.). Zoff, 1923, pl. 55 (Verso.). Berenson, 1938, no. 1568A (Former 1721; both sides good enough to be Michelangelo.). Delacre, 1938, p. 113 (Attribution to Cungi incompre-

hensible.). Wilde, 1953a, p. 103 (Michelangelo.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 70 (For figure in extreme bottom left corner of *Last Judgement*.). Parker, 1956, no. 330 (Recto: Michelangelo. “[P]lainly connected . . . with the figure on the extreme lower left . . . of the *Last Judgement*. Verso: divergent opinions; certain difference in style from recto.) Dussler, 1959, no. 625 (Rejected. Both sides copies after studies by Michelangelo.). De Tolnay, 1960, p. 191, no. 187 (Recto: Michelangelo.); no. 186 (Verso: cites Popp’s view that it was drawn after a River God model; “difference in quality from the recto.”). Berenson, 1961, no. 1568A (As 1938.). Sutton, 1970, no. 13 (Recto: for lower left of *Last Judgement*.). Hartt, 1971, no. 380 (Recto: 1534–5.); no. 381 (Verso: probably for one of foreshortened figures of damned.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 135 (Recto.). De Tolnay, 1978, Corpus III, no. 361 (Recto: c. 1540. Verso: as 1960.). Lamarche-Vadel, 1981, p. 136, no. 152 (1534–5.). Perrig, 1999, p. 236 (By Giulio Clovio after the fresco; from the Farnese Collection.).



CATALOGUE 43

Recto: Study for the Crucifixion of Saint Peter

Verso: Studies of Legs (laid down; formerly visible through the backing)

1846.77; R.77; P.II 331; Corpus 383

Dimensions: 150 × 105 mm. The lower edge has been torn raggedly and made up.

Medium

Black chalk.

Condition

Small punctures are infilled and retouched; there is another toned patch. The sheet is unevenly discoloured.

Discussion

A difficult page of drawings and not fully typical of Michelangelo's work in its rather precise definition of the musculature and somewhat stringy figure-type. However, while admitting an element of doubt, the compiler is inclined to think the drawings autograph, as quick sketches from the model. The only other name proposed, that of Daniele da Volterra, is clearly untenable: His small black chalk figure sketches are very different in handling.

The relation suggested by Berenson, with the nude figures in contorted poses in the foreground of the compositional drawing for a *Martyrdom of Saint Catherine* (Rome, Galleria Corsini, Inv. 125514/Berenson 1600; black chalk, 265 × 220 mm) is indicative because these figures certainly reflect knowledge of drawings by Michelangelo of the same type as the present ones. Incidentally, it is erroneous to connect the Corsini drawing with Bugiardini's *Martyrdom of Saint Catherine* in Santa Maria Novella: The proportions of the picture-field, the conception of the action, and the figure-scale are radically different. The Corsini drawing was made by Alessandro Allori in the 1550s (Valenti Rodinò, 1998) for a treatment of the *Martyrdom of Saint Catherine* that either was not continued or does not survive.

The two sketches on this page are generally linked with the left-hand figures of the *Crucifixion of Saint Peter*, the second of Michelangelo's frescoes in the Pauline Chapel. This fresco was begun after the completion in 1545 of the companion piece, the *Conversion of Saul*, and represented a change of plan, since Vasari in his 1550 edition, substantially complete at the end of 1547, described the subject as *Christ Giving the Keys to Saint Peter*. Vasari was not at this stage an intimate of Michelangelo, and may have been misinformed, but Michelangelo presumably would not have wished false information to be published about his work, and Vasari's statement strongly suggests that the new subject was not decided upon much before the end of 1547, which would indicate a related date for the present drawing.

It must have been one of many. The figures in this group recur in the fragment of the cartoon now in Naples, Museo di Capodimonte, much altered, thickened, and aggrandised. The Oxford drawing must have come at an early stage in the work. The single later study that is generally accepted to have been made for the fresco, that in the British Museum (W70/Corpus 358; black chalk, 140 × 180 mm) for the kneeling figure excavating the setting for Peter's cross, is broader in handling and expanded in form.

It may be worth mentioning here a small drawing of a nude man, seen from behind, his arms drawn over to the left, in the British Museum (1895-09-15-512; black chalk, 118 × 67 mm), which, although currently ascribed to Pierino da Vinci (unconvincingly in the compiler's view), was given to Michelangelo when in the Malcolm Collection (Robinson, no. 75). Even though no modern scholar seems to have taken this drawing seriously, its quality is high, and the compiler is inclined to think that it too is by Michelangelo: It bears a resemblance to the main figure on the present sheet, although it is softer in handling, and it might also

have been made with the *Crucifixion of Saint Peter* in view.

History

Jonathan Richardson Senior (L.2184); Sir Joshua Reynolds (L.2364); Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

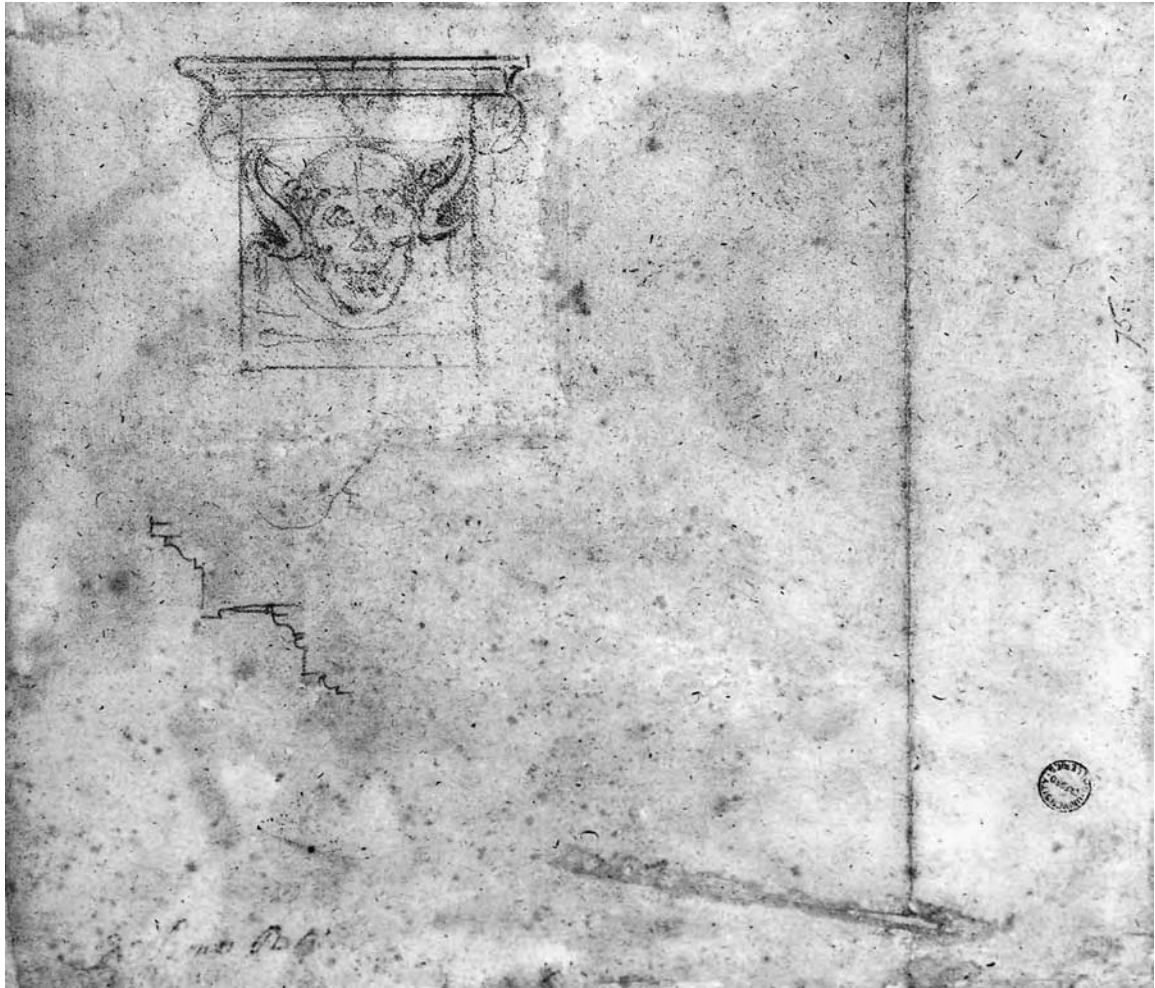
References

Woodburn, 1842, no. 55 ("Four figures of soldiers – ascending steps, highly finished."). Woodburn, 1846, no. 36 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1852, p. 4, pl. 12 (As Woodburn, 1842.). Fisher, 1865, I, p. 16, pl. 12 (As 1852.). Robinson, 1870, no. 77 ("Although the firm vigorous style of drawing might perhaps be thought to denote an earlier epoch than that of the execution of the Cappella Paolina frescoes... the great resemblance of these figures to some of those introduced into the composition of the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* seems to denote that they were preliminary sketches for that design."). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 14, pl. 12 (As 1852.). Black, 1875, p. 215, no. 66. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 237 ("probabilmente per gli affreschi nella Cappella Paolina."). Fisher, 1879, XLVIII/50 (Changes of phrasing only). Morelli, 1891–2, col. 544 ("Echt."). Berenson, 1903, I, p. 222, no. 1577 (Strong resemblance to figures in *Crucifixion of St. Peter*, but at least ten years earlier.). Thode, 1908, II, p. 79 (Michelangelo, for *Crucifixion of St. Peter*). K. Frey, 1909–11, 200a ("vier meisterhaft erfundenen und gezeichneten Akte vorbereitenede Studien zu vier Kriegerern in Kreuzigung Petri," 1541–2.). Thode, 1913, no. 450 (As 1908.). Zoff, 1923, pl. 57 (Michelangelo.). Mariani, 1932, pl. XI (Michelangelo.). Baumgart, 1934, p. 30 (Style does not accord with Michelangelo's either in 1541 or 1546. "il virtuosismo esteriore non s'accoppia una solida e sicura struttura interno del corpo... Il disegno appartiene a un imitatore di Michelangelo." Not a copy of a lost drawing, but a self-sufficient work inspired by the fresco. Nothing secure about authorship, but perhaps by Daniele.). Baumgart, 1935a, p. 346 (Daniele da Volterra; analogies to a *Martyrdom of St. Catherine* in the Galleria Corsini, attributed by Baumgart to Daniele.). Berenson, 1938, I, p. 231, no. 1577 (Similarities with Michelangelo's design for Bugiardini, in Rome, Galleria Corsini, 125514/BB. 1600; black chalk, 265 × 220 mm. [Wilde, 1953a, p. 87, attributes the Corsini drawing to "some younger Tuscan follower of Michelangelo" and notes in it direct derivations from W35/Corpus 227 and Haarlem A23/VT64/Corpus 357].). Goldscheider, 1951, fig. 187 (Daniele da Volterra.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 94 (c. 1546, for soldiers at the left of the *Crucifixion of St. Peter*). Parker, 1956, no. 331 ("Though... not among the easiest



[drawings] to reconcile with Michelangelo, the connexion with the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* seems conclusive.”). Dussler, 1959, no. 631 (Rejected; not in the monumental style of the Pauline phase.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1577 (As 1903/1938.). Hartt, 1971, no. 400 (1545. “No reason to

doubt traditional explanation.”). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 147 (Probably for *Crucifixion of St. Peter*). De Tolnay, 1978, *Corpus III*, no. 383 (Copy of a lost drawing.). Barolsky, 1979, p. 149 (Notes Baumgart’s attribution.). Muzii, 1988, p. 16 (“è ancor dubbio l’autografia.”).



CATALOGUE 44

Recto: A Head

Verso: Architectural Details

1846.83; R.75; P.II 337; Corpus 402

Dimensions: 238 × 201 mm

Watermark: Robinson Appendix no. 18. Roberts, Flower
A. Zonghi 1507, datable 1559.

Medium

Black chalk.

Condition

There is a major horizontal crease, a diagonal scored line, a small “pin” mark, major repaired losses with severe cockling. The sheet has edge abrasion and ingrained dirt, widespread uneven discolouration, and some foxing.

Inscriptions

Verso: In pen and ink, very faded:

di Bona Roti

With the right edge as base, Robinson’s numbering in graphite: 75.

Description

Verso

A. A capital with a fantastic head or skull. For a tomb?.

B. A profile of a cornice.

Discussion

The large head on the recto, which seems to be female, cannot be connected with any specific project by Michelangelo or any other known drawing. However, it is generically similar in form to heads in the second of the Pauline Chapel frescoes, the *Crucifixion of St. Peter*, and those in the *Epifania* cartoon in London (W75/Corpus 389; black chalk, 2,327 × 1,656 cm) made for Ascanio Condivi, to which it is also comparable in

scale. It might in principle be a detailed study for a head in one of the frescoes, which was subsequently changed, but the likelihood is that it was drawn somewhat after 1550, as the watermark suggests. Although it is not an auxiliary cartoon in the narrow sense of the term – no traces of pouncing are visible in it – it could have been made to study, with some variations, a head in a lost cartoon. It was presumably made with a group composition in view, perhaps a *Pietà* – the subject of the cartoon with nine figures recorded in Michelangelo's posthumous inventory – in which this head could be for one of the Virgin's companions, gazing down at the body of Christ, but no suggestion about its function can be more than speculative. The handling is soft and unemphatic, apparently pictorial rather than sculptural, yet the head emerges with a powerful sense of volume.

Verso

Although reminiscent of capitals of Michelangelo's Florentine period – in which critics have persistently dated it – this is much later and was probably drawn after the recto. The death's head might, as Hartt noted, suggest a project for a tomb or for the portal of a funerary chapel, but the scroll-like horns or ears, a fusion of architectural and human or animal forms, and the beads that are strung between them perhaps imply a context less serious. Whatever the case, Michelangelo designed a number of tombs during his last Roman period, most of which remained unexecuted: That for Cecchino Bracci in the church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, and, in all probability, that of Cardinal Raffaello Riario in Santi Apostoli, are rare exceptions, but neither includes skull capitals, and both probably antedate the present drawing by about a decade. Among drawings by Michelangelo for tombs datable to the 1550s are CB19F/B150/Corpus 368 (black chalk, 199 × 197 mm, probably of the early 1550s and CB103A recto/B264/Corpus 613) black chalk, 348 × 200 mm, but none is drawn in great detail or, so far as can be seen, includes a capital of this kind.

History

(More likely) Daniele da Volterra: the *Bona Roti* Collector (than, as given by all scholars from Woodburn onwards, Casa Buonarroti); Jean-Baptiste Wicar?; William Young Ottley, his sale, 1814, lot 257, "A man's head – black chalk," £5.15.6 (also £5.5.0 in pencil in opposite margin); Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

William Young Ottley, his sale, 1814, lot 257 "A man's head – black chalk," £5.15.6 [also £5.5.0 in pencil in opposite margin]. Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–85] ("A young Man's head slightly sketched in Chalk, an anatomical [sic. architectural?] ornament on the reverse."). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 7 ("Full of expression and character. From the Collections of M. Buonarroti and the chevalier Vicar."). Woodburn, 1842, no. 58 (As 1836.). Woodburn, 1846, no. 26 (As 1842.). Robinson, 1870, no. 75 (Recto: "[O]f Michelangelo's late time, the style of execution coinciding exactly with that of the studies for several compositions of the Salutation of the Virgin. The head, which is that of a young man or perhaps a female, may indeed have been intended either for the Virgin or the announcing angel in one of these designs."). Black, 1875, p. 215, no. 64. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 239. Berenson, 1903, no. 1576 ("Very late."). Thode, 1908, I, p. 500 (Verso: for New Sacristy.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 225 (Recto: pupil or assistant; New Sacristy period.); no. 226 (Verso: related in type to New Sacristy, but not used there.). Thode, 1913, no. 449 (Recto: head of a woman, drawn later than the verso, which is of period and style of Medici Tombs.). Berenson, 1938, no. 1576 (As 1903.). Delacre, 1938, pp. 375–6 (Recto: the same head as Windsor PW434/Corpus 325 and BM 1859–6–25–565 [not included by Wilde]; perhaps that of a black man.); p. 389 (Verso: Michelangelo.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 107 (Recto: after 1550.). Parker, 1956, no. 337 (Recto: probably a young man; purpose indeterminate. Verso: earlier than recto.). Dussler, 1959, no. 351 (Ascribed. Recto and verso contemporary, c. 1550.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1576 (As 1903/1938.). Barbieri and Puppi, 1964a, p. 1004 (Verso: 1520–30.). Hartt, 1971, no. 397 (Recto: 1534–5. Perhaps for an angel head in the *Last Judgement*.); no. 289 (Verso: 1516–7. For upper storey of tomb of Julius II. "The profile is almost identical with that of the upper cornice of the tomb as executed. The relative timidity and conservatism of the shapes . . . place this drawing . . . in the period of Michelangelo's first architectural experimentations. . . . A capital with a skull can be related only to a tomb."), Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 161 (Recto: perhaps after 1550; close resemblance, in reverse, to Saint Dismas in the *Last Judgement*. Verso: generally considered to be of the period of the New Sacristy.). De Tolnay, 1978, Corpus III, no. 402 (Recto: c. 1547–50, perhaps for the Virgin in an *Annunciation*. Verso: chronological disparity with recto; recalls drawings of c. 1525–6.). Argan, 1990, p. 26 (Verso reproduced.). Perrig, 1999, pp. 239–40 (By Ascanio Condivi; from Farnese Collection.).



CATALOGUE 45

Recto: Two Studies of a Bending Nude Male Figure
 Verso: Two Studies of the Legs of a Bending Nude Male Figure

1846.84; R.70 (3); P.II 338; Corpus 369

Dimensions: 115 × 110 mm

Medium

Black chalk.

Condition

The edges are particularly creased and bruised; there are some tide marks, much skinning, some abrasions, small indentations, a shallow diagonal score line, and a repaired hole. There is overall uneven discolouration and edge staining.

Inscriptions

Recto: In pen and grey ink at lower left: *Mic: Angelo: Buonaroti.*

Similar inscriptions are found on Cats. 47, 48, and 50, and on a study for the *Last Judgement* in the British Museum, W60 recto/Corpus 350; the provenance of all these drawings is from the Cicciaporci Collection, and this kind of inscription seems exclusive to it.

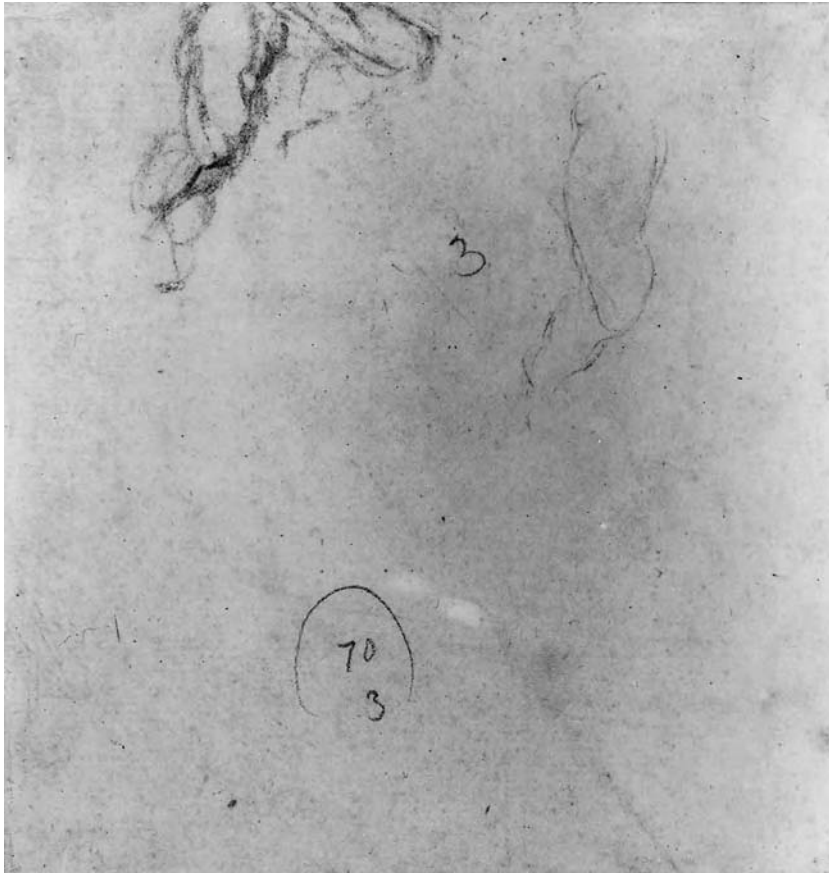
Irregular numbering: *no.* 77 in pen and ink above right.
 Verso: Robinson's numbering in graphite upper centre: 3
 and lower centre: 70

30

Lower left in graphite, Parker's number: 338.

Discussion

Made by Michelangelo for Daniele da Volterra, in preparation for the latter's painting of *Saint John the Baptist in the Wilderness* (called by Vasari *San Giovanni in penitenza*), executed for their common friend, Giovanni della Casa. Versions of identical size, presumably made from the same cartoon, survive in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, Inv. 38 (oil on panel, 191 × 130 cm) and in the Capitoline Museum in Rome, Inv. 360 (oil on canvas, 190 × 130 cm). Both are rejected by Barolsky, *no.* 18, but Treves (2001) believes the Capitoline painting to be autograph.



Giovanni della Casa seems to have commissioned five paintings from Daniele: The other four were

1. The double-sided *David and Goliath*, on slate, 133 × 172 cm, at Fontainebleau (see Cat. 46a).
2. The lost *Aeneas Commanded by Mercury to Relinquish Dido*, on canvas, known in an unfinished reduction, on panel (also lost but reproduced in an old photograph), which may be identical with the version recorded in the inventory of Paolo Orsini as an autograph work. Della Casa planned to send the canvas as a gift to Henri II of France: The commission may have been prompted by Catherine de Médicis, with the aim of recalling the king's mind to his duties and away from Diane de Poitiers.
3. A *Saint Jerome*. This may be the composition found in a drawing of *Saint Jerome in Meditation* attributed to Marcello Venusti in Rotterdam (Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Inv. DN 124/21; black chalk 260 × 192 mm; see de Tolnay, 1960, p. 216), which could well be a copy after a lost *modello* by Michelangelo. This composition is also recorded in two fairly crude engravings, one of which, by Sebastiano da Reggio, is dated 1557,

and records Michelangelo as the inventor and Marcello Venusti as the painter (de Tolnay, 1960, fig. 252). This engraving, and a very similar one by an anonymous Flemish Master (de Tolnay, 1960, fig. 253) were probably made after the now-lost altarpiece of *Saint Jerome in Meditation* which, according to Baglione, Marcello executed for the Miganelli chapel in Santa Maria della Pace. The figure was also engraved, in reverse, by Cherubino Alberti, who set it in an extensive landscape (dated 1575; 531 × 344 mm; *The Illustrated Bartsch* 34, no. 54 [69]). It is perfectly plausible that a drawing made by Michelangelo for Daniele da Volterra could have been used also by Marcello Venusti.

4. An unknown *The Dead Christ and the Three Maries*.

It is argued both by Treves (2001) and Thomas (2001) that all five paintings are likely to date from between June 1555 when della Casa returned to Rome, and November 1556, when he died, with the *Aeneas*, according to Vasari, still unfinished. Support for this dating is provided by a sheet in Casa Buonarroti (19F/B150/Corpus 368; black chalk 199 × 197 mm). This contains three further studies for the *Saint John*, two on the recto (one of them hard

to descry and covered by a design for an elaborate wall tomb), the third on the verso. Treves, the first to do so, also noted on this verso a sketch of a moving man that she plausibly considered to be related to the *Aeneas*, supporting her suggested dating.

Further reinforcement for a dating of 1555–6 is provided by the other drawings on both the recto and the verso of CB19F, a series of sketches of wall tombs and sarcophagi, and three of staircases. The tomb designs, which no doubt all prepare the same project, were formerly misleadingly connected with the tomb of Cecchino Bracci in Santa Maria in Aracoeli, of c. 1542, but they are considerably later in date and imply a much more substantial structure. More materially, one of the designs, that on the lower left of the verso, leads directly to a larger ruled drawing for a tomb found on the recto of a sheet in Casa Buonarroti (CB103A/B264/Corpus 613; black chalk, 350 × 200 mm), which is probably no earlier than 1557. Together with another sheet in Casa Buonarroti (CB124A/B160/Corpus 612; black chalk and 376 × 417 mm), it formed a large composite sheet (726 × 417 mm maximum) the verso of which carried a full-size *modello* in black chalk and wash for a window in the drum of the wooden model of St. Peter's, under preparation by Michelangelo in 1558 (see Cat. 54). The tomb on CB103A recto, apparently unexecuted, was no doubt that of a cleric or aristocrat and, given the coincidence of date, and the other drawings on CB19F, it may well have been intended for della Casa himself.

The sketches of a staircase are certainly not, as was sometimes believed in the past, for that of the Palazzo dei Senatori; nor, in the compiler's present view, are they for that of the Villa Belvedere, as first suggested by Wilde (1953a), followed by Hirst (1963) and, until recently, by the compiler. Michelangelo was involved in the design of the Villa Belvedere staircase in 1550–1 and because the staircase sketches on CB19F overlay at least some of the tombs, and because the tombs overlay at least some of the figures, this would, if that identification were correct, entail a date for both Della Casa's panels of c. 1550. However, although the staircase sketches do seem close to the Belvedere project in their apparent form, the resemblance is deceptive. They are in fact rough sketches made by Michelangelo in response to Vasari's enquiry, in late 1555, about his intentions for the staircase of the *ricetto* of the Laurentian Library. This is made clear by the verso drawing on CB19F, which shows two flights of some six to eight steps in profile, leading up to a platform and three or four further stairs,

seen in plan (as noted elsewhere, it is characteristic of the aged Michelangelo to draw forms perpendicular to one another as though they are on the same plane), a reprise of a scheme that he had considered for the *ricetto* staircase in the 1520s (see CB92A/B89/Corpus 525; black chalk and pen, 390 × 280 mm, maximum).

The Baptist Filling His Bowl had already been represented by Michelangelo within the first decade of the cinquecento, although in radically different form, standing, facing forward, and looking back to the spring from which he fills his bowl (see Cat. 59). In the present treatment, Michelangelo ignored this idea and reverted to a still earlier conception, found in a painting in the Walker Art Gallery Liverpool (Inv. 2783; oil on panel, 77.4 × 228.6 cm) of *Episodes in the Early Life of Saint John the Baptist* in which the young Baptist fills his bowl at a spring, posed similarly to the present drawing. The Liverpool painting, universally agreed to be by a close follower of Ghirlandaio, seems to be by the same hand as another depicting the *Preaching of Saint John the Baptist* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; oil on panel, 75.6 × 209.6 cm), which formed parts of the same scheme of *spalliera* paintings as the *Birth of Saint John the Baptist* by Francesco Granacci (also in the Metropolitan Museum). It has been suggested by Fahy (reported by Treves, 1999–2000) that the *Preaching* is by the young Michelangelo, in which case so, presumably, would be the painting in Liverpool; but this is not an attribution to which the compiler could readily assent.

Treves perceptively suggested that the present sheet remained with Daniele and his heirs, and this is borne out by the presence on the sheet of a number by the Irregular Numbering Collector and by the drawing's reappearance in the Ottley sale of 1814, in which the provenance, given in the 1804 sale as Buonarroti, was corrected to Ciciaporci. The companion sheet, CB 19F/B150/Corpus 368, seems however to have remained with Michelangelo and his heirs: the Saint John on CB19F is among the drawings copied by Andrea Commodi c. 1580 on Uffizi 18599F recto. This sheet also contains copies after three other drawings: W83/Corpus 391 and 33/Corpus 236, both acquired by the British Museum from the Buonarroti Collection in 1859 and CB 69F/B143/Corpus 91, still in Casa Buonarroti.

History

Daniele da Volterra?; The *Bona Roti* Collector?; The Irregular Numbering Collector; The Cavaliere d'Arpino?; The Ciciaporci family and Filippo Ciciaporci?; Bartolommeo Cavaceppi?; William Young Ottley,

his sale, 1804, lot 275 ("One ditto [i.e., One leaf], containing two studies in black chalk, one for the Last Judgment, the other a man carried on the shoulders of three naked figures, very fine, from the same collection [i.e., the Buonarroti]"; his sale, 6 June, 1814, etc., lot 1504 i, ii ("Two on one leaf – three naked figures carrying a dead body – stumped – black chalk – fine; and two sketches of a figure for the last judgment – black chalk. From the Ciciaporci collection"), assuming that the change of provenance between 1804 and 1814 from Buonarroti to Ciciaporci-Cavaceppi was the result of an error either in 1804 (more likely) or in 1814. Sir Thomas Lawrence (no stamp); Samuel Woodburn.

References

William Young Ottley, his sale, 1804, lot 275 ("One ditto [i.e., "One leaf], containing two studies in black chalk, one for the Last Judgment, the other a man carried on the shoulders of three naked figures, very fine, from the same collection [i.e. the Buonarroti].") William Young Ottley, his sale, 1814, lot 1504 i, ii ("Two on one leaf – three naked figures carrying a dead body – stumped – black chalk – fine; and two sketches of a figure for the last judgment – black chalk. From the Ciciaporci collection."). From the Woodburn, 1836b, no. 82 (With [Cats. 47 and 48] "admirably drawn in black chalk; they are chiefly subjects from the New Testament . . . From the Collection of W. Y. Ottley esquire."). Woodburn, 1842, no. 64 (As 1836.). Woodburn, 1846, no. 35 (As 1842.). Robinson, 1870, no. 70.3 ("[A] man seated on a bank reaching down with his right hand as if to get water from a stream with a cup."). Black, 1875, p. 215, no. 55? (Studies for figures in the *Last Judgement*). Gotti, 1875, II, p. 225. Berenson, 1903, no. 1572B ("[R]eaching down from a bank as if to get water in a stream." c. 1540.). Thode, 1908, II, p. 12 (For the *Last Judgement*). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 280b (Recto: connected with CB19F/Corpus 368 for the *Last Judgement*). Thode, 1913, no. 444 (For the *Last Judgement*; the same figure found on Casa Buonarroti 19F/Corpus 368.). Voss, 1913, p. 301 (For Daniele's *Saint John the Baptist in the Desert*, which exists in two versions: Munich, Alte Pinakothek, Inv. 39 and Rome, Capitoline Museum, Inv. 360.). Berenson, 1938, no. 1572B (Connected with the *Last Judgement*). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 129 (c. 1550–2. "Apparently made for Daniele da Volterra and used by him in his *Saint John the Baptist in the Desert* in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich." Notes second version of the painting in the Capitoline Museum.). Parker, 1956, no. 338 (Related to Daniele's painting. Figure recurs on CB 19F/Corpus 368, which contains studies for tomb of Cecchino Bracci, who died in 1544.). Dussler, 1959, no.

203 (Recto and verso by Michelangelo, for Daniele, c. 1545–50.). De Tolnay, 1960, pp. 200–1 (Recto and verso: for Daniele together with CB19F/Corpus 368, datable c. 1544 because it bears a sketch for the tomb of Cecchino Bracci who died that year.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1572B (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1962, p. 189 (Same figure found on CB19F/Corpus 368, probably for the *Last Judgement*). Hartt, 1971, no. 469 (Recto: 1556. For Daniele's *Saint John the Baptist in the Desert*.); no. 470 (Verso: as recto.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 165 (For Daniele's *Saint John the Baptist in the Desert*, c. 1555–6.). De Tolnay, 1978, Corpus III, no. 369 (As 1960.). Liebert, 1983, p. 196 (c. 1550–6, for Daniele, whose "painting increasingly took on the character of sculpture."). Perrig, 1991, p. 103 (By Daniele da Volterra.). Perrig, 1999, p. 279 (As 1991; from Farnese Collection.). Treves, 2001, passim (For Daniele's *Saint John the Baptist in the Desert* commissioned by Giovanni della Casa probably between June 1555 and November 1556; the version in the Capitoline Museum probably autograph.).

CATALOGUE 46A/46B

A

Recto: A Man Overcoming Another Man (David and Goliath)

Verso: An Anatomical Sketch

B

Recto: Christ Cleansing the Temple

Verso: Two Light Sketches

1846.74; R.69; P.II 328; Corpus 374

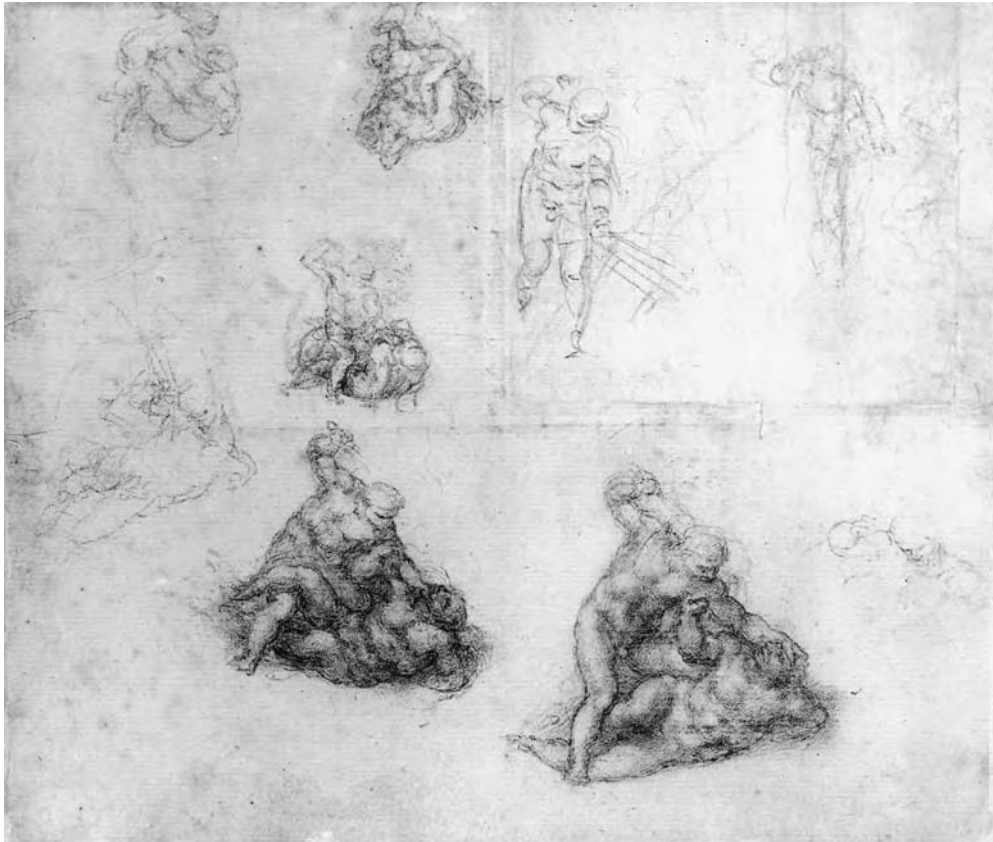
Dimensions: 210 × 245 mm. Made up of a larger sheet (A) into which a smaller one B (c. 100 × 125 mm) of different weight and texture has been inset to make up most of the upper right corner and to which a further strip 98 × 11 mm has been added along the right edge to complete the rectangle.

Medium

Black chalk.

Condition

The main sheet has been folded into quarters and pressed out; a crease has ingrained dirt, and there are other inherent creases. All edges are skinned; there are adhesive residues on the verso and other abrasions. There is local discolouration and staining, overall foxing, and ingrained dirt.



Inscriptions

Verso: In an eighteenth-century? hand:

[sch]izzo raro persinon esserci il cartone e si guarda . . . gruppo
nella gue(rra di?)

*Pisa in concorrenza di Lionardo da vinci che Rafaello e altri
gran maestri . . .*

Description

46a Recto

First line

- A. The group in right profile (the pose of Goliath reminiscent of that of the *Leda*).
- B. The group in left profile.

Second line

- C. The group from three-quarters right.

Third line

- D. The group from three-quarters right on a larger scale – Goliath's right leg entangles with that of David (lightly sketched).

Fourth line

- E. The group from three-quarters right.

- F. The group from three-quarters right on a still larger scale.

- G. The head, right arm, and left shoulder of Goliath from D, tried in a slightly different pose.

46b Recto

- A. Christ advancing, overturning a table, with a figure moving away into depth to His left.
- B. Christ advancing, a figure cowering before him.
- C. A curved line rising diagonally across the fragment?.

46a Verso

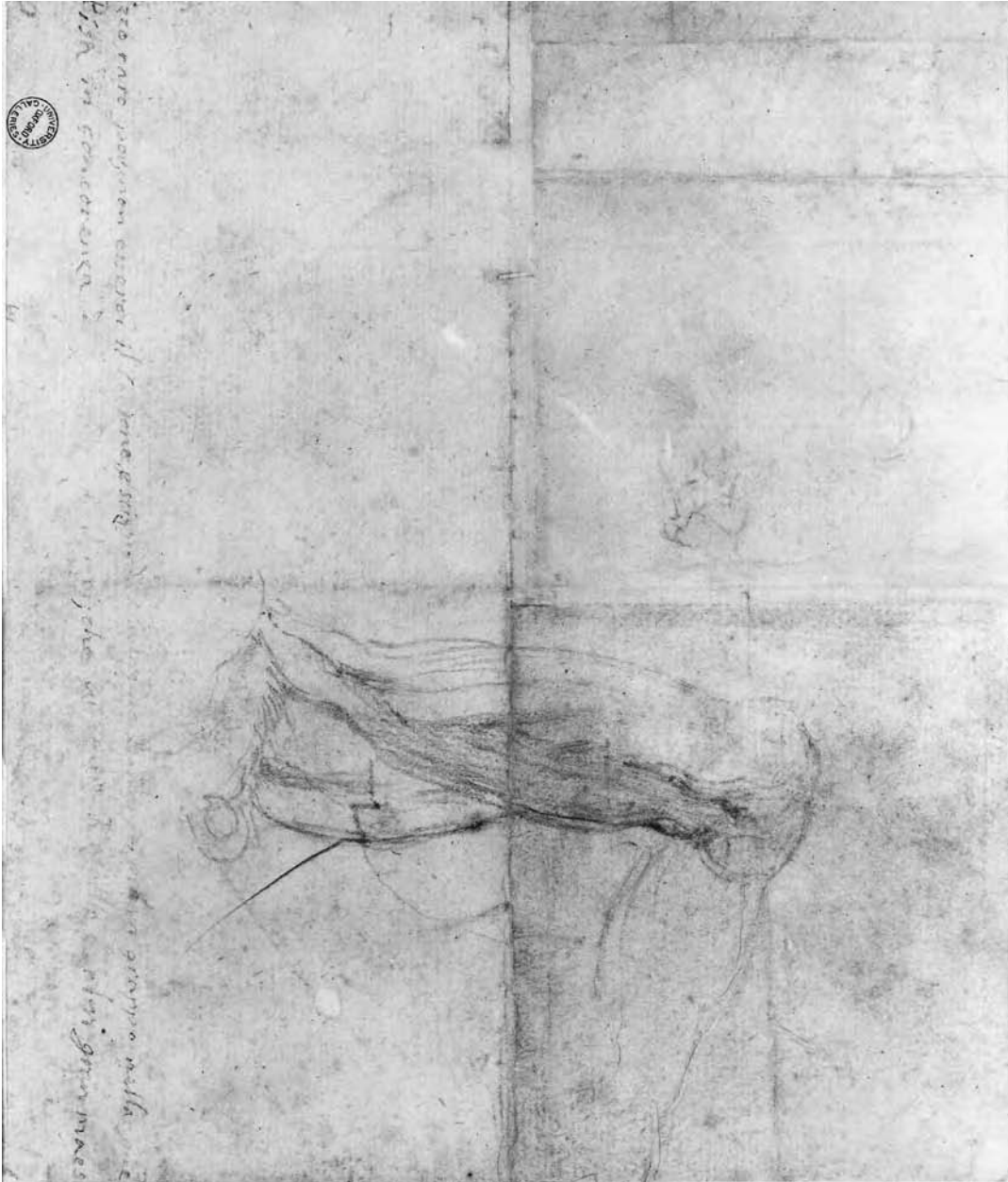
- A left leg, seen in profile (probably for the leg of Christ in the four-figure *Pietà* now in Florence).

46b Verso

- Perhaps a man seated at a table.

Discussion

The studies on the main part of this sheet (46a) are ensuite with a group of four drawings in the Morgan Library (Inv. 132a,b,c,d/Corpus 370–373; black chalk, respectively 70 × 111 mm, 51 × 82 mm, 50 × 68 mm, 72 × 87 mm). These are fragments cut from a larger sheet that once bore an architectural study on its verso. The compiler's



attempts to reconstruct this study have been vain: too much is now missing for a plausible linking of the surviving parts, although the design does seem to have included a series of columns and might be part of a project for the Palazzo dei Conservatori. The sheet was certainly subdivided before – probably well before – the drawings were sold from Sir Joshua Reynolds' collection, since his stamp is found on all four. Nothing is known of their earlier provenance, but it might be conjectured that they came from the Cicciporci Collection.

The Morgan Library drawings relate most closely to the three studies in the lower half of the present sheet. They

probably follow from the very lightly sketched group at the far left and lead on to the two groups at the right, the most developed drawings on the present sheet. In the Morgan drawings, the sprawling pose of the defeated figure is broadly established, but Michelangelo has not finalised the pose of the victorious figure above him, who seems to press down upon his opponent with both knees, rather than standing astride him as in the final version. Even though it seems unlikely (although not impossible) that the Morgan sheet (in its original form) and the present sheet were once parts of the same piece of paper, the two must have been side by side on Michelangelo's

table and the drawings made upon them within minutes of each other.

In the course of developing his ideas, Michelangelo referred back to his own earlier work. The defeated figure in the group at upper left recalls his designs for the *Leda*; the group immediately to the right is a reprise of the two fighting figures – perhaps *Hercules and Cacus* – represented in the epaulet of the lost Presentation Drawing of the *Count of Canossa* (the best surviving copy is in the British Museum, W87; black chalk, 410 × 263 mm), and the group below this is reminiscent, although less closely, of Michelangelo's *Samson and Delilah* (Cat. 35). The most developed drawings do not have such clear antecedents, but in their ferocity, they are reminiscent of the struggling men beneath the hooves of the horses in Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari*. As that composition generated by-products in the form of terracotta groups of fighting figures on horseback, so the most developed studies here would have made excellent small sculptures, compact and dynamic.

The combatants have been identified as *Cain and Abel*, *David and Goliath*, *Samson and a Philistine*, and *Hercules and Cacus*. Any of these pairs might be the subject, but Michelangelo has taken no trouble to signal which: By conventional standards of representation, the victorious figure seems too large for David and insufficiently mature for either Samson or Hercules. Nevertheless, although one cannot be certain which of these pairs Michelangelo intended to select, the overwhelming probability is that the scene is that of *David and Goliath* with David preparing to behead the stunned and floored, but still feebly struggling Goliath, as in Michelangelo's earlier treatment of the subject on the Sistine ceiling. It is reasonable to suppose that these drawings were made to assist his friend and protégé, Daniele da Volterra, in the preparation of a double-sided painting of which both recto and verso show *David about to Behead Goliath*, commissioned from Daniele by Giovanni della Casa, and probably executed shortly before Giovanni's death in November 1556 (Fontainebleau, Musée du Chateau/Barolsky no. 17; oil on slate, 133 × 172 cm; see Thomas, 2001, for a discussion). Although neither the recto nor the verso arrangement of Daniele's painting corresponds exactly to any of Michelangelo's compositions – which would also have made splendid sculptural groups in terracotta or bronze – the similarities are sufficient to make it unnecessary to search for alternative purposes for the sketches.

However, it is clear that Daniele's paintings were not made directly from Michelangelo's drawings, and the artist produced his own variants on Michelangelo's

designs. There exists a small sketch by Daniele in the British Museum (GP 90; black chalk, 154 × 112 mm), which is probably an initial approach to the subject and prior to any involvement by Michelangelo; and there are three much larger, highly finished, but badly damaged drawings, one in the Uffizi (1496F; black chalk, 300 × 400 mm) and two in the Louvre (Inv. 1512, 1513; both black chalk, respectively 380 × 380, and 375 × 455 mm). A fourth drawing, in the Vatican, also highly finished (Inv. Vat. Lat 13619 fol. 2; black chalk, 338 × 408 mm) seems to the compiler to be a copy, probably by a member of Daniele's studio, but it is accepted as autograph by Thomas, who added a fifth drawing, also in the British Museum (GP230, as Prospero Orsi; black chalk over stylus, 242 × 396 mm), which he plausibly identified as a copy of a lost drawing by Daniele. It seems reasonable to suppose that the larger drawings were made to study the angles best suited to the painting, but their perfection of surface suggests that they were intended also as works of art in their own right. The recto and verso of the painting show the same action from different angles, but the fact that the configurations are not identical implies that Daniele made at least two plastic models, an implication that examination of the drawings supports.

Daniele seems often to have made plastic models for figures in his paintings, and this practice no doubt was inspired by Michelangelo. Daniele may on occasion have envisaged producing both sculptures and paintings of the same groups. One bronze – perhaps cast by Daniele himself – after a model for the reclining figure of Dido in his *Aeneas Commanded by Mercury to Relinquish Dido* (a composition also designed by Michelangelo) is known (Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 64/24), and although the initial purpose of the model was presumably to prepare the figure in that painting, it also makes an impressive statuette in its own right. Daniele also included representations of Michelangelo's *Samson and the Two Philistines* from two different angles in both versions of his *Massacre of the Innocents* (the fresco in the Della Rovere chapel of the Trinità al Monte and the slightly varied painting in the Uffizi, 1890.1429; oil on panel, 147 × 144 cm), and it is reasonable to suppose that some of the bronzes of this subject were cast by Daniele.

The early inscription, which links this drawing with the *Battle of Cascina*, is an interesting error. Leonardo's companion *Battle of Anghiari* certainly contained figures fighting on the ground, and this may have prompted the connection made here. Furthermore, if the conjectures as to the early provenance of this sheet advanced later in this discussion are correct, the link may reveal the inscriber's

knowledge that black chalk studies for *Cascina* had been owned by Daniele da Volterra.

Verso

46a. The leg study is probably for the left leg of Christ in the four-figure Florence *Pietà*, which is now lost but whose disposition is known from early copies of Michelangelo's design. If this is so, then the drawing may be a little earlier than those on the recto, of the early to mid-1550s. It is not entirely clear when Michelangelo abandoned work on this group, which was certainly underway in the 1540s, but because Michelangelo himself claimed that he had damaged it accidentally while being pressured to complete it by his friend and servant Urbino, this must have happened before the latter's death. It was presumably handed over to Calcagni in the later 1550s or early 1560s, and since Calcagni died within a year of Michelangelo himself, his work on the group was no doubt undertaken within Michelangelo's lifetime.

Recto

46b. The inset fragment is clearly a sketch for the *Cleansing of the Temple*, executed as a painting by Marcello Venusti (London National Gallery, NG1194; oil on panel, 610 × 400 mm). It is unknown whether the composition was designed expressly for Venusti or whether he executed a design prepared by Michelangelo for some other purpose; in favour of the second view is the fact that the figures occupy only the lower quarter of his painting, and had Michelangelo begun with a vertically oriented field in mind, it is likely that his drawings would respond to this. It was suggested by Frommel (1964) that this composition was prepared for a fresco to be executed in the lunette above the entrance of the Pauline Chapel. The subject and the grandeur of arrangement are appropriate for such a role, but the final composition does not readily conform to a lunette, and some of the other designs considered by Michelangelo en route would be positively out of place there. Nor is there compelling evidence that Michelangelo was further concerned with the pictorial decoration of the Pauline Chapel after he completed his second fresco in 1550, although Frommel has shown that Marcello Venusti was commissioned to work there.

The date of the *Cleansing of the Temple* is unknown, but it is probably to be placed around 1555. It is the most elaborate multigure composition to survive by Michelangelo from the post-Pauline Chapel period, and obviously required time and trouble. Apart from the present fragment, certainly excised from a larger sheet – quite likely by Michelangelo himself – and later attached to the present

one, there are three other sheets of studies for the composition, all drawn on both recto and verso, usually in different orientations and all now in the British Museum (W76, 77, 78/Corpus 385, 386, 387; all black chalk, respectively, 148 × 276 mm, 139 × 167 mm, 178 × 372 mm). Insight into Michelangelo's method of composing so complex a group is provided by the third of these, which Venusti employed – directly or indirectly – as the cartoon for his panel. It is made up of six separate pieces of paper. Michelangelo built up or modified his design as he drew it, pasting together irregularly cut pieces of paper of unrelated weights and textures, some of which he had previously used for studies of elements of the composition (three of whose versos also contain sketches of various figures in the scene), to assemble the final image (by analogy, it may be that Michelangelo himself excised the upper section of his *David and Goliath* study to use elsewhere, although he would not have been responsible for joining to it the present fragment).

Michelangelo seems to have considered two basic stagings, probably sequentially rather than simultaneously. The first shows Christ in left profile advancing right to left across the picture surface. This is found on W76, and in it the pose of Christ provides another example of retrospection: It is closely similar to the *Cascina* study, Cat. 7 verso. On W77, Michelangelo seems for a moment to have considered Christ moving left to right. But all the other treatments show Christ centralised, advancing forward towards the spectator.

It is difficult to be sure whether the light curve that can be described on this fragment is a product of accident or design. If the latter, it might register some moment of Michelangelo's thoughts about the curvature of the dome of St. Peter's.

The subject of the *Cleansing of the Temple*, has, of course, a reformist dimension, and it would be interesting to know for whom the composition was prepared, but nothing is known of the whereabouts of Venusti's painting prior to its first recorded appearance in the Borghese Collection in 1650. The painting does not seem to have been engraved, nor is Venusti known to have produced more than the single version; this is unusual and suggests that it was reserved for a particular client and not part of Venusti's stock-in-trade. However, it was not unknown, and it did have some effect. The various treatments of the subject by El Greco, of which the earliest (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art), was painted in Rome c. 1570, and of which another version, in the Institute of Fine Arts, Minneapolis, only marginally later, actually includes a portrait of Michelangelo – together with those of Raphael, Clovio, and Titian – can hardly have been

produced without knowledge of Michelangelo's composition. And the treatment of the subject by Alessandro Allori in the Montauto Chapel in Santissima Annunziata in Florence, painted in 1560 immediately upon his return from Rome, might also reflect knowledge of the phase of Michelangelo's design in which the action runs parallel to the picture surface and does not strike out from it.

Verso

46b. It is hard to be sure whether the very slight sketch on the verso of the fragment is drawn with the lower edge or the left edge as the base. If the latter, then it might represent one of the money-changers quailing before Christ's advance; if the former, as the compiler is inclined to think, it would be the floored Goliath, awaiting the coup de grace.

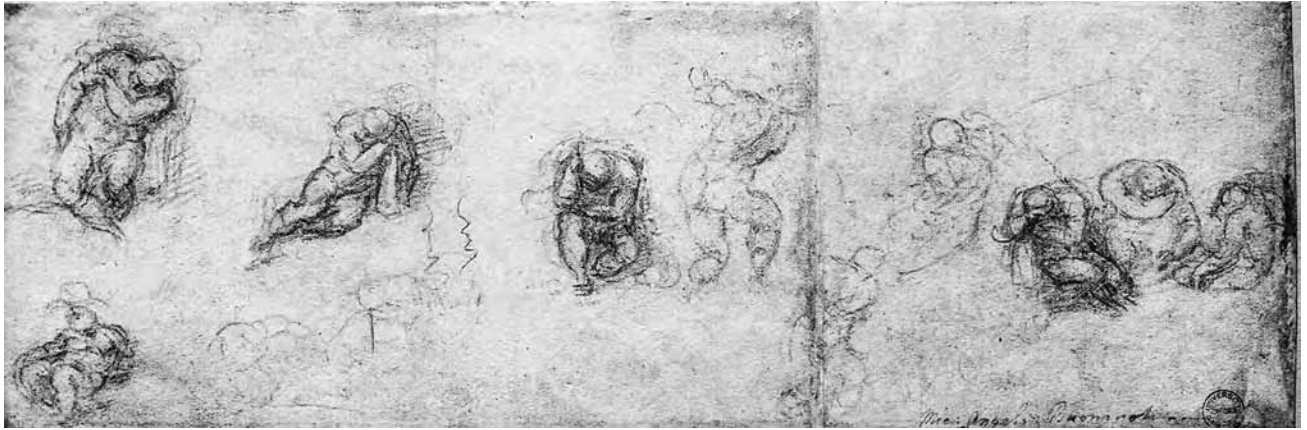
History

The provenance is given by Woodburn 1836b as M. Buonarroti; however, the inscription would imply that it was not originally in Casa Buonarroti, for nothing like it appears on any drawing still there or known to have been there. Therefore, if Woodburn is correct, it must be presumed that this drawing was an acquisition by the Buonarroti made well after Michelangelo's death. However, a more likely provenance before Lawrence is: Daniele da Volterra, Giacomo Rocca, Cavaliere d'Arpino; the Cicciaporci family and Filippo Cicciaporci; Bartolommeo Cavaceppi; William Young Ottley; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–102] ("A sheet of Studies for the David and Goliath, black Chalk, highly finished, fine."). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 67 ("Various studies for Samson slaying a Philistine."). The Literary Gazette, July 1836 ("[A]mong the many productions in this gallery which rivetted our attention."). Woodburn, 1842, no. 37 (As 1836.). Woodburn, 1846, no. 23 (As 1842.). Robinson, 1870, no. 69 (Michel Angelo. "Sampson [sic] slaying a Philistine . . . variations and progressive emendations of the same design . . . it may have been intended as a design for a medal or a small circular relieve . . . made about 1534." "The small leaf attached to it has no connection with it. It contains studies for Christ expelling the Money-Changers for which other drawings are extant . . . later than the Last Judgement."). Black, 1875, p. 215, no. 59. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 221. Berenson, 1903, I, p. 214, no. 1571 ([46a]: Samson slaying a Philistine. [46b]: for

the cleansing of the Temple pasted on.). Ferri and Jacobson, 1905, 36 (Relation to Uffizi 18733F). Colvin, 1904, IV, no. 7 (Samson slaying a Philistine, c. 1535–45; added sheet with studies for the *Cleansing of the Temple*). Thode, 1908, II, pp. 377–8, 455 (Michelangelo. Studies on [46a recto] related to the fighting men in the *Dream of Human Life*. Subsidiary study [46b]: for the *Cleansing of the Temple*). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 157.I (Recto: studies on [46a] belong with Morgan Library series, representing Samson and a Philistine. No connection with the *Dream*, as suggested by Thode. 1530s.); no. 157.II (Recto: subsidiary study attached by a later collector; for the *Cleansing of the Temple*; link with BM drawings.); no. 158 (Verso: not Michelangelo, perhaps modern.). Thode, 1913, no. 441 (Recto [46a]: David and Goliath rather than Samson and a Philistine; unconnected with Sistine. Repudiates suggested connection with the *Dream*. Link with drawings in Morgan Library. Subsidiary scene, for the *Cleansing of the Temple*. Verso: probably not by Michelangelo.). Panofsky, 1921–2, col. 5 (Hercules and Cacus rather than a Samson or a David and Goliath. E reproduced in relation to Signorelli's group of a devil beating a recumbent man from the Brizio chapel in Orvieto.). Brinckmann, 1925, no. 44 (Main sheet c. 1525; studies for sculpture of *Hercules and Cacus*, taken over by Bandinelli; similar sheet for Christ in *Last Judgement*). Popp, 1925b, p. 75 (Nothing to do with Hercules and Antaeus; period of Pauline Chapel.). Berenson, 1938, no. 1571 (Recto: as 1903. Verso: not Michelangelo.). Goldscheider, 1951, no. 105 (Recto: all sketches datable c. 1538–40. The "smaller drawing was made first and then pasted on to the large sheet, and the battle scenes were developed out of the sketches of Christ." The combat represents not an heroic feat but a murder: modelled on Hans Sebald Beham's Bible illustration of Cain and Abel, of 1533. Verso: not by Michelangelo. Under nos. 106, 107: Morgan Library *David and Goliath* "developed out of battle scenes in Oxford drawing."). Wilde, 1953a, p. 117 [46b] for the *Cleansing of the Temple*, "a fragment now replacing the corner of another sheet which had been cut away."). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 102 (c. 1550–2. 46a. Samson slaying Philistine, purpose unknown. 46b. Insertion from another sheet of the *Cleansing of the Temple*). Parker, 1956, no. 328 [46a]. Recto: *Samson Slaying the Philistine*; Morgan Library drawings represent *David and Goliath*; late 1530s. Verso: not Michelangelo, possibly Montelupo. [46b] Recto: *Cleansing of the Temple* for Marcello Venusti; related to BM W76–8.). Dussler, 1959, no. 200 (Recto: battle scene, subject uncertain. Linked with Morgan drawings, perhaps all c. 1550. [46b] Linked with BM drawings for the *Cleansing of the Temple*; no. 630 (Parker's attribution to Montelupo correct.). De



Tolnay, 1960, pp. 201–2, no. 211 ([46a] *Samson Slaying the Philistine* not *David and Goliath*, 1550–6. Preceded by Morgan Library sketches. [46b] *Cleansing of the Temple*, on a separate sheet. Verso: not Michelangelo.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1571 (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1962, p. 173 (Samson.). Barocchi, 1964c, no. 63 (Composed from two pieces; all sketches after 1550.). Berti, 1965, pp. 483, 491 (Recto: fighting group, related to Morgan Library drawings, represents *Samson and a Philistine* not *David and Goliath*, although employed for a *David* by Daniele da Volterra. Section upper right for the *Cleansing of the Temple*. Verso: not Michelangelo.). Goldscheider, 1965, no. 118 (As 1951, but redated to c. 1550.). Hartt, 1971, no. 473 (Recto: 1550–5?. Sketches for the *Cleansing of the Temple* inserted into this sheet at a later date. Main page shows *Hercules and Cacus*, club clearly visible, but close to *David and Goliath* sketches.); p. 390 (Verso: rejected.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 164 (Linked with Morgan Library studies for *David and Goliath*; purpose unknown, c. 1550–5; sketches for the *Cleansing of the Temple* inserted upper right, linked with BM drawings.). Hartt, 1975, no. 456C (Verso: accepted. 1554?). De Tolnay, 1978, Corpus III, no. 374 (As 1960.). Perrig, 1991, pp. 105–7, fig. 123 (Recto: by Daniele da Volterra; represents *David and Goliath*). Perrig, 1999, pp. 242–4 (Recto, as 1991. Verso: not Michelangelo, from Farnese Collection.).

CATALOGUE 47

Studies of Sleeping Apostles
1846.86; R.70 (2); P.II 340; Corpus 404

Dimensions: 107 × 325 mm

A vertical cut has been made 118 mm from the right edge, and the sheet has then been rejoined. The cut, which divides a figure, is difficult to explain unless it was made by an owner or dealer to maximise the value of the individual drawings. Nothing has been lost and the chain lines in the paper run without break. It seems likely however, from the verso inscriptions, that the sheet remained divided for a period because the *Bona Roti* inscription, on the larger fragment, is made with the lower edge as the base, and the Irregular Numbering, which was made on the smaller fragment employed the left edge as the base. However, one cannot be sure of this because the relation of the two inscriptions on undivided sheets is often eccentric.

A further issue is whether this sheet and Cat. 48 were once joined, as some scholars believe. They were mounted together and with Cat. 45 when in Lawrence's collection – but probably not when they were owned by Ottley – and all three drawings are the same height and seem to be made on the same type of thin paper. Cat. 48 bears a watermark, part of which has been cut, but the remaining part is not to be found on either the present sheet or on Cat. 45, so proof of direct physical connection is lacking. It seems to the compiler clear that all three drawings were made on the same batch of paper and approximately at the same time. It may also be the case that the present sheet and Cat. 45 were once physically parts of the same larger sheet. But if this is so, it nevertheless seems probable, from the way in which both sheets are used, that they were separated before Michelangelo began to draw upon them. The consistency with which designs for the same or closely related scenes spread across the page in both suggests that the sheets had found approximately their present shape before Michelangelo set chalk to paper. It would be highly uncharacteristic of him to use a large sheet in two neat and discrete horizontal strips.

His sketches at all periods of his life scatter across his pages in a wholly intuitive manner.

Medium

Black chalk.

Condition

In addition to the vertical join, there is a pressed-out fold or crease, a small abrasion with a "pin" prick hole, other abrasions and minor repairs, and the edges are skinned and creased. The sheet has uneven discolouration with a local tidemark, some local staining, and general ingrained dirt.

Inscriptions

Recto: *Mic: Angelo: Buonaroti* at lower right (cf. Cats. 45 [further discussion], 48, 50).

Verso: With the lower edge as base on the larger fragment: *Bona Roti*. With the left edge as base on the smaller fragment: *no. 2*.

Description

- A. A sleeping figure, his left arm bent across his chest, his right arm by his side, supported by another?, seen frontally.
- B. A sleeping figure, lying down, supported by another, seen in foreshortening.
- C. A sleeping figure seen from the front, his right arm bent across his chest and supported by, perhaps, a book, his left arm hanging down by his side, his head tilted forward, his body sprawled sideways to the viewer's right.
- D. Very faint: a kneeling figure? seen from half left, his left arm raised, turning away from a figure seated in left profile in front of him with his right arm outstretched?.
- E. Two short zig-zag lines, presumably made to test the chalk.
- F. A sleeping figure in a compact pose, seen frontally.
- G. A moving figure seen from the back who rises to his feet, looks up to his left, and raises his arms.
- H. A rising figure seen frontally, his knees bent to his left, his arms gesturing to his right, as though fleeing. This figure, which is traversed by the division, is essentially a variant of G.
- I. A waking figure?, seen frontally, from the thighs upwards, turning to his left, his left arm bent upwards as though shielding his face, his right arm bent across his chest and upwards as though duplicating the shielding gesture.
- J. Three sleeping figures.

Discussion

It has generally been accepted since Woodburn that this page of studies was made in preparation for the three sleeping disciples in Marcello Venusti's painting of the *Agony in the Garden* for which Michelangelo provided the *cartonetto* (Florence, Uffizi, 230F/ B198/Corpus 409; black chalk, 360 × 600 mm). B on the present sheet is similar in pose to that of the disciple on the far right of the final composition, and the curved lines found mainly in the centre and at the right of the drawing no doubt indicate the landscape setting. Other studies, which were first connected with this composition by Wilde, are a fragment in the British Museum (W79 recto/Corpus 405; black chalk, 66 × 101 mm) and two other sketches on pages in Michelangelo's Vatican Codex (Cod. Lat. Vat. 3211, fols. 81 verso and 82 verso/Corpus 407 and 406; both black chalk, respectively 205 × 143 mm, and 206 × 141 mm). However, the present drawing must represent an early stage in Michelangelo's development of the design for Venusti's painting, and the rising figure with lifted arms gazing upwards in surprise [G] drawn in the centre of the sheet, does not obviously fit an *Agony in the Garden*, unless this were one conceived in upright format with Christ descending from above to rebuke his disciples, rather than entering from the left, as in the painted version. It would also be unusually dramatic. If they could be separated from the other studies, it might be that the two moving figures on the present sheet [G and H] were made for a different composition. Given Michelangelo's often surprising juxtapositions, this is by no means impossible, but the compiler has been unable to find a plausible location for these figures in other compositions planned by Michelangelo in the 1550s, which involved movement, such as the *Cleansing of the Temple* or *Aeneas Commanded by Mercury to Relinquish Dido*, and it is probably best to accept that all the studies on this page refer to the *Agony in the Garden*, but in a phase distant from the final version.

The extreme horizontality of the format of the present drawing need bear no relation to the proposed pictorial field, because the same figure is tried thrice at the top left of the sheet and, probably, a fourth time in the lower left-hand corner. It is only the three sleeping figures at the right that would seem to indicate the type of grouping Michelangelo had in mind, and it is not fully clear whether this was intended to include the loosely executed moving figure immediately to the left, who may or may not be a variant of the two moving figures in the centre of the sheet.

The moving figure seen from the back [G] is a modified reprise, in reverse, of a figure designed by Michelangelo for the *Last Judgement*, the damned soul seen from the

rear immediately below Saint Sebastian (the compiler is indebted to W. Dreesmann for this observation), and it is probable that Michelangelo was here referring back to one of his preparatory drawings for the fresco. The figure is found again, in reverse to G in the present drawing but in the same direction as that in the *Last Judgement*, in a drawing in Florence attributed to Leonardo Cungi but, in the compiler's view, by Raffaello da Montelupo (Uffizi 257F verso/B210; black chalk and pen, 424 × 275 mm; the hatching on both sides of this sheet is left-handed). The recto of this sheet contains, among other sketches, a version of Christ and the figures immediately beside Him in the *Last Judgement*, either inaccurately sketched after the fresco or, more likely, taken from an unresolved lost drawing by Michelangelo. The verso bears a copy after Christ more or less as executed in the fresco, placed immediately above the figure that concerns us here. It seems unlikely that Raffaello himself would have had the imagination to juxtapose two figures so separated in the fresco, and he was presumably combining figures from different drawings by Michelangelo, to which – as in other instances – he would have had access. Some support for this conjecture is found in a page of drawings by Battista Franco in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool (WAG1995.249/Brooke, 1998, no. 28; pen and ink, 188 × 267 mm), in which virtually the same figure occurs, this time in the context of a series of studies for a *Resurrection*. This page dates from soon after the period in which Franco worked with Raffaello.

The prime version of Marcello Venusti's *Agony in the Garden* seems to be that now in Galleria Doria Pamphili (oil on panel, 580 × 820 mm), but it exists in several replicas, some autograph (one offered at Sotheby's, London, 14 December 2000, lot 186; oil on panel, 554 × 735 mm). It is not known for whom the panel was planned, but it must have been for someone whom Michelangelo valued, because he prepared a full-size *cartonetto* for the figurative parts, now much damaged by over-exposure to light (Florence, Uffizi, 230F/B198/Corpus 409). This *cartonetto* was not retained by Venusti. At Michelangelo's death, it was owned by his assistant and protégé Jacomo del Duca, to whom Michelangelo seems to have given it, together with the *cartonetto* for Venusti's Lateran *Annunciation* (Florence Uffizi, 229F/B197/Corpus 393; black chalk, 405 × 545 mm) and, no doubt, other drawings. This gift would have been made in the spring of 1560, as noted by Wilde. Both *cartonetti* were subsequently extracted from Jacomo by Leonardo Buonarroti for presentation to Duke Cosimo. This situation is comparable with that of the cartoon of *Venus and Cupid*, which, after it had been rendered in painting by Pontormo, was to be handed to Antonio Mini.

The present sheet, the associated drawings and the cartoon can be dated to the second half of the 1550s. As Wilde noted, *termini* are established by the poems in the Vatican Codex, dated by Frey to no earlier than 1555, and 1560, by which time the cartoon had obviously been used, since it was given to Jacomo del Duca. The *Agony in the Garden* represents one of the clearest examples in the work of the aged master of a conscious turning back to the artistic modes of the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Christ is shown twice, praying and rebuking His disciples, as in the rendering of the subject by Duccio in the *Maestà*, and the block-like forms of the figures reflect Michelangelo's intense response to the massive figures of Arnolfo di Cambio and Tino da Camaino, the sculptural counterparts of Giotto.

A third drawing, in the Albertina (BK4868/Corpus 408; black chalk, 173 × 197 mm maximum dimensions, irregular), which bears an owner's inscription and the date 27 March 1560, was taken by Wilde to be a further study for the *Agony in the Garden* and to provide an additional *terminus ante quem* for the composition. However, although it too may well have been among the drawings given to Jacomo del Duca, it seems to the compiler that the studies on this sheet – all of which show a nude sleeping figure seen from the back, in a pose derived from classical gems – are of a woman, and that they are unconnected with the *Agony in the Garden*.

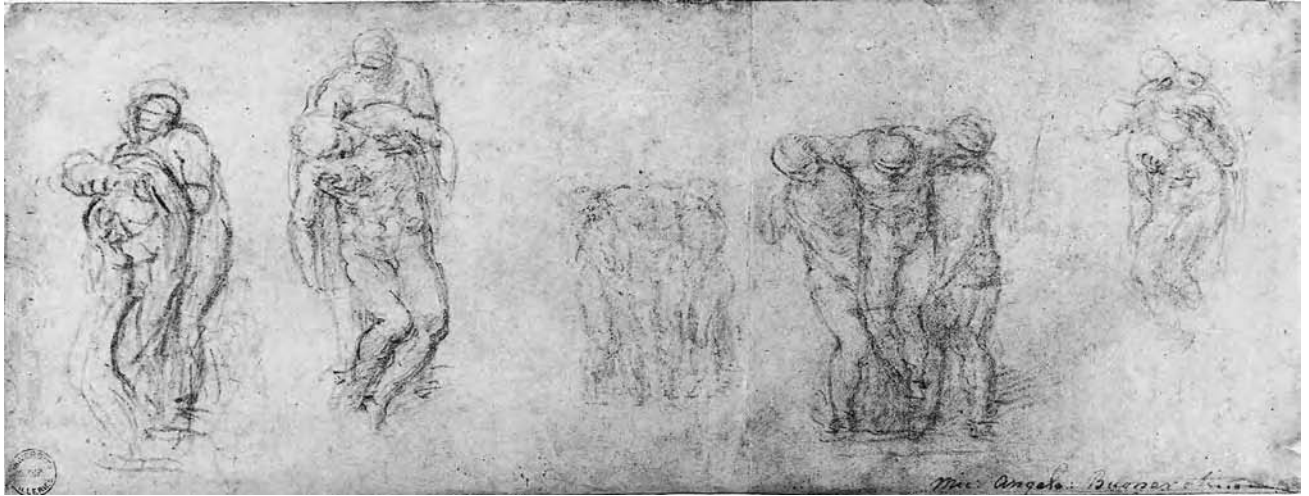
Parker emphasises that the writing on the recto of the present sheet is of the eighteenth or nineteenth century: It presumably replaces or repeats the earlier inscription, found on the verso.

History

Daniele da Volterra or Marcello Venusti? the *Bona Roti* Collector; the Irregular Numbering Collector; the Ciciaporci family and Filippo Ciciaporci; Bartolommeo Cavaceppi; William Young Ottley (his sale, 6 June 1814, etc., lot 824, "One, of studies in black chalk for his composition of Christ praying in the garden ditto." Lot 825 adds the information: "from the collection of the Ciciaporci family of Florence to whom the contents of the three above lots formerly belonged, mentioned in the preface to Condivi, Life of Michelangelo, published in 1746, page xviii. This collection was sold and dispersed about 1765, and with others purchased of the Cav. Cavaceppi, 1792–3, by their present proprietor," £4.0.0); Sir Thomas Lawrence (no stamp); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Ottley sale, 6 June 1814, etc., lot 824 ("One, of studies in black chalk for his composition of Christ praying



in the garden ditto”; [lot 825] adds the information: “from the collection of the Ciciaporci family of Florence to whom the contents of the three above lots formerly belonged, mentioned in the preface to Condivi, *Life of Michelangelo*, published in 1746, page xviii. This collection was sold and dispersed about 1765, and with others purchased of the Cav. Cavaceppi, 1792–3, by their present proprietor.”). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 82 (With [Cats. 45 and 48] “admirably drawn in black chalk; they are chiefly subjects from the New Testament... the disciples asleep on the mount.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 64 (As 1836.). Woodburn, 1846, no. 35 (As 1842.). Robinson, 1870, no. 70.2 (“Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane; related to drawing recorded by Vasari in possession of Duke Cosimo and a developed composition of the subject known from a print.”). Gotti, 1875, II, p. 225. Berenson, 1903, I, pp. 227–8, no. 1572a (c. 1545 for lost cartoon, copied by Venusti in Uffizi 230F/ B198/Corpus 409.). Thode, 1908, II, pp. 462–3 (For painting of *Agony in the Garden*.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 240 (Related to design painted by Venusti; identical in handling to [Cat. 48].). Thode, 1913, no. 443 (As 1908.). De Tolnay, 1927, pp. 176–8 (c. 1556; notes links with two sketches of c. 1546 in Codex Vaticanus, fol. 81 verso and 82 verso/Corpus 407, 406.). Berenson, 1938, I, p. 236; no. 1572A (As 1903.). Wilde, 1953a, pp. 118–19 (1555–60 for Marcello Venusti’s *Agony in the Garden*, in Galleria Doria. Other studies on BM W79/Corpus 405, Albertina BK4868/Corpus 408, Codex Vaticanus fols. 81 verso and 82 verso/Corpus 407 and 406.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 81B. Parker, 1956, no. 340 (Late, for Venusti’s painting.). Dussler, 1959, no. 202 (Michelangelo, 1550–5.). De Tolnay, 1960, pp. 209–10, p. 220, no. 227, (c. 1552. Together with Codex. Vaticanus. fols. 81 verso and 82 verso/Corpus 407 and 406, and BM W79/Corpus 405 for Venusti’s *Gethsemane* composition in the Galleria

Doria. Once part of same sheet as [Cat. 48].). Berenson, 1961, no. 1572A (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1962, p. 247 (Michelangelo; Uffizi 230F/ B198/Corpus 409 by Venusti.). Barocchi, 1964c, no. 66 (For Venusti’s painting.). Berti, 1965, pp. 488, 492 (For Venusti, c. 1550–5.). Hartt, 1971, no. 448 (1550–5.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 170 (Presumably for *Agony in the Garden* executed by Venusti, c. 1555–60.). De Tolnay, 1978, Corpus III, no. 404 (As 1960.). Hirst, 1988, p. 40 (This is probably the upper section of the sheet formed with [Cat. 48], which was originally still larger. Prepares Michelangelo’s cartoon Uffizi 230F/ B198/Corpus 409 for Venusti, c. 1560.). Perrig, 1991, p. 49, fig. 36 (Michelangelo, late; part of same sheet as [Cat. 48].). Perrig, 1999, pp. 230–1 (As 1991; from the Farnese Collection.).

CATALOGUE 48

Studies for a Two-Figure Pietà and a Three-Figure Entombment

1846.85; R.70 (1); P.II 339; Corpus 433

Dimensions: 108 × 281 mm

A vertical cut 118 mm from the right edge was made between two groups. The page has then been rejoined, but the alignment is not exact and the chain lines do not match precisely. Indeed, although it is probable that the two fragments were once parts of the same sheet, it is not possible to be certain of this. As with Cat. 47 – where further discussion of this matter is to be found – it seems that the two pieces led for some time separate existences, as the lay-out of the inscriptions on the verso indicate. It may be presumed that the sheet formerly extended further to the left, because a further group at the left edge

is truncated. Whether it was originally the same width as Cat. 47 is conjectural.

Watermark: Roberts Anchor A on the larger fragment.

Medium

Black chalk.

Condition

There is an abraded vertical “score” line, minor edge nicks and tears, minor skinning, abrasion, and fibrous accretions. The sheet has general discolouration and uneven ingrained surface dirt, also uneven staining.

Inscriptions

Recto: In pen and brown ink at lower right: *Mic: Angelo Buonaroti* (cf. Cats. 45 [further discussion], 47, 50).

Verso: On the smaller fragment: *di Bona Roti* and, inverted, no. 6, orientated with the left and right edges of this fragment before it was rejoined. On the larger fragment no. 22, orientated with the left edge of this fragment before it was rejoined.

Description

A. Truncated by the left edge: a small figure from a version of B.

B. One figure supporting another, related to the *Rondanini Pietà*, seen from half right. In this drawing, the supporting figure seems to be looking upwards to his or her left.

C. Just to the right of B: a small figure, too faint to elucidate.

D. One figure supporting another, related to the *Rondanini Pietà*, seen frontally.

E. Two figures supporting a third between them, seen frontally.

F. Two figures supporting a third between them, seen frontally, on a larger scale.

G. Another version of C.

Discussion

Although the drawings on this sheet have sometimes been interpreted as a single sequence, in the view of the compiler, as of most other scholars, they represent two different compositions. E and F, in which two figures support the body of Christ in a “fireman’s lift,” are presumably for a *Transport of Christ’s Body to the Tomb* or *Entombment*. The other drawings show a two-figure *Pietà* with a standing figure supporting the upright body of Christ from behind. The two-figure group, as all students have noted, links closely with the *Rondanini Pietà*, in which

Christ is supported by a figure who in the final version of the sculpture is no doubt the Virgin, but who may originally have been male (as remarked by Murray, 1980), in an arrangement that recalls the simulated sculptures of the Trinity – probably recording real ones – in paintings by Robert Campin, Rogier van der Weyden, and Jan van Eyck. In these, of course, the supporting figure is God the Father, but the exposed left leg of the supporting figure in Michelangelo’s group, which would be even more unusual for God the Father than for the Virgin, suggests that a different figure was involved, perhaps Joseph of Arimathea or Nicodemus. Michelangelo’s exploitation of such archaic sources provides a further example of his return to “primitive” forms at the end of his life.

The *Rondanini Pietà* is, as has generally been acknowledged, the result of at least two, or – in the compiler’s view – at least three, distinct campaigns of work. It was begun at an uncertain date, then, apparently, put to one side, only to be taken up again, in Vasari’s account, after Michelangelo had definitively abandoned the four-figure *Pietà* planned for his own tomb, now in the Museo del Opera del Duomo in Florence. The four-figure group was still an active project when Condivi’s life was published in 1553; according to Vasari, it was the importunity of his servant Urbino that provoked Michelangelo accidentally to damage the block, and then to become disgusted with it. If so, Urbino’s death in late 1555 would be a *terminus ante quem*. At this point, it is generally presumed, Michelangelo returned to work on the *Rondanini Pietà* and no doubt continued to do so intermittently; he was working on the sculpture until a few days before his death, and it was probably only at the very end of his life that he attacked the group to produce, for its upper part, the present spectral forms. However, the legs and thighs of Christ were not cut back as fully as the upper part of the group, and these, together with the right arm of an earlier version that was left in place, show at least one and probably two of its previous states (as does the controversial fragment of Christ’s torso published by Mantura, 1973).

How do these correspond with the forms indicated here? The redundant right arm in the sculpted group is finely finished and graceful. It may have been carved in the mid-1550s, but it could well date earlier. It would seem to demand that the head of Christ lolls upon it, as indicated in the drawings B and D on the present sheet, taking up an important motif of the four-figure *Pietà*. Thus, the present drawings would be studies for this version. Further support for this can be adduced from de Tolnay’s observation, that the Virgin’s face as it now is was carved out of a larger head that was turned upwards to the

viewer's right, as seen in B. However, if Vasari's account is believed – and there is no good reason not to believe it – these drawings would not be initial studies for the group but rather sketches in which Michelangelo was trying to work out in what ways he might continue – and perhaps revise – a group carved and put to one side some years earlier. Thus, the outward lolling head of Christ (as the group was reconstructed in 1935 by Arno Breker [see Baumgart, 1935b], partly on the basis of B on the present sheet) and the upturned head of the supporting figure, would already have been present in the first version of the group, and Michelangelo's primary purpose in making the present sketches would rather be to reconsider the head position of the supporting figure. However, there is a major obstacle to such a reconstruction. If the damaged fragment of Christ's torso is authentic, it is clear that in the version of the group of which this fragment formed part, as well as in the final version, Christ's head bent inwards, and did not loll outwards. Hence, Mantura takes the present drawings to be of c. 1550, preceding not only the second but also the first state of the group.

Even though this reconstruction of events is reasonable in principle, the compiler finds it difficult to accept. He cannot convince himself that this sheet of sketches is as early as c. 1550, the latest possible date for the inception of the first version of the Rondanini group. The sketches seem to him to be no earlier than the second half of the 1550s (a dating supported by the similarity of paper and organisation of the sketches to Cat. 47), and, as remarked previously, they probably represent variant ideas for a revision of the group. If this is correct, then the torso fragment (if authentic) would post-date the present drawings, perhaps by several years. It would come from a second version of the group of which the first version showed an outward-lolling head, the drastically emaciated final – third – version would be a further reduction of this second version.

However, it is important to appreciate that both solutions – outward and inward – co-existed in Michelangelo's artistic and spiritual imagination in the last decade of his life and had done so for some quarter century. The motif of the outward lolling head, common to both the four-figure *Pietà* and the *Palestrina Pietà*, is seen in a not dissimilar form in Michelangelo's design for Sebastiano's *Ubeda Pietà* of around 1534 (Paris, Louvre, Inv. 716/J38/Corpus 92; black chalk, 254 × 319 mm). The head bent inwards is found in a drawing in Vienna (BK103/Corpus 432; red chalk, 404 × 233 mm), which is probably of 1531–2. Supplementing the autograph Vienna drawing is another, little-noticed drawing of a two-figure

Pietà, which is probably a copy of a lost original by Michelangelo of about the same date (Uffizi, 194S; red chalk, 240 × 113 mm/Berenson, 1963, no. 2479a, fig. 688, as Sebastiano del Piombo). As Berenson remarked, this composition re-works with some modifications part of the group at the upper right of Michelangelo's drawing of the *Deposition* in Haarlem (Teyler Museum A25 recto/VT 60/Corpus 89; red chalk, 273 × 191 mm); this copyist may also be responsible for the precise same-size copy of the same detail in Paris (Louvre, Inv. 836/J110; red chalk, 94 × 63 mm). Thus, as his drawings demonstrate, Michelangelo was certainly considering the theme of two-figure as well as multi-figure *Pietà*s (see Cat. 40) during the 1530s.

Even in the second and third versions of the *Rondanini Pietà* therefore, as well as the putative first version, Michelangelo would have been reprising ideas tried in the early 1530s. That said, it cannot be ruled out that the *Rondanini Pietà* may have even been begun in the 1530s rather than in the 1540s. Certain aspects of its first form seem closer to those of the *Last Judgement* than of a later period, and although its present appearance reflects the moribund Michelangelo's convulsive rejection of physical beauty, the forms of the first and second versions would have been in his mind for many years.

The role of the three-figure groups on this sheet is also conjectural. In their frontality and alignment across the surface they recall Michelangelo's *Entombment* (London, National Gallery, NG790; oil on wood, 161.7 × 149.9 cm) but in a more severe key: indeed, no other treatment of the subject of such severity and frontality is known. It is probable that Michelangelo was thinking of sculpture rather than painting, but given the mutuality of these media in Michelangelo's work, this can hardly be taken as certain. The obvious referent for such a group, of two standing figures supporting the dead Christ, is the *Palestrina Pietà*, also severely frontal in its arrangement. Michelangelo's authorship of the *Palestrina Pietà* is frequently denied – notably, and most lucidly, by the late Sir John Pope-Hennessy – and it was certainly reworked by a later sculptor, but it is recorded as by Michelangelo as early as 1618, and its stylistic peculiarity, the distension of forms as they approach the front of the block as though, as Wilde pointed out, pressed against glass, is wholly Michelangesque, wholly characteristic of his work of the 1550s, appropriate to the present studies, and quite unlike the work of any other Italian sculptor after Tino da Camaino.

The *Palestrina Pietà* is carved from a block that probably once formed part of a Roman cornice. It is both wide and shallow, encouraging a flat presentational arrangement,

akin to high relief rather than free-standing sculpture. Such a block would be eminently suitable for the scheme tried on the present sheet, and it would be tempting to think of it as a preliminary design for the *Palestrina Pietà*. However, on consideration this seems unlikely. The *Palestrina Pietà* is an overtly emotive work, making a direct appeal to the spectator both in Christ's lolling head and the anguished gaze of the supporting figure. Furthermore, Michelangelo did not emphasise rectilinearity in the *Palestrina Pietà* – it was surely conceived in the same span of years that produced the *Epifania* cartoon, in which the massive forms still move in highly expressive ways, and the design for the neo-trecentesque *Agony in the Garden* (see Cat. 47). In the *Pietà*, furthermore, the body of Christ is supported by the Virgin, who stands directly behind Him, so the three figures are not spread out as frontally as in the present drawings. Indeed, in the compiler's view, the *Palestrina Pietà* finds its best place in Michelangelo's work between the four-figure *Pietà* and the final stages of the *Rondanini Pietà*, and it is probably to be seen as a project of the mid-1550s. The present drawings seem to represent a still later conception, in which individual expression gives way to directness, severity, symmetry, cohesiveness, and emotional restraint – on one level it would hardly be possible to present the subject more simply. Of course, the fact that such an arrangement co-exists on this sheet with the more expressive sketches related to the *Rondanini Pietà* does emphasise that the aged Michelangelo did not pursue a single stylistic or emotional course.

The poses of the supporting figures on either side of Christ are virtually mirror images, and a double-sided sheet of drawings formerly in the Gathorne-Hardy Collection and now in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. (Inv. 1991.217.2a–3b/Corpus 429; black chalk, 233 × 100 mm) was probably made to develop this idea. The Washington drawing has generally been interpreted as a bearer in a *Pietà* or an Entombment, but it has been connected – by the compiler among others – with the five-figure *Entombment* known from two drawn copies, including one sometimes attributed to Jacomo del Duca (also formerly in the Gathorne-Hardy Collection; see Cat. 51). However, the otherwise unaltered reversal of the recto figure on the verso of the Washington sheet probably indicates that Michelangelo intended to reproduce this supporting figure with exact symmetry, a feature of the three-figure design on the present sheet, but not found in any of the other known *Pietà* or Entombment designs; this, plus the sculptural simplification of the figures on the Washington sheet, argues that it was made as a development of the present design.

History

The *Bona Roti* Collector; The Cavaliere d'Arpino?; The Ciciaporci family and Filippo Ciciaporci; Bartolomeo Cavaceppi; William Young Ottley (his sale, 6 June 1814, etc., lot 825, "One, of studies for a *Pietà* – in black chalk. From the collection of the Ciciaporci family of Florence to whom the contents of the three above lots formerly belonged, mentioned in the preface to Condivi, Life of Michelangelo, published in 1746, page xviii. This collection was sold and dispersed about 1765, and with others purchased of the Cav. Cavaceppi, 1792–3, by their present proprietor," £6.10.0). This drawing was probably a fragment and was rejoined when in Lawrence's collection with another fragment in Ottley's 1814 sale, the first of the two items in 1504 ("Two on one leaf – three naked figures carrying a dead body – stumped – black chalk – fine; and two sketches of a figure for the last judgment – black chalk. From the Ciciaporci collection."); Sir Thomas Lawrence (no stamp); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Ottley sale, 6 June 1814, etc., lot 825 ("One, of studies for a *Pietà* – in black chalk. From the collection of the Ciciaporci family of Florence to whom the contents of the three above lots formerly belonged, mentioned in the preface to Condivi, Life of Michelangelo, published in 1746, page xviii. This collection was sold and dispersed about 1765, and with others purchased of the Cav. Cavaceppi, 1792–3, by their present proprietor," £6.10.0) plus Ottley sale, 6 June 1814, etc., lot 1504i ("... three naked figures carrying a dead body – stumped – black chalk – fine... From the Ciciaporci collection."). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 82 (With [Cats. 45 and 47] "admirably drawn in black chalk; they are chiefly subjects from the New Testament... the Virgin supporting the body of our Saviour etc."). Woodburn, 1842, no. 64 (As 1836.). Woodburn, 1846, no. 35 (As 1842.). Robinson, 1870, no. 70.1 (Michel Angelo. Studies for a *Pietà* at that time "in the Palace on the Corso occupied by the Russian legation," i.e., the *Rondanini Pietà*.). Black, 1875, p. 215, no. 60. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 225. Springer, 1878, p. 455 (Sketch for *Pietà* mentioned by Robinson; datable to 1540s, before Florence *Pietà*.). Springer, 1883, II, p. 311 (As 1878.). Berenson, 1903, I, p. 227, no. 1572 (c. 1542, related to the *Rondanini Pietà* "in the action of the legs, this as well as every other Christ for a '*Pietà*' that we have from Michelangelo's hand harks back to the picture in the National Gallery." Leads towards the pupil sketch in the Gathorne-Hardy Collection. The "slight sketch on the far right [G] anticipates the motive of the Florentine *Pietà*"[sic].). Thode, 1908, II, pp. 497, 499

(Michelangelo: sketches for *Rondanini Pietà*, and for an *Entombment*, reworking the motif of National Gallery *Entombment*). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 239 (Michelangelo's late period.). Thode, 1913, no. 442 (As 1908.). Brinckmann, 1925, no. 80 (Late 1550s. Two-figure compositions for *Rondanini Pietà*). De Tolnay, 1934, pp. 150–2 (Three drawings for the *Rondanini Pietà*, datable 1550–6, in the order [D, G, B]; “the original version of the marble group corresponded with [B] [and] was probably begun soon afterwards.”). Baumgart, 1935b, pp. 46, 48, 53 (The two three-figure groups probably drawn first; sketches at left and right for first version of the *Rondanini Pietà*, late 1540s–early 1550s.). Berenson, 1938, I, pp. 235–6, no. 1572 (As 1903.). Goldscheider, 1951, no. III (c. 1542. Link with the *Rondanini Pietà* explained by Michelangelo's habit of returning “time after time to the same motive – especially to body motives.”). De Tolnay, 1951, pp. 158, 293 (c. 1555; for the first version of the *Rondanini Pietà*). Schiavo, 1953, figs. 9, 10 ([C] a study for the *Palestrina Pietà*). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 81A (c. 1555; probably connected with the *Rondanini Pietà*). D. Frey, 1956, pp. 210, 217–18 (Significant for reconstructing the stages of the *Rondanini Pietà*. Accepts de Tolnay's ordering of sketches. Only in [B] is the Virgin's head tilted upwards, which corresponds to the first stage. The sheet datable c. 1552. The three-figure groups, which refer back to the *Pietà* drawn for Vittoria Colonna, perhaps respond to Cardinal Pole's comparison of the body of Christ to the state of the church, expressed in a letter of 1552.). Parker, 1956, no. 339 (Originally part of same sheet as [Cat. 47]. *Pietà* sketches connected with *Rondanini Pietà*; Deposition sketches show some affinity with the *Pietà* drawn for Vittoria Colonna.). Dussler, 1959, no. 201 (Michelangelo, 1550–5. The three-figure Entombments drawn first. The two-figure groups related to the *Rondanini Pietà*). De Tolnay, 1960, pp. 219–20, no. 246 (Once formed part of [Cat. 47], c. 1550–6. As 1934.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1572 (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1964c, no. 65 ([C, D, G] for *Rondanini Pietà*; perhaps once part of [Cat. 47]). Brugnoli, 1964, no. 57 (Late “whittling away of the plasticity of the figure, to the point where it becomes an image of purely spiritual value.”). De Tolnay, 1964c, col. 899 (The “three sketches . . . permit the reconstruction of the first version” of the *Rondanini Pietà*). Berti, 1965, pp. 490, 494 (c. 1555. Linked with [Cat. 47]; two studies for a Deposition, three of a group which was to become the *Rondanini Pietà*). Goldscheider, 1965, no. 123 (Redated to 1555–6; [Cat. 47] originally part of same sheet, as Parker discovered.). Keller, 1966, I, p. 15 (For the *Rondanini Pietà*). Hartt, 1971, no. 459 (1550–5. For the *Rondanini Pietà*). Mantura, 1973, p. 199 (Sketches [C, D, and G] rightly

related to the *Rondanini Pietà*, “propongono un Cristo più strapiombante con il peso del torso e del corpo in fuori e la Madonna che, nel sostenendo, gira la testa nel grave sforzo.” In [C]–“in particolare, il problema del corpo della Vergine interessa intensamente Michelangelo: lo presenta in diverse posizione più o meno alto, più o meno girata a sinistra o a destra.”). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 158 (For the *Rondanini Pietà*; three figure groups “presumably also for a sculptural group, and might have been the germ of the *Pietà*.”). Keller, 1975, no. 60 (1550–5; three figure groups develop scheme of the *Pietà* [in Boston] for Vittoria Colonna; the other groups prepare the first version of the *Rondanini Pietà*). De Tolnay, 1975, p. 120 (As 1951.). Keller, 1976, fig. 172 (As 1975.). De Tolnay, 1978, Corpus III, no. 433 (1550–5. Deposition drawings reprise compositional scheme of Michelangelo's National Gallery *Entombment*. *Pietà* groups; link with the *Palestrina Pietà*, probably by Tiberio Calcagni. [B, D] look back to Northern *Pietà*s of the type painted by the Master of Flemalle in Frankfurt. [B] shows movement from first to second versions of the *Rondanini Pietà*). Wilde, 1978, pp. 184–7 (“Michelangelo . . . was experimenting with a [three-figure] group of the Deposition which would conform to” the principles of the block from which the *Palestrina Pietà* was carved. “[T]hese drawings point to the end of the sixth decade . . . and there are at least two designs by Michelangelo dating from this period, but only known in copies by pupils, which show proportions such as these. . . . The other sketches . . . have usually been connected with . . . the . . . *Rondanini Pietà* . . . [which] appears to be a palimpsest of several successive designs. Vasari states that Michelangelo had begun working on it before he started on the group of four figures . . . and Daniele da Volterra . . . says that Michelangelo worked on this group as late as six days before his death.”). Murray, 1980, pp. 201–2 (“The first state of the *Rondanini Pietà* must represent a translation into marble of this two-figure group, and the figure behind Christ must originally have been intended as a man, since it is inconceivable that the Virgin should ever have been represented with one stalwart leg bare to the knee”). Liebert, 1983, pp. 410–11 (“Tolnay has persuasively reasoned . . . [from E and F] . . . which in chronology were the first and second, that the *Rondanini* group was originally intended to be an *Entombment*.”). Guazzoni, 1984, pl. 114 (Studies for *Palestrina Pietà*). Hirst, 1988, p. 40 (With [Cat. 47] originally part of one sheet, which was still larger; c. 1560. *Pietà* sketches connected with the *Rondanini Pietà*; *Entombment* has some relation to *Palestrina Pietà*, and recalls a late invention known in a copy formerly in the Gathorne-Hardy Collection.). Perrig, 1991, pp. 49,

56, 59 (Michelangelo, late; part of same sheet as [Cat. 47]. Shows development from a three-figure to a two-figure group.). Fiorio, 1992, pp. 82–83 (“From an . . . idea for a Deposition, seen in the central sketch and repeated in the one immediately to the right, the group is reduced to just two figures, the sketch of which on the left corresponds to the earlier version of the *Rondanini Pietà*.”). Hirst, 1994–5, pp. 69, 139, no. 26 (Three-figure group echoes scheme of National Gallery *Entombment*; 1550s.). Posèq, 1999, p. 96 (The central groups recall the *Palestrina Pietà*; the others the *Rondanini Pietà*. “[E]ach of these latter drawings presents the pair as if from a different viewing point, which evokes Michelangelo making rapid notes of the as yet non-existent sculpture as he rotates it in his mind.”). Nagel, 1996, pp. 568–70 (c. 1552–3; three sketches related to the first version of the *Rondanini Pietà*; the other two have been connected with the *Palestrina Pietà*, but they seem rather to prepare an *Entombment*, elaborated on other lost drawings, known only in copies, including the ex-Gathorne-Hardy sheet.). Perig, 1999, pp. 232, 276 (Michelangelo; from Farnese Collection.). Nagel, 2000, pp. 209–10 (As 1996.). Paoletti, 2000, pp. 55–6 (The three-figure groups show an *Entombment*; the two-figure groups “give some indication” of the appearance of the first version of the *Rondanini Pietà*.).

Description and Inscriptions

Recto

With the lower edge as base

- A. A male torso seen frontally, the left arm raised and bent at the elbow and the wrist.
- B. Two legs from hips to upper calf, seen frontally.
- C. In Michelangelo’s hand, in pen: . . . *ira* or . . . *ua*

With right edge as base

- D. In Michelangelo’s hand, in chalk: *a* (deleted?) *di unidici dagosto*

Verso

- A. A torso with outstretched arms, seen frontally, for a *Crucified Christ*.
- B. The left shoulder of A repeated, more diagrammatically.
- C. A curved line.

With the lower edge as base

- D. A right knee (no doubt related to B on the *recto*).

Discussion

This sheet should be dated late in Michelangelo’s life, as the character of the handwriting, firm and clear but obviously written slowly and with deliberation, is sufficient to confirm.

The upper drawing on the recto is closely related to another study of a torso formerly in the Gathorne-Hardy Collection at Donnington Priory, later in a Swiss private collection and then at Christie’s, New York, 24 January 2006, lot 18 (Corpus 382 recto; black chalk, 240 × 175 mm) in which the pose is very similar. Whereas the present drawing establishes the arrangement of the shoulders and upper torso, and lays out the saliences and declivities of the collar bone and the musculature of the right arm, the ex-Gathorne-Hardy drawing continues the torso down to the hips, includes a summary head, and develops the modelling of chest and shoulders more fully. Even though it was the modelling of the shoulders that most concerned Michelangelo – in the ex-Gathorne-Hardy drawing the left shoulder is sketched again at the lower right of the page, and the right shoulder is tried twice at the lower left – he also focused on the rib-cage and the abdomen. Whether the present drawing should be seen as a preliminary sketch for the ex-Gathorne-Hardy drawing, or whether both were drawn from a heavily muscled model at the same session, with the pose slightly modified from one moment to another – the viewpoint in the ex-Gathorne-Hardy is shifted slightly to the right – is debatable, but the compiler thinks that both drawings are probably life studies and is inclined to the second

CATALOGUE 49

Recto: A Male Torso with a Bent Left Arm; Part Studies of Legs

Verso: Studies for Christ Crucified
1846.87; R.5; P.II 341; Corpus 381

Dimensions: 252 × 161 mm

Watermark

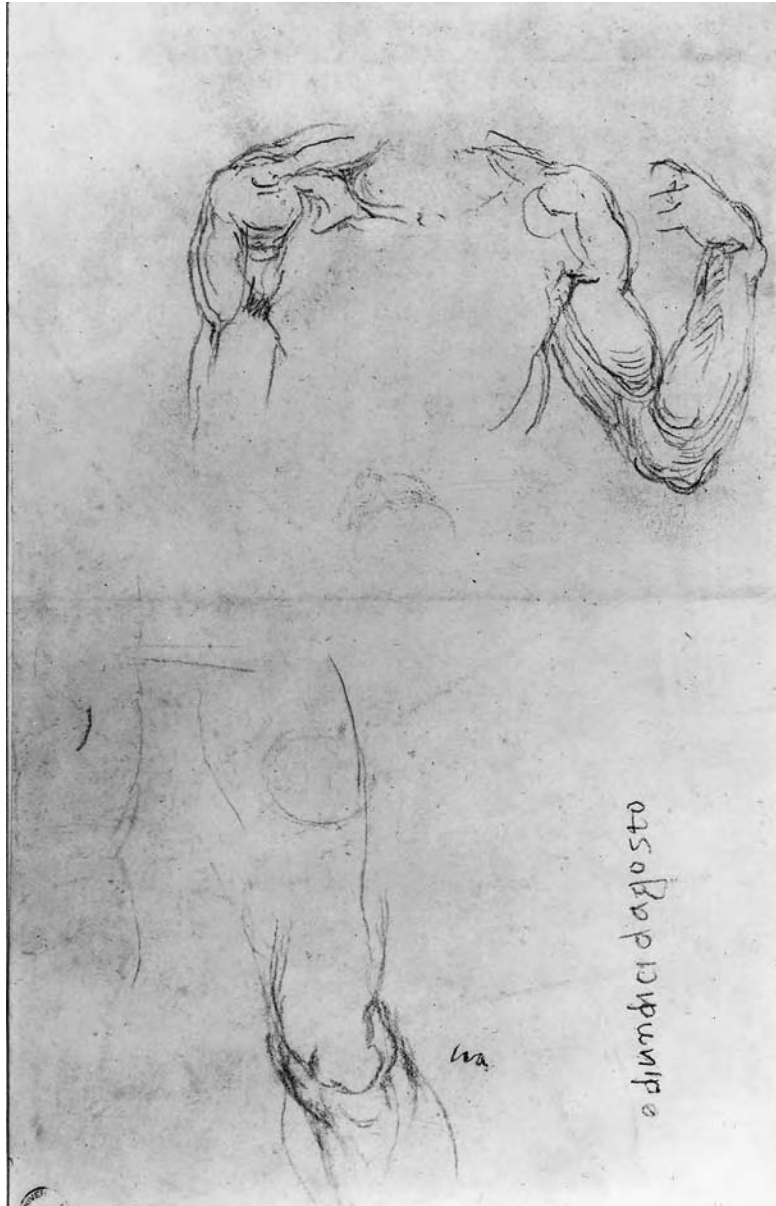
A spread eagle within a circle: Roberts B, C, or D?

Medium

Black chalk.

Condition

There is a major pressed-out central horizontal fold and some edge damage with minor losses. Several diagonal wrinkles are inherent in the sheet. There is skinning around the edges and a number of small indents, but not punctures. The sheet has general ingrained surface dirt and discolouration around the edges.

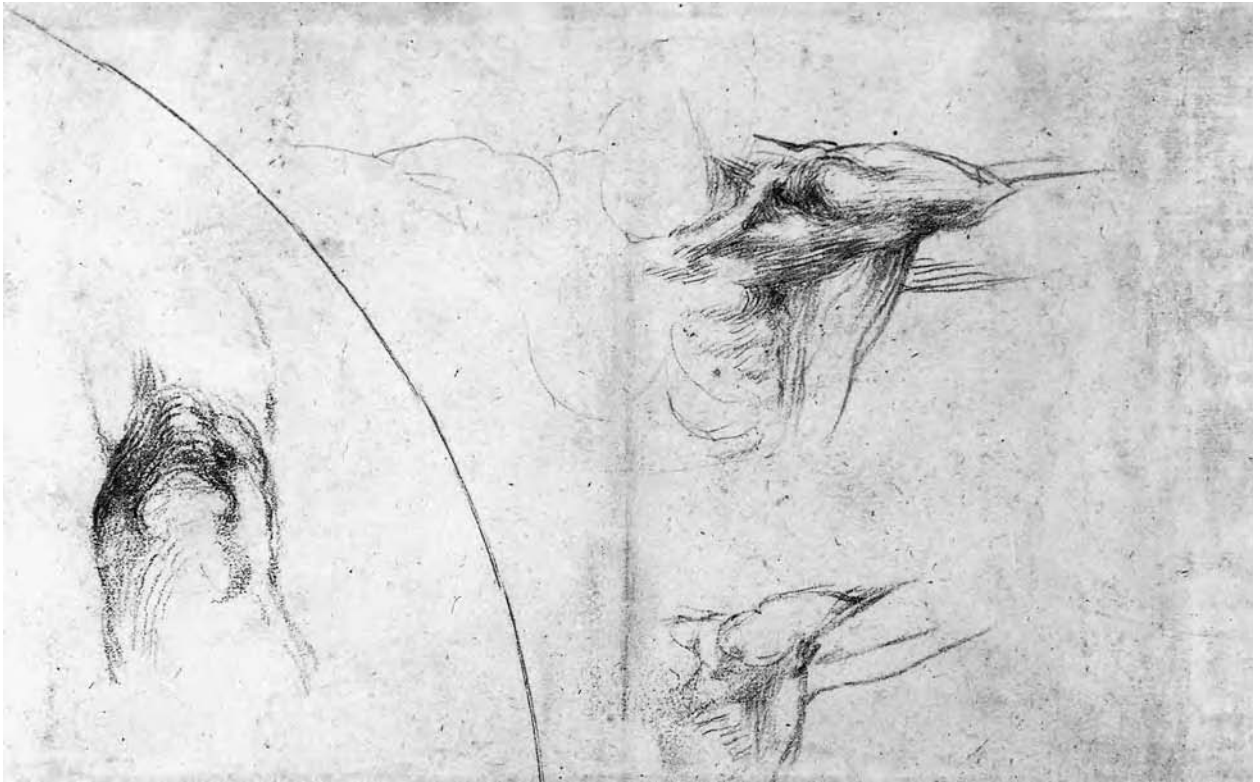


option. Hirst (1988) suggests that both were once parts of a single sheet, a plausible hypothesis that could, however, only be verified by a comparison of both in the flesh. A third drawing, which is probably connected, is the study of a right arm and shoulder seen from the front on Cat. 55 verso; this would fit readily enough with the ex-Gathorne-Hardy drawing.

The obvious role for a torso such as this in Michelangelo's late work would be for that of Christ in a *Pietà*, perhaps one similar to the Ubuda *Pietà* designed by Michelangelo for Sebastiano del Piombo, with the left arm being raised by an attendant figure. However, the legs sketched lightly in the lower half of the page, which are presumably for the same figure, indicate a standing pose. The right knee, very faintly sketched and barely visible on

the recto, is studied again in more detail and much more clearly on the verso, and the right thigh and its junction with the groin is sketched again on the verso of the ex-Gathorne-Hardy sheet. Furthermore, although the head drawn on the recto of the latter is bent downwards to the figure's left, it does not loll, as it would on a corpse, and it seems that the left arm is lifted by the figure's own volition, not by an attendant as in the *Lamentation* in Haarlem (A35 verso/VT65/Corpus 434; black chalk, c. 300 × 305 mm, fragmentary). Both drawings, therefore, would be for a heavily muscled standing man, seen from the front, supporting some burden with his left arm, probably an attendant figure in a *Deposition*.

A possible qualification is introduced, however, by a fourth drawing, a torn fragment in Casa Buonarroti



(46F recto/B149/Corpus 378; black chalk, irregular $95 \times c.100$ mm, maximum), which is very close indeed in handling and treatment to the recto of the ex-Gathorne-Hardy sheet. This is a study that, once again, focuses on the shoulders and the upper arms. It is doubtful if it ever showed more than the upper part of the chest, and that no more than outlined. This drawing must have been made at the same time as the other two, but the form is seen, once again, from a slightly different and more elevated angle. The head seems less animate than in the the ex-Gathorne-Hardy study, and this study, by itself, could well be taken as for the torso of the dead Christ. However, that Michelangelo intended to represent a live figure seems on balance more likely, and a further piece of evidence supporting this view is that the study on CB46F was drawn over a lighter sketch that, although difficult to make out with precision, seems to be a study of the same torso, bent forwards to the left, seen obliquely from the figure's right. In this last drawing, the figure's right forearm is visible, bent at right angles to the upper arm, a detail not included, and probably not envisaged, either in the present drawing or the ex-Gathorne-Hardy study.

De Tolnay connected both the drawings on the recto of our sheet with attendant soldiers in the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* in the Pauline Chapel, thus entailing for them and the associated studies a date before 1550. There are some

similarities of pose, but the figures de Tolnay cited are more complex in torsion and more tense in musculature, and, in any case, the style of all four associated drawings seems to be of a later period. Indeed, de Tolnay accepted for the drawings on the verso of the present sheet a date of c. 1557. As he and all other scholars have noted, the main study on the verso – which the compiler tends to think is entirely by Michelangelo, without later additions – is clearly for a *Crucified Christ*, seen severely frontally. Michelangelo was preoccupied with the theme of the Crucifixion in his last years, but these drawings cannot be connected closely with any of his other representations of the theme, whether known from surviving drawings or copies. However, one fragmentary drawing, in the Louvre (Inv. 842 recto/J41/Corpus 422; black chalk, 242×132 mm), which shows Christ still alive on the Cross, arms outstretched horizontally in a neo-dugentesque manner, demonstrates that Michelangelo experimented with such a scheme. The Louvre study, however, is probably a few years later than the present drawings.

The detail and intensity of the plasticity indicated in both drawings suggests that they were not made in preparation for a Presentation Drawing but for a work in another medium, more likely sculpture than painting. We know from letters that Michelangelo planned to carve a *Crucified Christ* in wood late in 1562, and although the

present drawings cannot be as late as that, he may already have considered doing so in the 1550s.

The fact that the purpose of the studies on the verso is so clear invites us to consider the studies on the recto of the present sheet and those in the Casa Buonarroti and formerly Gathorne-Hardy in their light. The combination of powerful torso, full-length pose and a left arm under strain suggests a supporting figure for the body of Christ in either a *Deposition* or an *Entombment*. The latter, as much as the *Crucifixion*, was a theme that preoccupied Michelangelo in his last years, and various drawings either by or after him show that he tried different versions of it. The three drawings in question cannot firmly be connected with any of them, but a subject of this kind seems to be their most likely purpose. Some further support for this is given by the two fragmentary sketches, one a mere outline, the other quite roundly modelled, which appear on the verso of CB 46F/Corpus 378. Both seem to be bending forward and supporting something, and both could well come from either a *Deposition* or an *Entombment*.

The final drawing to be considered on the verso is the curved line that separates the knee from the two studies of the Crucified Christ and that was presumably drawn first. It is obviously fragmentary and obviously has an architectural function, but it is conjectural whether it is the fragment of a ground plan or a profile. Given that in 1557 Michelangelo was thinking about the dome of St. Peter's, the latter seems the more likely.

It may be noted too that there are lightly drawn architectural sketches on the verso of the ex-Gathorne-Hardy sheet (Corpus 382). These are difficult to decipher but seem to consist of a curved form, surmounted by a substantial roll-moulding, a base, and then (perhaps) a volute. At risk of over-interpretation, this could be a preliminary idea for the crown of the lantern of St. Peter's.

History

Casa Buonarroti; Jean-Baptiste Wicar; Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–80] (“Anatomical Studies on which he has written Undici d’Augusto.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 71 (“Studies of the arm etc. . . with the hand-writing of M. Angelo.”). Robinson, 1870, no. 5 (The recto and [D] on the verso for the marble *David*, datable 1501.). Black, 1875, p. 213, no. 5. Gotti, 1875, II, pp. 228–9 (Linked with commission for marble *David* on 10 August

1501.). Berenson, 1903, no. 1547 (Feeble but probably Michelangelo. Recto: unconnected with *David*. Verso: possibly for a Crucified Christ.). Thode, 1908, I, p. 78 (Not for *David*.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 203 (Recto: not for *David*, but datable c. 1501.); no. 201b (Verso: by a later hand, not Michelangelo.). Thode, 1913, no. 389 (As 1908; of Medici Chapel period; similarities with Thode 390.). Panofsky, 1927–8, p. 243 (Drawing and inscription by Mini: a conscious falsification of Michelangelo.). Berenson, 1938, no. 1547 (As 1903.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 120 (1555–60). Parker, 1956, no. 341 (Recto: late; clear resemblance to *David* but reminiscences found frequently in Michelangelo's works. Verso: “There can be little doubt that, as claimed by Frey, the indication of the head and right arms in . . . [A] of the verso were added later.). Dussler, 1959, no. 189 (Michelangelo, 1550s.). De Tolnay, 1960, pp. 226–7, no. 261 (Late.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1547 (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1962, p. 11, under no. 5 (CB 9 F/Corpus not related to [Cat. 49]). Berti, 1965, pp. 400, 403 (Both sides may be of c. 1504.). Schmidt, 1965, p. 34 (“Die Rötelseichnungen [sic] eines rechten und eines linken Knies . . . und die Studien zur ‘Schlacht bei Cascina’ . . . können bestätigen, wie sehr Michelangelo die beugenden Kräfte dieses Muskels vertraut waren.”). Hartt, 1971, no. 401 (Recto: 1545; study for soldier bearing a halberd in *Crucifixion of St. Peter*.), no. 411 (Verso: 1545; studies for a *Crucifixion*. “Does the arch have some relation to the dome of St. Peter’s?”). De Tolnay, 1978, Corpus III, no. 381 (Recto: perhaps for a figure in the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* in the Cappella Paolina. Verso: studies for a *Crucified Christ*, c. 1557.). Hirst, 1988, p. 69 (This and the ex-Gathorne-Hardy drawings once parts of the same sheet.). Perrig, 1999, pp. 224, 238 (By Giulio Clovio; from Farnese Collection.).

CATALOGUE 50

Christ Appearing to the Virgin on the Morning of the Resurrection

1846.91; R.74; P.II 345; Corpus 400

Dimensions: 221 × 200 mm

Watermark: Robinson Appendix no. 17. Not in Roberts. Crossbow in a circle. Similar watermarks are found in Briquet, all dating between the late fifteenth and late sixteenth centuries, but none is sufficiently close to the present example to warrant citing.

**Medium**

Black chalk.

Condition

There is a minor infill and major abrasion. A significant ridge along the upper and lower margins, and less so at the left and right edges, is from an old hinge (presumably) on the verso. There is uneven discolouration and speckling and a narrow band of adhesive residue at the left edge.

The secondary support is skinned and torn with adhesive residues. It is hinged with white paper gum tape and pendant hinges.

Inscriptions

In Michelangelo's hand in black chalk

... (die)ci V al pittore per dio
 ... (an)dro a pasquino p mandare
 a chasteldurâte
 legnie

Lower right: *Mic. Ang. Buonaroti* in pen and grey ink (cf. Cats. 45 [further discussion], 47, 48).

Discussion

The references to *pictore* and *Pasquino* and Casteldurante make it clear that Michelangelo is thinking about Cornelia, the widow of his servant and friend Francesco d'Amadore, called Urbino, who had returned to her home town of Casteldurante after the death of her husband on 3 December 1555. Michelangelo maintained contact with Cornelia, sometimes forwarding her sums of money via the muleteer Pasquino. On 13 December 1557 Cornelia wrote to Michelangelo to tell him that she had been pressured to make over as a gift to the Duke of Urbino two paintings executed by Marcello Venusti to Michelangelo's designs. These had been painted for her late husband as mementoes for their two sons (the Duke may have felt some justification for this shabby act by his belief that Michelangelo had swindled the Della Rovere family over the tomb of their great kinsman, Pope Julius II). Cornelia begged Michelangelo to commission for her repetitions of these paintings to be made by "vostro messer Marcello." The two paintings Cornelia wanted replicated were, respectively, of a *Crucifixion* and an *Annunciation*. They followed Michelangelo's designs. The *Crucifixion* was part new invention, part repetition: It combined the famous *Christ on the Cross* that Michelangelo had drawn for Vittoria Colonna c. 1540 (see Cat. 67), with figures of the Virgin and Saint John at the Cross's foot, prepared in two drawings of c. 1555, in Paris (Louvre Inv. 720 and 698/J39 and 40/Corpus 412 and 413; black chalk, respectively 230 × 110 mm and 250 × 82 mm). This addition was no doubt undertaken by Michelangelo as a special favour to his beloved servant. The *Annunciation* was a reduced version, without changes, of that painted by Venusti to Michelangelo's design on the commission of Tommaso de' Cavalieri for St. John Lateran, and now in the church's sacristy.

The sequel to Cornelia's request is not known, but it may be that Michelangelo, instead of simple compliance, considered designing a new work for her, showing *Christ Appearing to the Virgin on the Morning of the Resurrection*, an appropriate subject for a woman recently widowed. Or he may simply have been prompted to reconsider the subject of the *Annunciation* by her plea, at a period when, as contemporaries reported, he was increasingly preoccupied by death. Indeed the present drawing was always interpreted as an *Annunciation* until Pfeiffer elucidated its true subject. Another possibility is suggested by the similarity between the present drawing and one in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Inv. 3056/Corpus 401; black chalk, 265 × 162 mm). The recto of the Fitzwilliam

sheet bears a study of *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother*, no doubt a preparatory drawing for the cartoon of the subject recorded in Michelangelo's house after his death. This cartoon was begun, according to a note by Daniele da Volterra, for Cardinal Morrone, but it is clear that, some time before Michelangelo died, the project, presumably for a single painting, had been shelved since Michelangelo had offered the cartoon as a gift both to Vasari and to Tommaso Cavalieri; the latter finally claimed it. The drawing on the verso of the Fitzwilliam sheet, however, rather than preparatory for the recto, as most scholars believe, could well be a study for the present composition. If so, it would imply that Michelangelo thought of the two as pendants. But whether or not the Fitzwilliam verso is related to the present drawing, it need not affect the possibility that the two subjects, which so well complement each other, were intended either as a pair – or as alternatives.

In the present drawing, the block-like form of the Virgin, her angular pose, and the rhythmic compression of the relation between the two figures suggest that Michelangelo was looking to trecento sources, in particular, perhaps, to the relief of the same scene on Andrea Orcagna's great tabernacle at Orsanmichele, which he would have known from childhood. He had referred to this earlier in the decade when he made a finished drawing (New York, Morgan Library, IV, 7/Corpus 399; black chalk, 383 × 296 mm) of the *Annunciation* for Marcello Venusti to execute as the altarpiece of the Cesi Chapel in Santa Maria della Pace, a painting now lost but known in numerous autograph reductions and copies. The first position of the Virgin's head, drawn back slightly and looking up to her Son in wonder, would have been still more "primitive" in effect.

In representing *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother* and *Christ Appearing to the Virgin on the Morning of the Resurrection*, subjects that are commoner in the north than in Italy, and in turning to the art of the Florentine trecento for their visual vehicle, Michelangelo demonstrates once again how deeply he was indebted to his very earliest artistic interests in his effort to forge a sacred style. Whether Michelangelo's representation of *Christ Appearing to the Virgin on the Morning of the Resurrection* was known outside his immediate circle is conjectural: The subject was treated by Pellegrino Tibaldi in a fresco in the cloister of the Escorial, c. 1588, but that has no immediate visual relation with the present drawing.

The fact that this sheet is recorded by Ottley in his sale catalogue of 1814 (correcting his statement in his sale catalogue of 1804) as coming from the Ciciaporci collection suggests that it was among the drawings by

Michelangelo owned by Daniele da Volterra. In Ottley's sale of 1804, this drawing seems to have been mounted on the same sheet as Cat. 45, for which a Daniele da Volterra–Cicciaporci provenance is very likely, in which case this mounting would certainly antedate Ottley. In 1814, it had been remounted with Cat. 36, which probably came from Casa Buonarroti, and this remounting must have been Ottley's responsibility.

History

Daniele da Volterra?; Giacomo Rocca?; Il Cavaliere d'Arpino?; the Cicciaporci family and Filippo Cicciaporci?; Bartolommeo Cavaceppi?; William Young Ottley (his sale, 11 April 1804, part of lot 274, "One ditto [i.e., One leaf] containing several studies of attitudes for the Last Judgment [i.e., Cat. 45], and a study for the Annunciation, all in black chalk, from ditto [i.e., Casa Buonarroti]; his sale, 6 June 1814, etc.; part of lot 1587, "Two black chalk studies on one leaf – the Annunciation, with a specimen of his writing, from the Cicciaporci collection, and a dog lying in the midst of flames [i.e., Cat. 36], an emblematic design. From the Buonarroti collection at Florence"; £10.10.0); Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Ottley sale, 11 April 1804, part of lot 274 ("One ditto [i.e., One leaf] containing several studies of attitudes for the Last Judgment [i.e., Cat. 45], and a study for the Annunciation, all in black chalk, from ditto [i.e., Casa Buonarroti]"). Ottley sale, 6 June 1814, etc., part of lot 1587 ("Two black chalk studies on one leaf – the Annunciation, with a specimen of his writing, from the Cicciaporci collection" and [Cat. 36]). Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–113] ("Study in black chalk for the Annunciation" and [Cat. 36]). Woodburn, 1842, no. 28 ("The first idea for the subject of the Salutation – black chalk, with the autograph of Michael Angelo"). Woodburn, 1846, no. 32 (As 1842.). Robinson, 1870, no. 74 (Connection with two other drawings of the Annunciation [BM W72/Corpus 395 and Morgan Library VIIr/Corpus 399]; the present drawing may have been a first idea for one of the two *Annunciations* executed by Marcello Venusti to Michelangelo's design.). Black, 1875, p. 215, no. 63. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 222. Berenson, 1903, I, p. 229, no. 1575 ("[P]robably the very last drawing from Michelangelo's hand that we possess." c. 1556–7.). Thode, 1908, II, p. 461 (1556 at earliest; no direct connection with Venusti's Lateran and Pace *Annunciations*). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 140 (Last period, 1557–60. Unconnected

with Venusti's *Annunciations*). Thode, 1913, no. 448 (As 1908.). Panofsky, 1922, p. 12 (c. 1560 but certainly no earlier than 1556–7.). Brinckmann, 1925, no. 79 (c. 1560.). Popham, 1930a, no. 519. Popham, 1931, no. 227 (Probably 1560.). Berenson, 1938, I, p. 237, no. 1575 (As 1903.). Goldscheider, 1951, no. 127 ("The visionary spirit of this drawing and the complete dissolution of the forms are reminiscent of the *Rondanini Pietà*, on which Michelangelo was working at the same time."). De Tolnay, 1951, pp. 154, 293 (1556–60). Wilde, 1953a, pp. 113 (c. 1560. "[A] kind of synthesis of his earlier conceptions . . . shows the aged artist's increasing sympathy with the trecento."). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 108. Parker, 1956, no. 345 (Annunciation, 1559–60.). Dussler, 1959, no. 205 (Michelangelo, 1556–61. Links with *Crucifixion* drawings and the standing *Madonna*, BM W83.). De Tolnay, 1960, p. 228, no. 264 (1556–61.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1575 (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1964c, no. 67 ("una sottile e instancabile rarefazione, che volge verso forme sempre più corrose e larvali."). Berti, 1965, pp. 489, 493 (c. 1559–60.). Goldscheider, 1965, no. 124 (As 1951.). Pfeiffer, 1966, p. 227 ff. (Not an *Annunciation* but *Christ Appearing to the Virgin on Easter Morning after His Resurrection*). Hartt, 1971, no. 435 (1560?). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 174 (*The Risen Christ Appearing to His Mother*; "the right-hand figure is clearly a man, naked but for the loose garment thrown around the shoulders; the style is that of the late drawings."). Keller, 1975, no. 62 (*Annunciation*, 1555–61.). De Tolnay, 1975, p. 117 (Accepts Pfeiffer's interpretation; composition elaborated by Michelangelo over a representation of the *Annunciation*). De Tolnay, 1978, Corpus III, no. 400 (As 1975.). Hirst, 1988, p. 53 (*Christ Appearing to His Mother*). Joannides, 1992a, p. 250 (Subject more common in the north than in Italy. Perhaps planned as a pendant to *Christ Taking Leave of the Virgin*). Hirst, 1988–9a, no. 61 (c. 1560). Perrig, 1991, pp. 72, 114–15, fig. 37 (Michelangelo; the *ricordo* presupposes late 1557 or early 1558.). Perrig, 1999, pp. 240–1 (As 1991; from Farnese Collection.).

CATALOGUE 51

A Nude Male Figure

1846–81; R.60 (2); P.II 335; Corpus 428

Dimensions: 181 × 87 mm

Medium

Black chalk.



Condition

The sheet has minor abrasions, fibrous accretions, adhesive staining, general uneven discolouration, and foxing. The primary support is drummed by the four edges to the backboard of the mount so the verso is not visible.

Discussion

The pose of this figure study is similar to those found on two other sheets of drawings in the Ashmolean Museum, Cats. 52 and 53 (the three were mounted together when they entered the Museum), and a fourth, formerly in the Gathorne-Hardy Collection at Donnington Priory, now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (1991.217.2a-3b/Corpus 429; black chalk, drawn on recto and verso, 233 × 100 mm). All the drawings, seven in total, on these sheets, portray advancing male figures, seen from the front, one shoulder advanced and the other drawn back, with the forward arm curved down across the body and the other held up, as though supporting something. All four sheets are obviously fragments of larger

ones, but it seems unlikely that any two came from the same sheet: None of the three Ashmolean drawings is made on the same paper.

It might nevertheless be the case that the drawings upon these four sheets were made at the same time for the same project. However, despite the resemblances among them, this is probably not the case, and the drawings are best treated separately. It is clear that in his last years Michelangelo employed and re-employed a limited number of poses and that a repeated pose does not necessarily indicate a repeated context.

The present sheet is drawn on one side only. The form is nude, like that at the left side of Cat. 52, and the drawings on both sides of the Washington, D.C., sheet, but the internal movement of the body here receives somewhat more emphasis than in those drawings, which might suggest a slightly earlier date. The figure is most readily interpreted as supporting the body of Christ in an *Entombment* or, more properly, a *Transport of Christ's Body to the Tomb*. In his late years, Michelangelo frequently returned to the themes and forms of his youth and his late treatments of the *Entombment* recall his painting in the National Gallery, London, generally dated soon after 1500 (NG790; oil on wood, 161.7 × 149.9 cm). Michelangelo's late inventions could have been intended as Presentation Drawings or as models for paintings to be carried out by other artists – it is improbable that he himself still considered executing paintings. Such designs for painting should probably be distinguished from treatments of the same or related subjects planned for sculpture, such as those in Cat. 48, which are more simplified, but, finally, any distinctions are tenuous since sculpture and painting (and, for that matter, Presentation Drawings and *modellì*) easily merge into one another in Michelangelo's work.

Probably around 1550 or a little later, Michelangelo planned an elaborate pictorial composition of the *Lamentation* in the immediate aftermath of the *Deposition* in a now-fragmentary autograph drawing in Haarlem (A35 verso /VT65/Corpus 434; black chalk, c. 300 × 305 mm). This contains the traces of at least seven figures, and it may have been a preparatory study for a lost cartoon of a *Pietà* containing nine figures, recorded in Michelangelo's posthumous inventory (see Cat. 40), about which nothing further seems to be known. However, the Haarlem drawing does not have supporting figures at either side in poses like those of any of the drawings under present consideration, and although no firm statement can be made about the lost cartoon, it seems likely that this did not either.

The present drawing and the Washington, D.C., sheet have also been connected with a five-figure composition – in which all figures are entirely nude – of the *Entombment*.

While this composition does not survive in an autograph version, it is known in two drawings, independent of, and in reverse of, one another.

A. Formerly in the Gathorne-Hardy Collection at Donnington Priory, sold at Sotheby's, London, 28 April 1976, lot 15; and at Christie's, New York, 23 January 2005, lot 26; black chalk, 325 × 221 mm (illustrated by de Tolnay, 1978, Corpus III, p. 77). The complete copy of the *Entombment* is on the recto of this sheet, but the right-hand supporting figure is tried at least twice more on the verso, in part drawn over various ground-plans, which either copy or reflect drawings made by Michelangelo for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini. This sheet is sometimes given to Jacomo del Duca, following a tentative attribution made by Dussler, who was no doubt influenced by the fact that Jacomo employed this *Entombment* design in a modified form in one of the eight reliefs on his great bronze tabernacle, commissioned by the Farnese for the high altar of Santa Maria degli Angeli in 1565, and now in Naples, Museo Nazionale del Capodimonte. Although this attribution cannot be ruled out, the sheet's authorship is less significant than its status; it seems to be a double-sided facsimile of a lost sheet of drawings by Michelangelo himself, no doubt made in his studio in his lifetime. For a comparable case, see Cat. 55.

B. Amsterdam, Amsterdam Historical Museum, A-18115; black chalk, 377 × 271 mm; attributed to Giulio Clovio (illustrated by de Tolnay, 1978, Corpus III, p. 79). This drawing, which is quite highly finished, could well be a same-size copy of a lost Presentation Drawing by Michelangelo. It is perhaps by an artist in the circle of Daniele da Volterra.

This composition, whose final direction is probably that seen in the Amsterdam drawing, centres on Christ's body, held upright as it is carried forward (in contrast to the National Gallery *Entombment* in which the movement is into depth). It has two bearers seen full-length in the foreground and that on the right comes very close in pose to the figure in the present drawing; furthermore, their bodies are related by a common serpentine internal movement.

History

The history of this sheet and of its companions, Cats. 52 and 53, with which it was still mounted, together with Cats. 73 and 101, when it was catalogued by Robinson, is not fully clear. If this drawing together with Cats. 52 and 53 comprised the mounting of three drawings in Ottley's sale catalogue of 11 April 1804 as lot 273, "One

ditto [leaf] containing three studies of figures, all in black chalk, from the Buonarroti collection," then they would apparently have come from Casa Buonarroti, probably but not certainly, via Wicar. However, in Ottley's sale beginning 6 June 1814, the only item corresponding to such a mounting was lot 823, "Three on one leaf, studies in black chalk – a figure on the back of one." £6.6.0. Lot 825 provides the information: "from the collection of the Ciciaporci family of Florence to whom the contents of the three above lots [i.e., including lot 823] formerly belonged." This, therefore, would be a correction of the earlier statement and should probably be trusted, in which case the provenance prior to Ottley should be Daniele da Volterra; Giacomo Rocca; The Cavaliere d'Arpino; Filippo Ciciaporci; Bartolommeo Cavaceppi. At Ottley's 1814 sale this mounting was purchased by William Roscoe; it reappeared at his sale of September 1816 as lot 59: "Three, Studies of a Figure, in black chalk; another figure on the reverse of one of them. From the same Collection" (as the previous lot, i.e., Mr. Ottley's). It was acquired by Watson, a pseudonym of the London bookseller William Carey, for 15 s., and presumably then passed to Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445) and Woodburn. By the time of the 1842 prospectus, to complicate matters, this mounting, no. 36, had acquired two further drawings [Cats. 73, 101], which were probably added to it by Lawrence or, less likely, by Woodburn himself. In 1842 Woodburn gave the provenance for the whole ensemble as the Buonarroti family and the Chevalier Wicar. In this he was followed by Parker and Robinson. However, although this provenance probably is true of Cat. 73, it is unlikely to be true, as we have seen, either of the trio comprised by the present drawing and Cats. 52 and 53, or of Cat. 101. It seems likely that Woodburn simply transferred the probable provenance of Cat. 73 to the whole group.

References

Ottley sale?, 11 April 1804, lot 273 ("One ditto [leaf] containing three studies of figures, all in black chalk, from the Buonarroti collection."). Ottley sale, 6 June 1814, etc. probably part of lot 823 ("Three on one leaf, studies in black chalk – a figure on the back of one" [Lot 825 adds the information: "from the collection of the Ciciaporci family of Florence to whom the contents of the three above lots formerly belonged, mentioned in the preface to Condivi, Life of Michelangelo, published in 1746, page xviii. This collection was sold and dispersed about 1765, and with others purchased of the Cav. Cavaceppi, 1792–3, by their present proprietor"])). Woodburn, 1842, no. 35 ("Five very fine studies on one Mount, three of them in black chalk."). Woodburn, 1846,

no. 40 (As 1842.). Robinson, 1870, no. 60.2 (Michelangelo. This drawing, and [Cats. 53 verso and 52 recto], “of the later time of the master . . . apparently all studies for the same work, of which nothing is known.”). Gotti, 1875, II, p. 227. Berenson, 1903, I, p. 222, no. 1569.2 (c. 1550. For same unknown purpose as [Cats. 52 and 53] and [Washington 1991.217.2a–3b]. This would suggest an *Entombment*.). Thode, 1908, II, p. 80 (For a *Crucifixion of St. Peter* or a *Deposition*, with [Cats. 52 and 53].). Thode, 1913, no. 437 (For an *Entombment*, with [Cats. 52 and 53].). Berenson, 1938, no. 1569.2 (As 1903.). Wilde, 1953a, pp. 114, 116 (With [Cats. 52 and 53]. Not before 1550). Wilde, exh. 1953, no. 127b (With [Cats. 52 and 53], resemblance to the *Epifania* cartoon, but not certainly for it.). Parker, 1956, no. 335 (1550s; resembles [Cats. 53 verso and 52 recto].). Dussler, 1959, no. 348 (Ascribed. c. 1550. Maybe for a *Pietà*.). De Tolnay, 1960, pp. 205–6, no. 218 (Doubts attribution. “If original, it would be a preparatory sketch for [Cat. 51].”). Berenson, 1961, no. 1569.2 (As 1903 / 1938.). Hartt, 1971, no. 508 (1546. Apostle for dome of St. Peter’s.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 155 (Same period as *Epifania*, but not necessarily connected.). Joannides, 1975, p. 262 (Together with [Cats. 52 and 53], and Washington 1991.217.2a–3b, perhaps for the *Entombment* recorded in the Gathorne-Hardy copy drawing; the date may be c. 1560 since the architectural sketches on [Cat. 52] recall the Porta Pia.). De Tolnay, 1978, Corpus III, no. 428 (With [Cats. 52 and 53 and Washington 1991.217.2a–3b] probably for a *Pietà* recorded in copies attributed to Jacomo del Duca, formerly Gathorne-Hardy Collection, and Giulio Clovio, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum.). Perrig, 1991, p. 91, fig. 92 (Condivi.). Perrig, 1999, pp. 239–40 (As 1991; from Farnese Collection.).

CATALOGUE 52

Recto: Two Male Figures and Architectural Sketches

Verso: A Pedestal

1846.82; R.60 (3); P.II 336; Corpus 427

Dimensions: 202 × 120 mm

Watermark: Roberts Bird D.

Medium

Black chalk.

Condition

There is a major edge repair, minor nicks, some infills, and inherent pressed-in wrinkles and pressed-out creases. The

sheet has scored indentations, some skinning, and fibrous accretions, with general uneven discolouration and local staining.

Description

Recto

- A. A male figure moving forward, supporting something to his left.
- B. An abbreviated pediment or cornice, perhaps related to the verso drawing or possibly of an unrelated window or door.
- C. A male figure moving forward, supporting something to his right.
- D. A fragmentary form.
- E. A ground plan with a line through it?
- F. Fragment of a rectangular ground plan with inset columns?

Verso

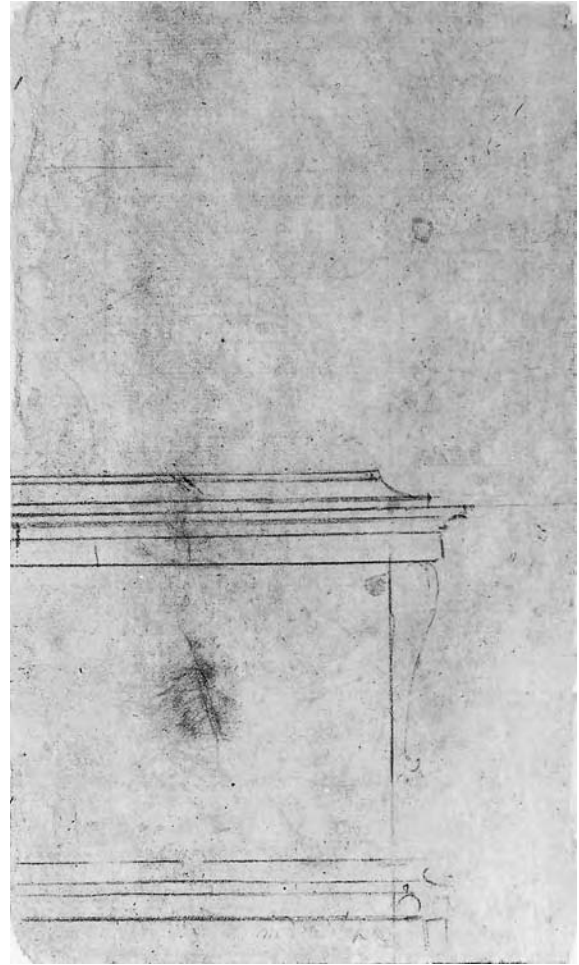
Half of a pedestal with a console or scroll in profile at the right. In the lower moulding is a very faint and no doubt partly erased inscription that the compiler cannot decipher. It may be no more than Michelangelo’s name added by a later cataloguer.

Discussion

Recto

Interpretation of the two figure drawings on the recto of this sheet is uncertain. An obvious possibility is that they are bearers in an *Entombment*, but there is no clear indication of this, and the left-hand figure could well be displaying something for the viewer’s attention: The line that links the two hands could be interpreted as a scroll; the draped figure on Cat. 53 recto could also be displaying a scroll. On the other hand, the smaller figure would make an effective counterpart to the figure on Cat. 53 verso.

The larger figure, on the right, might well be clothed rather than nude – there seems to be some indication of drapery around his ankles – and he too could be a Prophet or a Saint, conceivably with an attribute of martyrdom. Although we know of no project of Michelangelo’s own during his last years in which statues of Prophets or Saints were involved, he was certainly active in planning statuary for others. He provided designs of Daniele da Volterra’s statues of Peter and Paul in the Ricci Chapel of San Pietro in Montorio, on which work seems to have begun in the mid-1550s, he was involved in the planning of a monumental gate for the Castel Sant’Angelo, which was to be peopled with statues of the Apostles; it is even possible that he was consulted about the completion of the set of twelve Apostles planned for the Florence Duomo,



which he himself had begun over half a century earlier, and which was again the focus of activity towards 1560. It is clear that some of the studies on the verso of Michelangelo's profile of the dome of St. Peter's in Haarlem (Teyler Museum A29/VT 67/Corpus 596; black chalk, 397 × 232 mm) are for individual niched statues, and that Michelangelo did make an attempt to indicate a scale for them, although both the purpose of these drawings and the significance of the scale pricked beside them are debatable and debated.

Interpretation of the architectural sketches is also problematic. The slight sketch in part cut by the right edge could be a segmental pediment to surmount a door or a window. During the later 1550s and early 1560s, Michelangelo was considering pediments of different types for St. Peter's, for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, for the Capitoline Palaces, and, no doubt, other schemes, and the compiler is unable to relate this slight sketch to a specific project.

Another, just below the right-hand figure, D, seems to be an irregular rectangle with one small circle at each of its corners. It is difficult to be sure whether this is simply a

shaky drawing from an old man, and that it was intended to be a normal rectangle, or whether what we see is what was planned. If the latter, then the compiler can make no guess as to what it represents. If the former, then taken in conjunction with the bold line that divides the form in two roughly equal parts (but which might simply be adventitious) this might represent a door in plan, with column-flanked aedicules on either side. The third drawing, at the lower right corner, E, again cut by the right edge, could be a development of this with the inclusion of a step. But it is also reminiscent of Michelangelo's plan of the thrones intended to surmount the attic of the ducal tombs in the New Sacristy (CB72A/B63/Corpus 199; red chalk, 167 × 133 mm) so a throne of some kind is also a possibility. Again by analogy with the New Sacristy, whose altar has balusters set in its corners, it might also be a project for an altar. However, more probable, and certainly more appropriate chronologically, is that there may be a connection with the Sforza Chapel. There is a similarity with the forms in one area of a drawing in the British Museum (W84/Corpus 623; black chalk, 241 × 210 mm),

which is generally considered to be a preparatory study for the ground plan of the Sforza chapel. This drawing presents problems of reading and orientation, but one area of it, probably an altar-compartment but not inconceivably a crypt, does show a Greek cross with very shallow arms, with columns at the corners that presumably support a vault. The present drawing might be related to that.

It is not immediately apparent whether any of these architectural forms is related to those on Cat. 53 verso.

Verso

This drawing, for which Michelangelo has employed a ruler with only the curves and the scroll drawn free-hand, seems more likely to be the pedestal of a statue – as suggested by the console or scroll in profile – than a column base. The scroll, if that is what it is, would presumably carry an inscription. The only free-standing statue bases known to have been designed in Michelangelo's Roman period are that for the equestrian figure of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitoline Hill and that for the equestrian figure of Henri II, executed by Michelangelo's protégé Daniele da Volterra at the master's recommendation – and in part under his supervision – from 1560 onwards. Surviving drawings demonstrate that Michelangelo assisted Daniele both with the horse and with its pedestal. Although the present drawing resembles more closely the earlier project, it seems very unlikely that it could be so early. Even the ruled lines are less firm than one would expect from a Michelangelo drawing in the 1530s. On balance, if the drawing is connected with either of these projects, it seems more likely that it was Daniele's statue. Although it must be admitted that the single drawing by Michelangelo securely made in preparation for the pedestal of Daniele's statue (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Inv. 53:140/Corpus 435; black chalk and white body colour, 125 × 124 mm) bears no relation to the present drawing, it is nevertheless worth noting that the pedestal of the statue as it was finally erected in Paris, as it is recorded in an engraving by Nicolas van Aelst, does bear some relation to the present drawing and, moreover, seems to have carried inscribed scrolls at the front and rear.

History

The history of this sheet and of its companions, Cats. 51 and 53, with which it was still mounted, together with Cats. 73 and 101, when it was catalogued by Robinson, is not fully clear. If this drawing together with Cats. 51 and 53 comprised the mounting of three drawings in Ottley's sale catalogue of 11 April 1804 as lot 273, "One ditto [leaf] containing three studies of figures, all in black

chalk, from the Buonarroti collection," then they would apparently have come from Casa Buonarroti, probably but not certainly, via Wicar. However in Ottley's sale beginning 6 June 1814, the only item corresponding to such a mounting was lot 823, "Three on one leaf, studies in black chalk – a figure on the back of one." £6.6.0. And lot 825 provides the information: "from the collection of the Ciciaporci family of Florence to whom the contents of the three above lots [i.e., including lot 823] formerly belonged." This, therefore, would be a correction of the earlier statement and should probably be trusted, in which case the provenance prior to Ottley should be Daniele da Volterra; Giacomo Rocca; The Cavaliere d'Arpino; Filippo Ciciaporci; and Bartolommeo Cavaceppi. At Ottley's 1814 sale, this mounting was purchased by William Roscoe; it reappeared at his sale of September 1816 as lot 59: "Three, Studies of a Figure, in black chalk; another figure on the reverse of one of them. From the same Collection" (as the previous lot, i.e., Mr. Ottley's). It was acquired by Watson, a pseudonym of the London bookseller William Carey, for 15 s., and presumably then passed to Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445) and Woodburn. By the time of the 1842 prospectus, to complicate matters, this mounting, no. 36, had acquired two further drawings [Cats. 73, 101], which were probably added to it by Lawrence or, less likely, by Woodburn himself. In 1842 Woodburn gave the provenance for the whole ensemble as the Buonarroti family and the Chevalier Wicar. In this he was followed by Parker and Robinson. However, while this provenance probably is true of Cat. 73, it is unlikely to be true, as we have seen, either of the trio comprised by the present drawing and Cats. 51 and 53, or of Cat. 101. It seems likely that Woodburn simply transferred the probable provenance of Cat. 73 to the whole group.

References

Ottley sale?, 11 April 1804, lot 273 ("One ditto [i.e., leaf] containing three studies of figures, all in black chalk, from the Buonarroti collection."). Ottley sale, 6 June 1814, etc., probably part of lot 823 ("Three on one leaf, studies in black chalk – a figure on the back of one." [Lot 825 adds the information: "from the collection of the Ciciaporci family of Florence to whom the contents of the three above lots formerly belonged, mentioned in the preface to Condivi, *Life of Michelangelo*, published in 1746, page xviii. This collection was sold and dispersed about 1765, and with others purchased of the Cav. Cavaceppi, 1792–3, by their present proprietor."]). Woodburn, 1842, no. 35 ("Five very fine studies on one Mount, three of them in black chalk.").

Woodburn, 1846, no. 40 (As 1842.). Robinson, 1870, no. 60.3 (Michel Angelo. This drawing, and [Cats. 53 and 51], “of the later time of the master . . . apparently all studies for the same work, of which nothing is known.”). Gotti, 1875, II, p. 227. Berenson, 1903, I, p. 222, no. 1569.3 (c. 1550. For same unknown purpose as [Cats. 51 and 53 and Washington 1991.217.2a–3b].). Thode, 1908, II, p. 80 (For a *Crucifixion of St. Peter* or a *Deposition*, with [Cats. 53 and 51].). Thode, 1913, no. 438 (For an *Entombment*, with [Cats. 53 and 51].). Berenson, 1938, no. 1569.3 (As 1903.). Wilde, 1953a, pp. 114, 116 (With [Cats. 53 and 51].). Not before 1550.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 127c (With [Cats. 53 and 51], resemblance to the *Epifania* cartoon, but not certainly for it.). Parker, 1956, no. 336 (1550s. “The larger figure resembles [Cat. 51]; the smaller is very like [Cat. 53 verso], and shows affinity also with” the ex-Gathorne-Hardy drawing.). Dussler, 1959, no. 349 (Ascribed. c. 1550. Maybe for a *Pietà*). De Tolnay, 1960, p. 205, no. 216 (Poses similar to that of the Evangelist in the *Epifania*. With [Cats. 53 and 51 and Washington 1991.217.2a–3b] for same project.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1569.3 (As 1903/1938.). Hartt, 1971, no. 507 (Recto: 1546; Apostle for dome of St Peter’s; sketches of socles and columns show through from laid-down verso.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 157 (Same period as *Epifania*, but not necessarily connected.). Joannides, 1975, p. 262 (With [Cats. 53 and 51 and Washington 1991.217.2a–3b], perhaps for the *Entombment* recorded in the Gathorne-Hardy copy drawing; the date may be c. 1560 since the architectural sketches here recall the *Porta Pia*). De Tolnay, 1978, Corpus III, no. 427 (With [Cats. 53 and 51 and Washington 1991.217.2a–3b] probably for a *Pietà* recorded in copies attributed to Jacomo del Duca, formerly Gathorne-Hardy Collection and Giulio Clovio, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum.). Perrig, 1999, pp. 239–40 (By Ascanio Condivi; from Farnese Collection.).

CATALOGUE 53

Recto: A Draped Male Figure Displaying a Scroll
 Verso: A Partly Draped Figure; Architectural Sketches
 1846.80; R.60 (1); P.II 334; Corpus 430

Dimensions: 200 × 120 mm

Medium

Recto: Black chalk with touches of white heightening, now oxidised.

Verso: Black chalk.

Condition

There are minor tear repairs and skinning, ingrained dirt, and accretions. The sheet has uneven discolouration, local staining, and some foxing.

Description

Recto

A draped male figure walking forward while apparently supporting something to his left. The white heightening is largely confined to the head, chest, and arms and was no doubt applied to facilitate – or mask – pentiments. The head is drawn in two positions, looking down frontally and to the figure’s right.

Verso

A. A partially draped figure presumably but not certainly male – it is difficult to be sure that the pectoral muscles are not in fact intended as breasts – walking forward while apparently supporting something to his or her right. The slightly curved line to the figure’s left might represent the outline of a shield for a coat-of-arms, or a shroud.

With the left edge as the base

B. A partial ground plan of a rectangular structure, with protruding apses or column bases.

C. The lower sections of two columns, flanking a round-headed niche with, above, the lower edge of a rectangular panel?

Discussion

The recto figure, elaborately draped, the head tried in at least two positions, poses many of the same problems of interpretation as Cat. 52. He could be a bearer in an *Entombment*, but he does not seem to register weight, and his hands seem to be holding some flexible form, rather than supporting a body. This form might be a scroll, in which case the figure is presumably a Prophet or, if the context were secular (unlikely), a philosopher, in which case the drawing might be a study for a statue. However, even though this is possible, the form seems more mobile than one would expect from a statue at this stage in Michelangelo’s career, and this figure’s role must, consequently, remain unresolved.

The verso figure is also draped, but less fully than that on the recto. The drapery starts at waist level, leaving the torso exposed. It is a matter for debate whether the figure is male or female, but the compiler is inclined to think male. He supports something to his right. This is not defined, but the long curve, which presumably establishes its edge, seems inappropriately regular for a body



and too long for a scroll, and it may well be the side of a coat of arms, in which case this figure would be one of a pair of supporters. Such arrangements are common in Roman painting and sculpture of the 1550s and 1560s, and Michelangelo might have devised several: The forms of coats-of-arms appealed to him and he devoted much attention to those of the Medici placed below the reliquary chamber in San Lorenzo, and to those of the Farnese above the central window of the *piano nobile* of their palace. In his last years, he was planning the Porta Pia, which displays the centrally placed shield bearing the arms of Pope Pius IV, supported by a pair of angels. The shield, carved by Jacomo del Duca and one Luca, no doubt from Michelangelo's design, was paid for in May 1562; the supporting angels were executed only three years later, after Michelangelo's death, by Nardo de' Rossi, but they are sufficiently Michelangesque in type to make it plausible that they too reflect the master's ideas, and it seems plausible, if no more than conjectural, that the figure drawing on the verso of the present sheet could have been made in preparation for one of them.

The architectural drawings, confined to the verso, were drawn over the figure study. The main one is obviously fragmentary. It shows two columns or half-columns – the treatment of the bases indicates toruses – flanking a round-topped shell-headed niche. Above the niche, truncated, there seems to be a rectangular, perhaps square, panel.

In the later 1550s and early 1560s, Michelangelo was engaged in planning several buildings and, in their various transformations – whose number no doubt much exceeded those that we now know – some of these included columns and others columns with niches. Among those for which drawings survive are the Porta Pia – the interior gate facing the new via Pia, situated at the city side of a compound extending inwards from the walls proper and intended to be complemented by an exterior gate, actually set into the walls – but no comparable columns are indicated in any of the preparatory drawings, and there are none in the structure as finally built. The façade of the Palazzo dei Conservatori finally included columns in a subsidiary role, but at one stage in the preliminary process paired columns were planned to be more important (see Cat. 56 verso); however, niches

do not appear. Columns with or without niches between them appear in drawings of projects such as San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, the Baths of Diocletian, which Michelangelo was planning to transform into the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, and the Sforza Chapel. Of the three, the forms seem most congruent with the paired columns in the plan on CB123A/B157/Corpus 608 (pen and ink with brush and wash over black chalk, 173 × 279 mm), which is, with virtual certainty, the single elaborated plan to survive by Michelangelo's hand for the Sforza Chapel, obviously developing the sketch on CB104A/B162/Corpus 624. In addition, Michelangelo was involved in planning a monumental gate for the Castel Sant'Angelo about which nothing is known in detail, and a great columnar porch for St. Peter's which, of course, was never built.

Despite this proliferation of architectural projects, however, the forms indicated in the present drawing cannot firmly be linked to any stage of any of them, either as executed, or as known from drawings and models. An apparent difficulty is that the floor of the niche is set puzzlingly low in relation to the bases of the columns. This would be inexplicable in any project of "normal" scale in which the columns were set either directly on the floor or on ordinary bases. This contradiction might be accommodated in two ways. One explanation is that the columns are set on high pedestals, now excised from the present drawing; the second is that they are situated on an upper storey, in which niches are habitually placed lower in relation to the columns or pilasters flanking them than on lower storeys. In favour of one or the other of these possibilities is that a faint and wavering but discernable horizontal line joins the two column bases. This strongly indicates, at least, that the column bases were not envisaged as standing directly on the floor.

Both alternatives – the pedestal and the upper-storey solution – had been anticipated in earlier drawings by Michelangelo. In a study for a monumental gate, datable around the mid-1520s (Vicenza, Centro internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio, raccolta grafica, no. 1 recto/Corpus 630; red chalk, 287 × 277 mm), Michelangelo planned an arrangement similar to that shown here, in which a niche surmounted by a rectangular panel, between two columns, flanked a triumphal arch on its front face. Such a scheme, of course, could also have been repeated on the rear face of such an arch, or on all four sides of an *arcus quadrifrons*. A similar arrangement is also found in Michelangelo's large *modello* for an early project for the façade of San Lorenzo (CB 45A/B245/Corpus 497; pen and ink, brush and wash over black chalk, 724 × 870 mm).

The San Lorenzo project also provides an example of an upper-storey site. In the final scheme for the façade, as recorded in the wooden model, the upper storey contained statuary niches between paired members, and although these are pilasters rather than columns, there would be no inherent difficulty in supposing that Michelangelo planned a façade with two orders of columns rather than a columnar order surmounted by a pilaster order. If one of these hypotheses is correct, the most likely function for this drawing would be for one of the gates, either the Porta Pia or that of the Castel Sant'Angelo, more probably the latter.

Nevertheless, notwithstanding the issues addressed, it is worth testing a different hypothesis: that the architectural drawing as we see it does represent Michelangelo's intentions. Thus, if we accept that it is not outside the bounds of possibility that the columns really do stand directly on the ground with what structure might they have been connected? The only case the compiler can envisage in which the base of a niche might not be proportionately far above a column base situated on the ground would be a building on a colossal scale, in which the column bases would themselves rise to the head level of the spectator. However, such a building would have to be truly enormous, and the only plausible candidates seem to be the porch of St. Peter's, or the Baths of Diocletian. The difficulty with the former is that although Duperac's engraving does suggest that Michelangelo planned the porch with columns without pedestals, it provides no indication of the articulation of the front wall of the church at the rear of that porch, and niches there would surely have been of the same form as the niches already established on the exterior articulation of the building, from which these differ. The other alternative, the conversion of the Baths of Diocletian, is improbable: This project was intended to be economical, and Michelangelo would hardly have planned to excavate niches in the main hall.

The smaller architectural study, truncated at the bottom and the left side, is difficult to interpret. It might be possible to see it as the ground plan of a structure of which the columns and niche were to be a part, but the scale of the protruberant arcs and the space between them seems too unlike that of the elevation drawing to relate to it. If one discounts the various discrepancies of level and line as slippages of an old man's hand and assumes the structure to be symmetrical about an axis running from the lower edge to the apparent niche that is set adjacent to the figure's right shoulder, then it might be assumed to be the ground plan of the interior of a simple rectangular building, with an altar? at the end and two side altars on each flanking wall. The alternative view, that it is a

block-like structure of some kind with forms protruding from it, seems less likely, and the compiler is unable to conjecture what such a structure could be or what purpose it could serve. If the first interpretation is correct, then the structure, which is clearly simple, is unlikely to be free-standing and probably extends an existing building. If so, two obvious possibilities present themselves. One is the Sforza Chapel, the other the chancel of Santa Maria degli Angeli. Of the two, the former, which is properly to be described as an attachment, seems always to have been conceived as a complex space, and it is doubtful if Michelangelo ever considered a ground plan as plain as this. But the latter, although planned as plain and simple, is not, so far as it can be reconstructed – Michelangelo's scheme was destroyed in the eighteenth century? – congruent with this in form.

History

The history of this sheet and of its companions, Cats. 51 and 52, with which it was still mounted, together with Cats. 73 and 101, when it was catalogued by Robinson, is not fully clear. If this drawing together with Cats. 51 and 52 comprised the mounting of three drawings in Ottley's sale catalogue of 11 April 1804 as lot 273, "One ditto [i.e., leaf] containing three studies of figures, all in black chalk, from the Buonarroti collection," then they would apparently have come from Casa Buonarroti, probably but not certainly, via Wicar. However, in Ottley's sale beginning 6 June 1814, the only item corresponding to such a mounting was lot 823, "Three on one leaf, studies in black chalk – a figure on the back of one." £6.6.0. And lot 825 provides the information: "from the collection of the Ciciaporci family of Florence to whom the contents of the three above lots [i.e., including lot 823] formerly belonged." This, therefore, would be a correction of the earlier statement and should probably be trusted, in which case the provenance prior to Ottley should be Daniele da Volterra; Giacomo Rocca; The Cavaliere d'Arpino; Filippo Ciciaporci; and Bartolommeo Cavaceppi. At Ottley's 1814 sale this mounting was purchased by William Roscoe; it reappeared at his sale of September 1816 as lot 59: "Three, Studies of a Figure, in black chalk; another figure on the reverse of one of them. From the same Collection" (as the previous lot, i.e., Mr. Ottley's). It was acquired by Watson, a pseudonym of the London bookseller William Carey, for 15 s., and presumably then passed to Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445) and Woodburn. By the time of the 1842 prospectus, to complicate matters, this mounting, no. 36, had acquired two further drawings [Cats. 73 and 101], which were probably added to it by Lawrence or, less likely, by Woodburn himself. In 1842,

Woodburn gave the provenance for the whole ensemble as the Buonarroti family and the Chevalier Wicar. In this he was followed by Parker and Robinson. However, while this provenance probably is true of Cat. 73, it is unlikely to be true, as we have seen, either of the trio comprised by the present drawing and Cats. 51 and 52, or of Cat. 101. It seems likely that Woodburn simply transferred the probable provenance of Cat. 73 to the whole group.

References

Ottley sale?, 11 April 1804, lot 273 ("One ditto [leaf] containing three studies of figures, all in black chalk, from the Buonarroti collection."). Ottley sale, 6 June 1814, etc. probably part of lot 823 ("Three on one leaf, studies in black chalk – a figure on the back of one" [lot 825 adds the information: "from the collection of the Ciciaporci family of Florence to whom the contents of the three above lots formerly belonged, mentioned in the preface to *Condivi*, Life of Michelangelo, published in 1746, page xviii. This collection was sold and dispersed about 1765, and with others purchased of the Cav. Cavaceppi, 1792–3, by their present proprietor"].). Woodburn, 1842, no. 35 ("Five very fine studies on one Mount, three of them in black chalk."). Woodburn, 1846, no. 40 (As 1842.). Robinson, 1870, no. 60.1 (Michel Angelo. This drawing, and [Cats. 51 and 52] "of the later time of the master . . . apparently all studies for the same work, of which nothing is known."). Gotti, 1875, II, p. 232. Berenson, 1903, I, p. 222, no. 1569.1 (For same purpose as [Cats. 51 and 52] and Gathorne-Hardy drawing; perhaps connected with *Crucifixion of St. Peter*. Verso: figure identified as female.). Thode, 1908, II, p. 80 (For a *Crucifixion of St. Peter* or a *Deposition*, with [Cats. 51 and 52].). Thode, 1913, no. 436 (For an *Entombment*, with [Cats. 51, 52].). Berenson, 1938, I, no. 1569.1 (As 1903.). Goldscheider, 1951, no. 121 (c. 1542. Resemblance both to figure on left of [Cat. 52] and angel supporting right arm of Christ in *Pietà* for Vittoria Colonna.). Wilde, 1953a, pp. 114, 116 (With [Cats. 51 and 52]; not before 1550.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 127A (With [Cats. 51 and 52]; resemblance to the *Epifania* cartoon, but not certainly for it.). Parker, 1956, no. 334 (1550s, for the same uncertain project as [Cats. 51 and 52]. Recto: figure male. Verso: figure female.). Dussler, 1959, no. 347 (Ascribed. c. 1550. Maybe for a *Pietà*.). De Tolnay, 1960, p. 205, no. 217 (With [Cats. 51 and 52 and Washington 1991.217.2a–3b] for same project, perhaps the *Epifania* or figures in fresco or mosaic in the interior of the dome of St. Peter's.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1569.1 (As 1903/1938.). Hartt, 1971, no. 506 (Verso: 1546; female saint for the

dome of St. Peter's; perhaps Mary Magdalen. Has also been connected with an *Entombment* composition.); no. 505 (Recto: 1546; Apostle for dome of St. Peter's.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 154 (Same period as *Epifania*, but not necessarily connected.). Joannides, 1975, p. 262 (With [Cats. 51 and 52 and Washington 1991.217.2a–3b], perhaps for the *Entombment* recorded in the ex-Gathorne-Hardy copy drawing; the date may be c. 1560 because the architectural sketches here recall the Porta Pia). De Tolnay, 1978, Corpus III, no. 430 (Recto: with [Cats. 51 and 52 and Washington 1991.217.2a–3b], probably for a *Pietà* recorded in copies attributed to Jacomo del Duca, formerly Gathorne-Hardy Collection and Giulio Clovio, Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum. Verso: lower quality, perhaps by Jacomo del Duca.). Perrig, 1999, pp. 239–40 (By Ascanio Condivi; from Farnese Collection.).

CATALOGUE 54

Recto: The Lantern and Cupola of St Peter's; The Beginning of a Letter

Verso: Architectural Ground Plans, Elevations, and Sections

1846.90; R.82; P.II 344; Corpus 601

Dimensions: 250 × 402 mm; a vertical fold down the sheet some 160 mm from the left edge was probably made by the artist to isolate the recto drawing.

Medium

Recto: Black chalk; the fragment of the letter in pen and ink; some offsetting at upper right, from an unidentified source.

Verso: Black chalk.

Condition

There are three vertical pressed-out folds, minor tear repairs, and several infilled holes. There is a minor edge repair infill, unevenly skinned, and discoloured edge margins. Severe fractures from ink burn-through have been supported on the verso; there is much bleeding of the inscription. There are small ink splatters, accretions, some skinning, and a small hole. The sheet has uneven discolouration and offset.

Description and Transcription

Recto

With the right edge as base, in Michelangelo's hand:

*Messer francesco signior mio caro Circa almodello che s[fi]a
/afare e mi pare che col cardinale si sia facto una figura/
se[n]za capo*

With the lower edge as base

A section through the upper portion of the inner and outer shells of the dome planned for St. Peter's, showing the oculus, the platform at the apex of the outer shell, and the rough outline of a cylindrical lantern, perhaps articulated by wide pilasters or columns, topped by a platform matching that at its base and surmounted by a curved cone. Different curvatures are shown for both outer and inner shells, although it is uncertain whether at least two of these might be interpreted as ribs. An interior gallery may be indicated at the base of the oculus.

Verso

With the lower edge as base

Top row

A. The ground plan of two semi- or three-quarter-circular chapels joined by a straight wall articulated with columns at either corner, oriented vertically down the sheet, overlapping D.

B. A development of A, drawn on a larger scale, oriented horizontally across the top of the sheet, with, apparently, columns on both sides of the corners, one of which is bevelled. This partly overlaps C.

C. The plan of a circular building with eight three-quarter-circular chapels contained within the circle, revised to include four cross-axes and four chapels. The chapels partly overlap one another.

Second row

D. A chapel in elevation up to cornice level. It contains four tall round-topped niches and, above these, a large rectangular panel, oriented horizontally. It seems to be framed by paired giant pilasters supporting a heavy cornice, which breaks forward above them.

E. A variant corner solution of B, in plan, showing columns on either side with, possibly, seats at their bases.

Third row

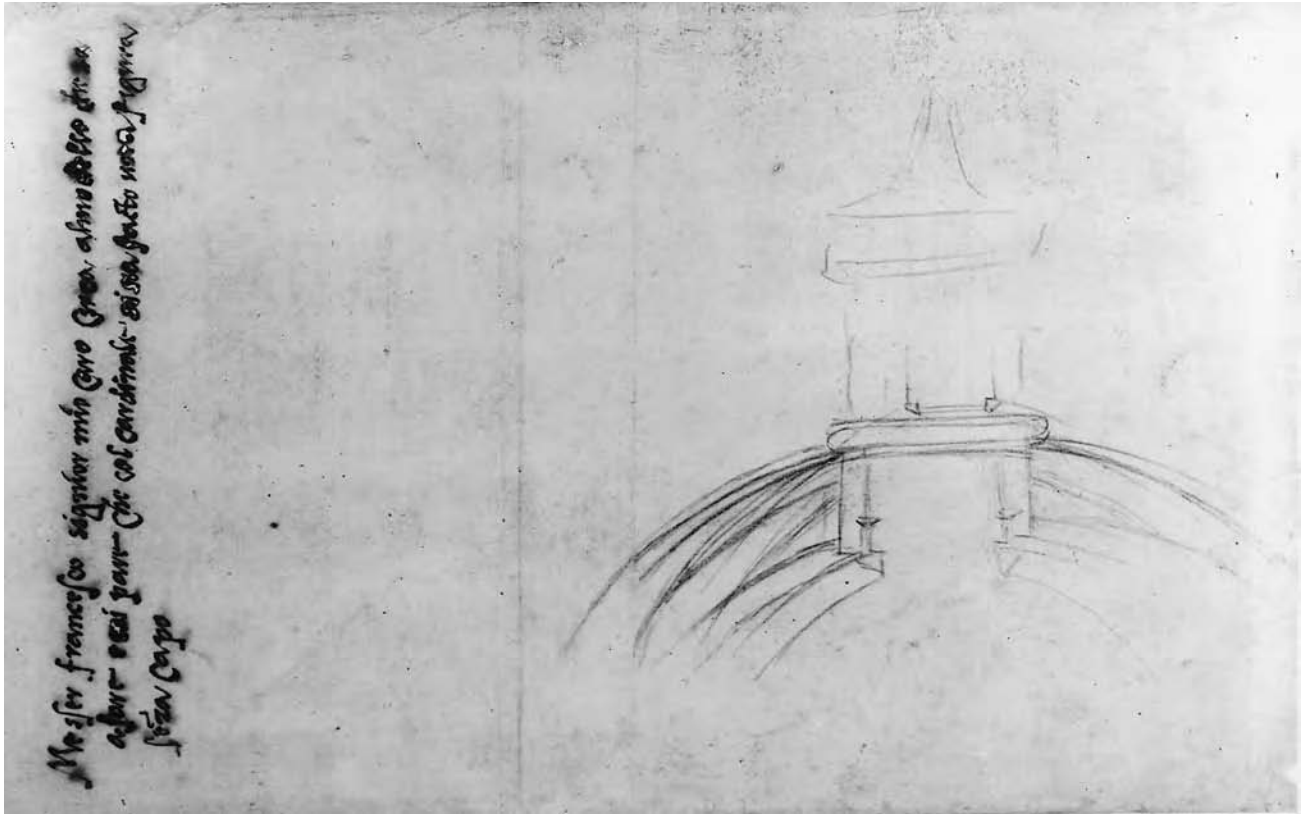
F. A rough plan of a Greek cross church, with slightly longer horizontal arms, with apsidal ends.

Fourth row

G. A rough plan of a Greek cross church, with slightly longer horizontal arms, with square ends and round chapels situated between the arms.

Fifth row

H. A chapel in elevation up to dome level. It contains three flat-topped niches, a heavy wide cornice with a



lunette above, and a ribbed semi-dome. The beginning of a plan of the adjacent chapel immediately to the right. This juxtaposition illustrates Michelangelo's willingness to move from plan to elevation in the same drawing.

I. An arch in elevation up to cornice level flanked by two high columns.

With the top edge as the base

J. A chapel in elevation up to cornice level. It contains three wide round-topped niches and a large rectangular panel above these. Above this is a single architrave surmounted by a small lunette and a simplified shell-ribbed semi-dome. This is flanked by two paired relatively short columns carrying a very heavy cornice whose top is at the level of the base of the shell semi-dome. In alignment with the columns, above the cornice, are paired pilasters – or ribs – framing the semi-dome. It is not clear whether the elements above the cornice represent a vertical extension of these pilasters or ribs, or whether these are pendentives supporting a ring at the base of the – presumed – drum, as K – which it slightly overlaps – would suggest.

K. A cross section of a barrel-vaulted aisle with columns on pedestals on either side, with a round-topped? niche

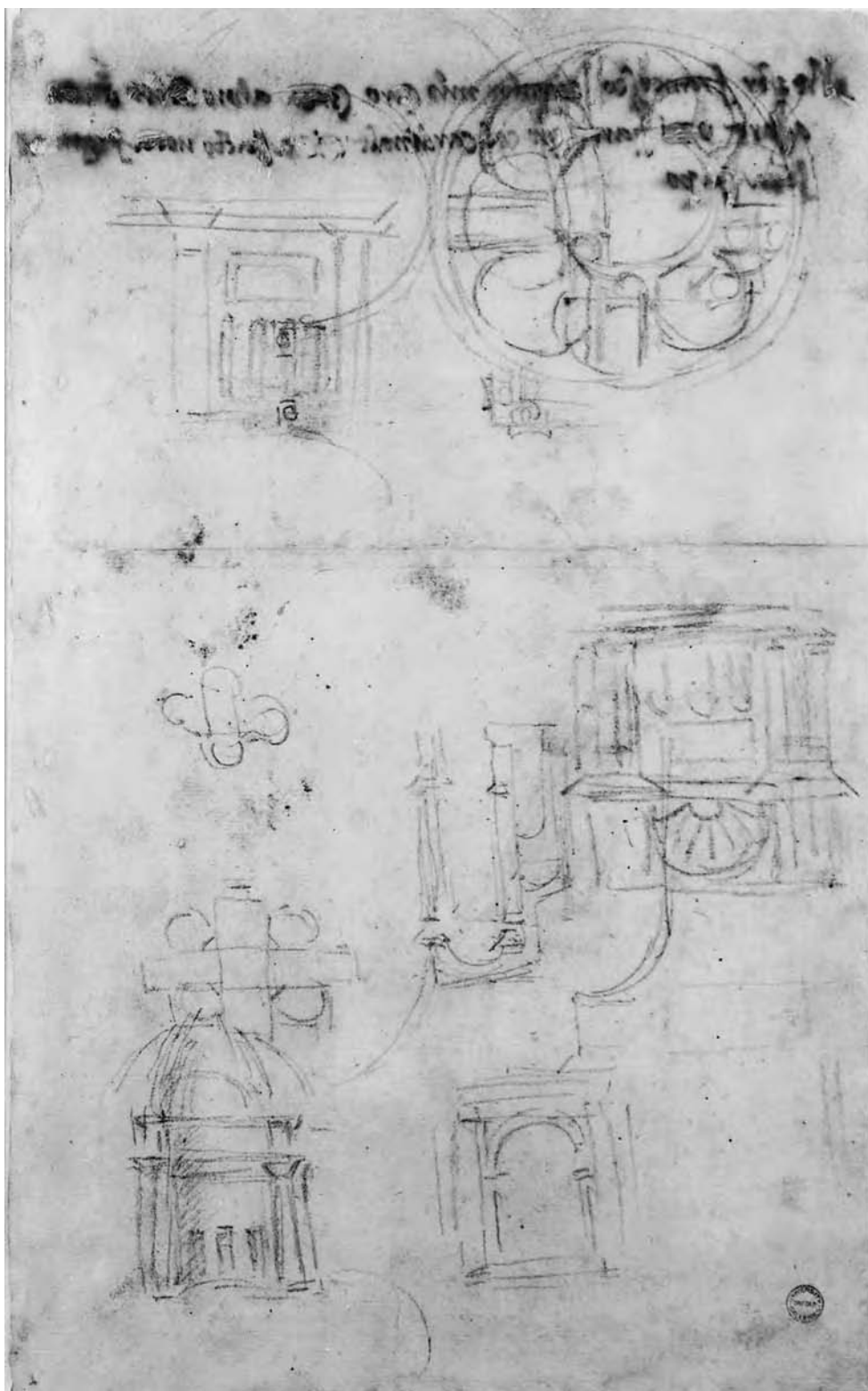
opening off that and another round-topped space? above that, with a straight roof line above. The profile of a pendentive or a dome on the right.

L. A curving profile supporting a cornice. It is not fully clear to what this refers. It might indicate the shell semi-dome in profile, surmounted by a cornice. Alternatively, it could be a section of the “ribs” carrying the ring of the putative drum.

Discussion

Recto

This side of the sheet is of particular interest in the preparation of the dome of St. Peter's because it also includes a fragment of a commentary upon the project. Of the hundreds of drawings that Michelangelo must have made for St. Peter's, an exceptionally complicated architectural project that dominated the last seventeen years of his life, very few survive. However, those that do provide an invaluable guide to the transformations of the project and to Michelangelo's own uncertainties and changes of mind, and they frequently reveal aspects of his work on the project that could not be inferred from the documents alone. Furthermore, the present sheet demonstrates a continuation of Michelangelo's practice throughout his career: his use of the same sheets for drawings relating



to more than one project. This is easy enough to discern in the case of sheets that contain studies for schemes as different as, say, the *Duomo Apostles* and the *Battle of Cascina*, which were under way concurrently, but it

is more difficult when Michelangelo was addressing different examples of related types of architecture, such as centrally planned churches. In the later 1550s and early 1560s, by which time Michelangelo's work had become

principally architectural, St. Peter's, which he envisaged as a domed, centrally planned church, overlapped in his thinking with three other ecclesiastical buildings: San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, also planned as a centralised domed building; the Sforza Chapel in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, also, in effect, centrally planned; as well as the conversion of the huge central hall of the Baths of Diocletian into the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli.

Michelangelo often made drawings for different projects on the same side of the same sheet but in the present case recto and verso seem to have been reserved for different projects and the verso may have been drawn a little later than the recto. The recto, which shows the upper part of the dome and the lantern in section, like the Haarlem drawing (AZ9 recto/VT67/Corpus 596; black chalk over ruled stylus lines with compass work, 397×232 mm), was clearly left as a sketch and was not developed. It, like the broken-off beginning of a letter that accompanies it, refers to the outstanding problem faced by Michelangelo in the last years of the 1550s: the shape of the dome of St. Peter's. This issue is extremely complicated and can only be outlined here. Nevertheless, it seems clear that, by 1557, much of the structure of the drum of St. Peter's had been determined, although not constructed, and even though Michelangelo still had considerable room for manoeuvre, it was now time to think about the dome that was to surmount it. According to Vasari, Michelangelo prevaricated for some months and then made a small-scale model in clay, a medium that looks back to his earliest years in the Medici garden and that he also employed early in his preparation of the façade of San Lorenzo, but that is not known to have been employed by him for architectural projects in the intervening period. No doubt Michelangelo chose clay because it permitted him to mould and re-mould as he wanted. It is unlikely that he made only one model of this type, and he may also have employed wax. To employ clay was inevitably to accept imprecision and Michelangelo's concern at this moment must have been to obtain a satisfactory overall shape. Subsequently, presumably, Michelangelo would have made measured drawings elaborating and clarifying his clay model in preparation for the very large wooden model, now in the Vatican, which marked the next major stage in the preparatory process. Payments for this wooden model run from November 1558 until November 1561. One of Michelangelo's measured working drawings for it survives in Florence (CB31A/B152/Corpus 600; pen and brush and wash over black chalk, 388×555 mm), and the dimensions of its forms are those of the corresponding parts of the wooden model. In this drawing, Michelangelo

was repeating his procedure in preparing the large wooden model of the façade of San Lorenzo, some forty years earlier, for which he had also made same-size drawings, in effect templates. As pointed out by Hirst (1988, pp. 97, 103), an outline drawing now divided into three portions housed in Florence and London (it is found on the versos of CB71A/B58/Corpus 183, CB49A/B59/Corpus 182, and BM W25/Corpus 184, with a combined dimension approximately 500×220 mm maximum) was made as a template for the twelve columns by which the lower storey of the model is articulated.

The wooden model for St. Peter's includes both the drum and the dome, and it is noteworthy that CB31A, which specifically prepares a section of this model's drum, differs in certain significant respects from the model as executed. This requires emphasis because it is sometimes assumed that the structure of the drum was fully determined by 1557. CB31A carries autograph explanatory inscriptions, presumably made for the carpenter, and one of these specifies it as having *ochi* (i.e., circular, not rectangular) windows. Circular windows are also seen in Michelangelo's elevation drawing of the drum and dome in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille (Brejon de Lavergnée 107/Corpus 595; black chalk over ruled lines in stylus, with compass marks, 259×257 mm) (The date of this drawing is much disputed but, among many other features, the inscription on its verso referring to the muleteer Pasquino, recorded in Michelangelo's correspondence only from mid-1557 onwards, and a small sketch of the stairway joining the *ricetto* and reading room of the Laurentian Library, a project under renewed consideration in late 1558, strongly suggest a date of late 1558 for the whole sheet). The scheme in the Lille drawing, with its drum containing circular windows, recalls the drum of Brunelleschi's Duomo in Florence. Although in the wooden model for the drum and dome of St. Peter's as constructed, the drum is illuminated with upright rectangular pedimented windows on both interior and exterior, it seems clear that as late as the beginning of work on it in November 1558, Michelangelo was still uncertain about the windows' shape. They remained subject to change: In the model the pediments surmounting the windows are triangular on the exterior and segmental on the interior; in the building there are alternating triangular and segmental pediments on both interior and exterior. A large drawing in Casa Buonarroti composed of two sheets which Michelangelo first joined and later divided (CB124A verso and CB103A verso/B160 and 264/Corpus 612 and 613; brush and wash over black chalk, combined dimensions 617×376 mm maximum),

shows a segmentally pedimented interior window of the same size as those in the wooden model. This drawing was presumably made to prepare a revision of the interior windows of the drum model which, in the event, was not undertaken because they were all constructed with triangular pediments. It probably dates from c. 1559–60: The recto of the larger of the two fragments (CB124A) contains the most developed ground plan that survives by Michelangelo's own hand for the church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, a plan datable between August and December 1559 – the compiler would opt for a later rather than an earlier date within this span. It was probably at this moment that Michelangelo divided the sheet in two. A revised version of this plan for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini was that selected for execution. Tiberio Calcagni made a fair copy of it generally identified with a drawing now in the Uffizi (3185A; pen and ink and grey wash over black chalk and stylus work, 492 × 424 mm), which, if by Calcagni (Fara, 1997, p. 24, gives it to an “anonimo del primo Seicento”) would have been, in turn, the basis of the lost wooden model for that building, also prepared by Calcagni (see Cat. 105).

The wooden model for St. Peter's is often silently assumed to be homogeneous, but it is clear that the carpenter completed the drum before he made the dome. It is generally agreed that the dome, which now surmounts the drum and has a steeply raised profile is the product of a major alteration to the model made over a decade-and-a-half after Michelangelo's death, around 1580, and that it deviates from his final intentions. Yet it is clear that Michelangelo retained the option of an elevated dome – similar to that in the model as it now exists and to the dome as finally constructed – until a very late stage. Two solutions are shown in his drawings: an hemispherical, smooth dome in that in Lille, and an elevated, ribbed dome in that in Haarlem. The hemispherical smooth dome would have co-existed well both with oculi in the drum and with the smooth attic penetrated by Diocletian windows, which was originally intended to run around the church, and which was actually constructed on its south arm. The decision to install vertically orientated windows in the drum, probably taken in early 1559, and to articulate the attic with coats-of-arms and rectangular windows with shell-centred flat pediments, separated by short grouped pilaster-strips – construction of which was underway by c. 1563 – signals the abandonment of the “smooth” scheme and speaks strongly in favour of Michelangelo's intention, by the early 1560s, to build a high-profile ribbed dome. This change is signalled on Lille 107, which contains a small sketch of the revised attic zone. Although it does appear that his final choice –

a compromise – was once again to lower the dome's profile, while retaining the ribs and the decorated attic, this was probably not determined until very shortly before his death. This is the solution shown in the large engraving by Etienne Duperac, which, although published only in 1568, was no doubt under preparation for several years before then and which, in effect, constitutes Michelangelo's testament for St. Peter's.

It is difficult to know how much weight to give to the present drawing, but it is clearly not worked out in detail, and it seems rather to be an impressionistic sketch. The series of lines shows Michelangelo experimenting with different curvatures: They make it clear that Michelangelo had not decided upon the dome's profile when they were drawn. Indeed, even as late as early 1561 he was still pondering the problem. A sketch in Florence (CB 84A recto/B264/Corpus 614; black chalk, 111 × 80 mm, sheet cut down to the main image) for the central gate of the Porta Pia contains an overdrawn fragmentary indication of the inner and outer shells of the dome of St. Peter's, with a stairway on the inner one, as in the Lille sheet.

The drawing also raises another issue, that of the form of the lantern. The rather simple profile suggests a lantern of quite solid form, without a ring of columns and without the elaborate relief of the final lantern. From this drawing, it would seem to be little more than a cylinder topped by a broad-based, curved, cone. The cone rests on a high cornice whose form is not indicated in any detail, and this matches a protruding ring at the base of the lantern, which rises fairly abruptly from the dome. Rather crudely sketched, within the cylinder of the lantern, is a rectangle which presumably indicates its interior. But it provides very little information, and it is not clear whether the interior of the lantern proper is or is not continuous with the interior of the lower section of the lantern, that part between the inner and outer shells of the cupola. However, this lower part is clearly open below. These observations raise a further question connected with the dome of St. Peter's. Was the lantern planned to transmit light to the dome – as it does in the dome as built – or was it to be simply a decorative feature, surmounting the dome but not directly connected with it? In which case the dome would have been lit only from the windows of the drum and would have received no light from above. Michelangelo seems to have considered both possibilities. Both the Lille and the Haarlem drawings seem to envision a dome interior that does not open to a lantern. In the present case, it is clear that the lower compartment is open to the dome interior, and that, therefore, it must have been intended to illuminate it. This does not necessarily mean that the lower

and upper interior compartments of the lantern were continuous – the lower compartment could have been sealed off from the upper and lit by portholes in the outer skin of the dome – but it is probable that they were; in which case, the solid ring at the base of the upper lantern in the present drawing would be merely a matter of convenience in drawing, a mixing of section and exterior view, rather than a representation of a solid floor. Further representations of the lantern are found on CB117 verso/B156/Corpus 587 (pen and black chalk, 252 × 351 mm), partly drawn over a study for an interior window of the drum of St. Peter's but with a triangular rather than segmental pediment and thus drawn after the completion of that part of the wooden model. Apparently drawn over it is a rough plan for the "Altopascio" building, to be connected with a planned hospice in the eponymous Tuscan town, rather than with the Palazzo Grifone in Florence, as the compiler, among others, had previously thought. These drawings, however, are concerned with the exterior and the articulation of the lantern, not its relation to the dome.

The recto drawing is usually placed in 1557, but there is no precise evidence for the date. The broken-off fragment of a letter, virtually certainly addressed to Michelangelo's friend, the banker Francesco Bandini, and probably referring to Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, mentioning a model "senza capo" could, of course, refer to a model of the body of the building, without either drum or dome, which would entail a date no later than the mid-1550s. But because the delivery of building material for the drum was underway by 1555, there must have been a model of it in existence by then, even if aspects of its form were flexible. The letter could, of course, refer to the situation immediately before the clay model was executed, but it seems more likely that it was written when the large wooden model of the drum was about to be begun, or was underway, but before that of the dome had been added to it. The phrasing suggests that the model in question is that to be, or being, made by a carpenter in wood rather than the clay model that Michelangelo is himself recorded as having made. This would imply a date of late 1558 or even early 1559, which would square with the probable date of the verso drawings.

Verso

Most of the drawings on the verso of this sheet relate to the project for the church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini at the top of Via Giulia. A church dedicated to San Giovanni, the patron saint of Florence, had been projected c. 1520 to serve the Florentine community in Rome, then prospering under the rule of the Medici Pope Leo X,

whose baptismal name was Giovanni. At this time, Jacopo Sansovino was to be the architect, but work languished, and no more than the foundations were begun. Julius III thought briefly about reviving the project c. 1550, and Michelangelo was consulted and prepared drawings (one of which may survive in a copy in Dresden C.49 verso/Corpus 276, upper drawing, pen and ink with green wash, silhouetted, 187 × 165 mm maximum; see Fara, 1997, p. 6) but nothing then seems to have come of the idea. Only after Duke Cosimo agreed to support the project in 1559 was it again revived, and in October that year the Duke specifically requested Michelangelo to make designs for the church. Three carefully worked-out autograph plans for centralised structures survive on the rectos of three sheets in Casa Buonarroti (120A, 121A, 124A/B159, 158, 160/Corpus 610, 609, and 612; all chalk, stylus and brown wash, respectively 425 × 297 mm, 284 × 211 mm, 416 × 408 mm). It is CB124A that represents the most developed plan of the building by Michelangelo's hand. No comparably realised elevation studies survive, but Michelangelo would certainly have made them. There are also a number of sketches for different aspects of the different schemes, all in black chalk. Michelangelo's assistant Tiberio Calcagni travelled to Pisa in April 1560 to show the plans to Cosimo, a date that must mark the *terminus ante quem* of the three plans.

Sketch C, a circular building with apparently eight radial chapels in part overlaid with entrances on the cross axes, links both with CB121A, a circular building with corner additions, and with CB124A, the design that comes closest to the final one and that contains four radial chapels and four apsed entrances of chapels on the cross axes. It seems to be based on the early Christian rotunda of San Stefano, but it may also reflect Michelangelo's knowledge of earlier plans for the church by Giuliano da Sangallo, Jacopo Sansovino, and Antonio da Sangallo the younger. This scheme was tried again, on a larger scale, just to the right, but it was not taken far. Overlapping C is a sketch plan, B, of what appear to be two semi-circular chapels that are separated from one another by a short wall; the corners of the chapels are articulated by paired columns placed obliquely, as it were to bevel the corner. This scheme, and that seen in A, in which there is only one column at each corner, is probably an attempt by Michelangelo to work out the relation of the chapels of San Giovanni to one another.

The two loosely sketched crosses, one with apsidal ends, F, from which the other, G, with circular forms placed between the arms, seems to have been developed, may also have a role in the formulation of the final scheme, which combined the ideas of roundness and cross-shaped

forms into a single plastic entity. On the other hand, these sketches also relate to a drawing in the British Museum (W84/Corpus 623; black chalk, 241 × 210 mm), which is usually believed to be a project for the Sforza Chapel; a connection with that project, however, is far from certain because the building depicted in the BM drawing does not seem to be attached to a larger structure. Any connection with St. Peter's, whose plan had long been determined when these sketches were made, seems entirely misguided.

The elevation J (inverted), a variant of the part elevation D, seems to be that of the interior of one of the radiating chapels. It is articulated on two levels with the top probably seen as a shell semi-dome, like Bramante's design for the choir of Santa Maria del Popolo, an indication of Michelangelo's senescent reconsideration of his erstwhile adversary's work. The lower section of the chapel contains three round-topped niches. This elevation [J] seems compressed and plastic, its columns or pillars resting directly on the floor, without pedestals. There is also a correspondence between this elevation and what may be conjectured about the elevation of the sacristies in CB121A, which would also have been flanked by paired pilasters. The compiler can see no plausible connection between these and either Michelangelo's design for the Duomo at Padua or for the *nichione* of the Belvedere.

The temptation to connect elevation J with the section [K; also inverted] immediately to its right, should probably be resisted. The scales do not correspond and none of the salient features seems to match. This drawing, moving from right to left, seems to show the section of an annular aisle of, presumably, a round structure – or conceivably a lantern – with tall columns or pillars set on bases, with a lower form, perhaps a chapel? opening off it. This chapel? contains a lower curved form that might be intended to represent a niche but that does not correspond to any possible position of one. It could equally represent a second passageway. At the far right rises a curved line, which presumably indicates a dome, but without a drum. Were it not for this, it would be very tempting to see the section as representing an aisle of a Latin cross church with open shallow interconnecting chapels in an arrangement familiar in both Roman and Florentine quattrocento churches. However, this temptation too must be resisted, since the verso of a sketch made for the ground plan of CB124A (CB 36A verso/B161/Corpus 611; black chalk, 142 × 177 mm maximum; see Fara, 1997, fig. 29), is clearly an elevation section corresponding to the ground plan on the recto, and this employs a curved line of exactly the same type to indicate the dome. It must be concluded, therefore, that this section, K, does represent an idea for San

Giovanni dei Fiorentini, but the compiler is unable to interpret it coherently or to make a connection between it and any of the other sketches on this side of the sheet, or to any other drawings by Michelangelo.

The elevation H is quite similar to J but seems to be higher. It shows an apse with three square-headed niches, a stretch of unarticulated wall above them, surmounted by a wide frieze, above which rises a pointed segment of a semi-dome. In this project, Michelangelo seems to have considered a building higher than in the other elevation, and it remains possible that this is for the Sforza Chapel: It is instructive to compare it with a view of one of the "transepts" of the chapel.

Finally, the elevation of an arch I flanked by pilasters or pilaster strips and surmounted by an entablature does not seem to connect with any of the other drawings on this page. Nor does it bear any relation to the Porta Pia, on which Michelangelo began to work early in 1561. The single possibility that occurs to the compiler is that it could be a preliminary project for the entrance to the Sforza Chapel, opening from the left aisle of Santa Maria Maggiore, but this is no more than conjecture.

History

Casa Buonarroti; Jean-Baptiste Wicar; William Young Ottley, his sale 11 April 1804, part of lot 265? ("Three [i.e., drawings] – two studies, in black chalk; and one ditto, masterly pen – on the back of the last is an account of money, in the writing of the celebrated artist – bought from the family of the artist, still resident in Florence."); his sale, 6 June 1814, and following days, lot 260, leaf 2iii? ("Two leaves of architectural designs, etc from the Buonarroti Collection . . . the other for the cupola of St Peter's. A specimen of his handwriting on one."); Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

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of a church – a subject known to have engaged the special attention of M. Angelo, when about to undertake the Dome of St. Peter's.”). Robinson, 1870, no. 82 (Michelangelo, made in preparation for the wooden model of the cupola in 1558. Francesco may be Francesco Bandini; the Cardinale perhaps the Cardinal de Carpi.). Black, 1875, p. 215, no. 70. Gotti, 1875, II, pp. 232–3. Berenson, 1903, II, p. 100 (Genuine.). Thode, 1908, II, p. 162 (Michelangelo, 1556–7. Recto and verso for St Peter's.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 168 (Recto: link with lantern of Santa Maria del Fiore. Late 1556, early 1557.); no. 169 (Verso: related to St. Peter's?). Thode, 1913, no. 454 (As 1908.). D. Frey, 1920, pp. 108–10 (Recto: 1557. Contests Frey's interpretation “technisch unsinnig.” Preliminary sketch for the lantern recorded in developed form in Duperac's engraving. Addressee of letter identified as Francesco Bandini.). De Tolnay, 1930, p. 8 (Recto: rightly linked by D. Frey with the model to be made and dated shortly before 3 July 1557.). Körte, 1932, pp. 97–8 (Recto: Michelangelo concerned with the plastic effect of the lantern, treated here with considerable artistic freedom; details of the lower compartment of the lantern reserved for Haarlem A29/VT 67/Corpus 596.). Wittkower, 1933, pp. 357–8 (Michelangelo still undecided about the profile of the cupola in 1557; the form of the lantern the most problematic aspect of the cupola.). Berenson, 1938, II, p. 204 (As 1903.). De Tolnay, 1951, pp. 184, 297 (Sketch probably in relation to the terracotta model of the cupola recorded in July 1557.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 155 (Recto: c. 1557–8.). Parker, 1956, no. 344 (Recto: c. 1557, for wooden model of dome of St. Peter's. Verso: sketches include two rough ground plans of St. Peter's.). Dussler, 1959, no. 207 (Michelangelo, 1556–7 for St. Peter's. Verso: doubtful if related to St. Peter's.). Berenson, 1961, II, p. 348 (As 1903/1938.). Ackerman, 1961, II, p. 98 (Recto: “Rapid sketch of crown of dome and lantern section, tentatively dated 1557 by the fragment of a letter.”); pp. 98, 124 (Verso: “Plans, interior elevations, and a section of a large central-plan church. A scheme for eight semi-circular radiating chapels and a circular plan is considered together with a Greek cross plan containing chapels in the angles, basically the final solution for San Giovanni. The section (not in the plans) shows the dome supported on free-standing columns which are separated from the ring of chapels by an ambulatory as in the plan CB124A/Corpus 609 for San Giovanni. The chapels in the elevations have low niches like those of San Giovanni, but are semi-circular and have broad openings.”). Ackerman, 1964, II, p. 100 (Recto: as 1961.); pp. 100, 128 (Verso: As 1961.). Wittkower, 1962 (cited

in edition of 1964), pp. 46, 68 (Recto: demonstrates “un ondeggiare tra diverse forme di lanterna e tra una soluzione più depressa ed un più slanciata per la cupola, negli anni di fase di preparazione.”). Barbieri and Puppi, 1964a, p. 1013 (Recto: “Studio dell'attacco della base della lanterna alle due calotte della cupola” commonly dated 1557.); pp. 972, 1017 (Verso: for the Sforza Chapel “ma anche avvicinabili agli studi per San Giovanni dei Fiorentini...richiama CB124A [appunto per San Giovanni] ma con notevoli varianti.”). Barbieri and Puppi, 1964b, tav. 89 (Recto: “non è comunque da escludersi un suo riferimento al modello ligneo del 1546–7.”). De Tolnay, 1964a, col. 908 (“[S]ketch of the lantern [1557–61] with a small section of the top of the dome, still shows several dome profiles and reveals that Michelangelo had not yet definitely decided which to use.”). De Angelis d'Ossat 1965b, II, 348 [English ed. 344] (Recto: ante-dates Haarlem A29/Corpus 596.). Wittkower, 1970, p. 88 (Recto: 1557; demonstrates Michelangelo's indecision about the profile of the dome. This drawing mostly concerned with the lantern.). Hartt, 1971, no. 501 (Recto: 1557; “exact profile of dome had still not been determined.”); no. 519 (Verso: 1560?. Sketches for a central plan church.). Von Einem, 1973, p. 225 (Datable 1556–7; “still shows a certain indecision but there is a clear tendency towards a hemispherical form; above the dome, resting on a substantial circular canopy that crowns the interior lantern, is a tall, hastily sketched outer lantern.”). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 172 (Recto: study for model of 1558–61; shows dome with lower profile, closer to final solution.). Saalman, 1975, p. 400 (Recto: “The roughly-drawn lantern has approximately the same proportions as the lanterns in the Lille and Haarlem drawings... There would seem no reason to date... [it]... later than the Lille drawing, i.e. between c. 1547 and early 1554.”). De Tolnay, 1980, Corpus IV, no. 601 (Recto: c. 1557: at this late stage Michelangelo had still not decided on the curve of the cupola. Verso: [F, G] plans for St. Peter's. [H, I] for the Cappella del Re, the southern apse of St. Peter's. [D, J] resemble the choir of the Padua duomo. [C] two superimposed plans for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, the first with cross-axes, the second with eight radial chapels, ante-dating final plan. Inspiration of Brunelleschi's Santa Maria degli Angeli noted. [A, B] related to Sforza Chapel? [K] profile of chapel, ambulatory column, and dome for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini.). Nova, 1984, p. 191 (Recto: c. 1557; shape of cupola not yet determined.). Ackerman and Newman, 1986, pp. 320, 324, 329 (Recto: as 1964. Verso: plan and elevation of a chapel, related to Sforza Chapel?). Millon and Smyth, 1988, no. 30 (Recto: “The principal study was drawn over an earlier drawing of the

exterior dome and lantern at a smaller scale (the ribs and lantern base may be seen just above the platform of the larger drawing). The principal study shows the profiles of the exterior and interior domes as they near the oculus. Although it is difficult to be sure, the main lines may represent the upper portions of hemispherical domes. (The other paired lines, apparently more elevated and ending under the oculus, may be representations of successive ribs beyond the section.) The wall thickness of the oculus shown, as well as a window sill or balustrade, indicating openings from the space between the shells into the space of the oculus. The platform above the oculus is single and thick, resembling somewhat the platform of the lantern in the central study of the sheet in Haarlem, but with less space for an exterior walkway. The height of the lantern and its heavy entablature suggest that if columns or pilasters were intended for the lantern, they would have rested directly in the platform and not on pedestals. The width of the base of the cone atop the lantern suggests that the lantern had only two stages, or was a three stage lantern with a low second stage, as at the upper left of the drawing in Haarlem.”). Contardi, 1990, p. 330 (Recto: 1557; “shows a hemispheric external cap.”); pp. 335, 349 (Verso: sketches for St. Peter’s and perhaps San Giovanni dei Fiorentini; no reason to relate them to the Sforza Chapel.). Carpicci, 1991, pp. 67, 75 (Recto: analysis and graphic analysis, fig. 69; dated 1560–61.); pp. 96, 98–9 (Verso: drawn before the beginning of the letter on the recto. Studies, datable 1559–60, for the Sforza Chapel [elevations: A, J, H; plans: B, D] and for the Sforza Chapel or San Giovanni dei Fiorentini [B, C, E?, F, G] and for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini [K].). Millon and Lambugnani, 1994, no. 406 (As Millon and Smyth, 1988.). Fara, 1997, p. 20 (Verso: “Michelangelo . . . insieme a studi planimetrici e di elevazione, ha delineato, anche se in maniera non puntualmente referibile a San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, un profilo di cupola rialzato sostenuto da colonne libere con un corridoio esterno che serve da contrafforte” [i.e., K].).

CATALOGUE 55

Recto: Design for Window

Verso: Studies for the Drum of St. Peter’s and Other Architectural Projects; A Right Arm and Shoulder Seen from the Front

1846.79; R.81; P.II 333; Corpus 589

Dimensions: 419 × 277 mm

Medium

Recto: Wash and white heightening over black chalk, employed both free hand and ruled; some later re-drawing.

Verso: Black chalk.

Condition

There is an uneven horizontal crease and extensive repairs. There are major edge tear repairs and infills, including an infill strip at the lower left corner. There is a minor infilled edge nick, abraded margins, and skinning. The sheet has extensive uneven discolouration and ingrained surface dirt.

Description

Recto

Window with very elaborate carving, modified into a door.

Verso

A. A summary elevation of the drum of St. Peter’s in two bays comprising a plinth, and a pedestal zone, an arch, surmounted by a widow with a triangular pediment, separated by paired columns from another bay with a window with triangular pediment, surmounted by an attic zone.

With the right edge as base

B. A right shoulder and arm, seen frontally.

C. Two curved chapels in plan separated by a straight wall with two columns in front of it and one at either side.

D. Directly below C, a curved wall, a short straight wall with two columns indicated.

E. Directly above C, a curved wall, partly drawn over A.

With the top edge as base

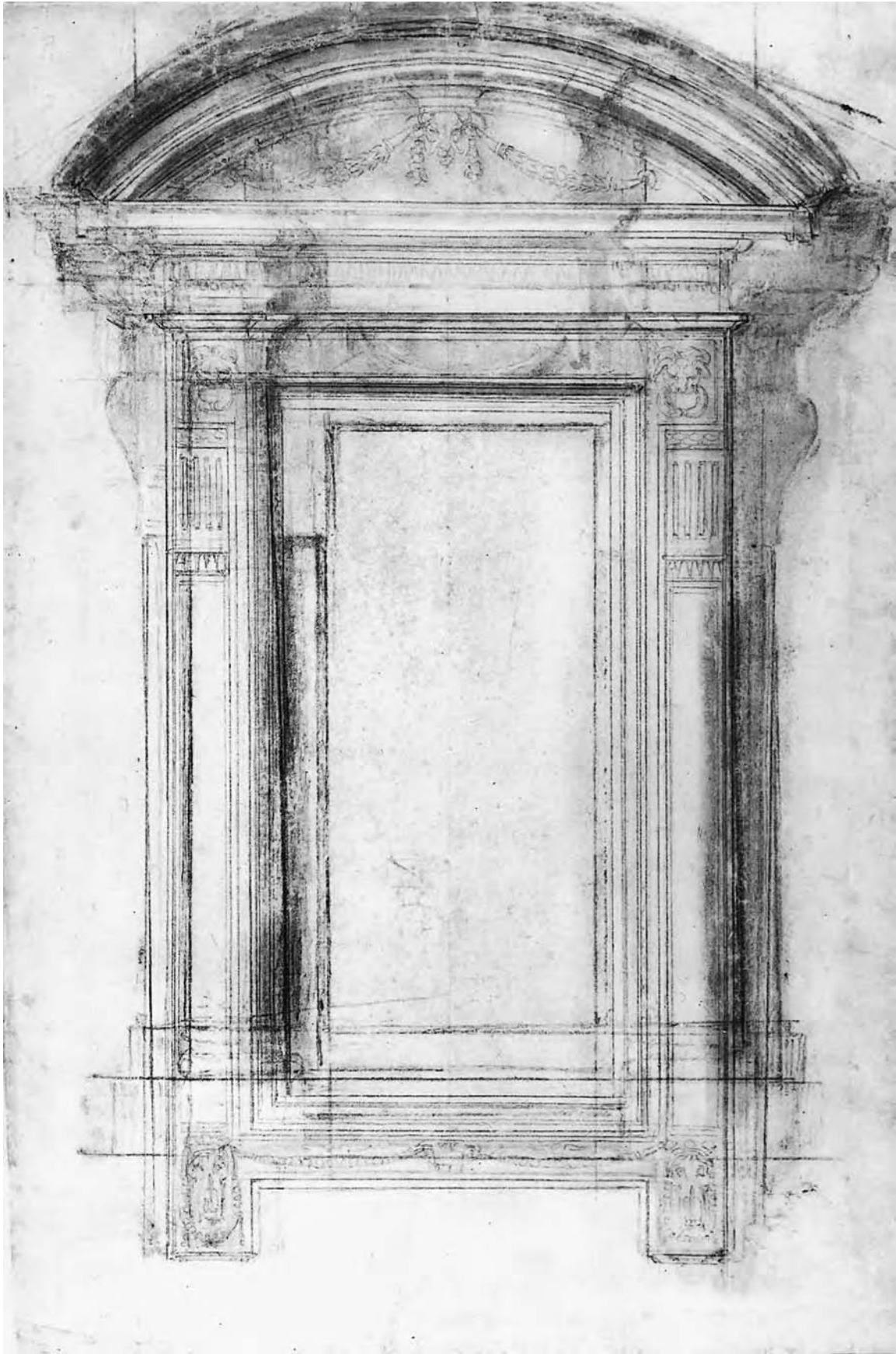
Top line

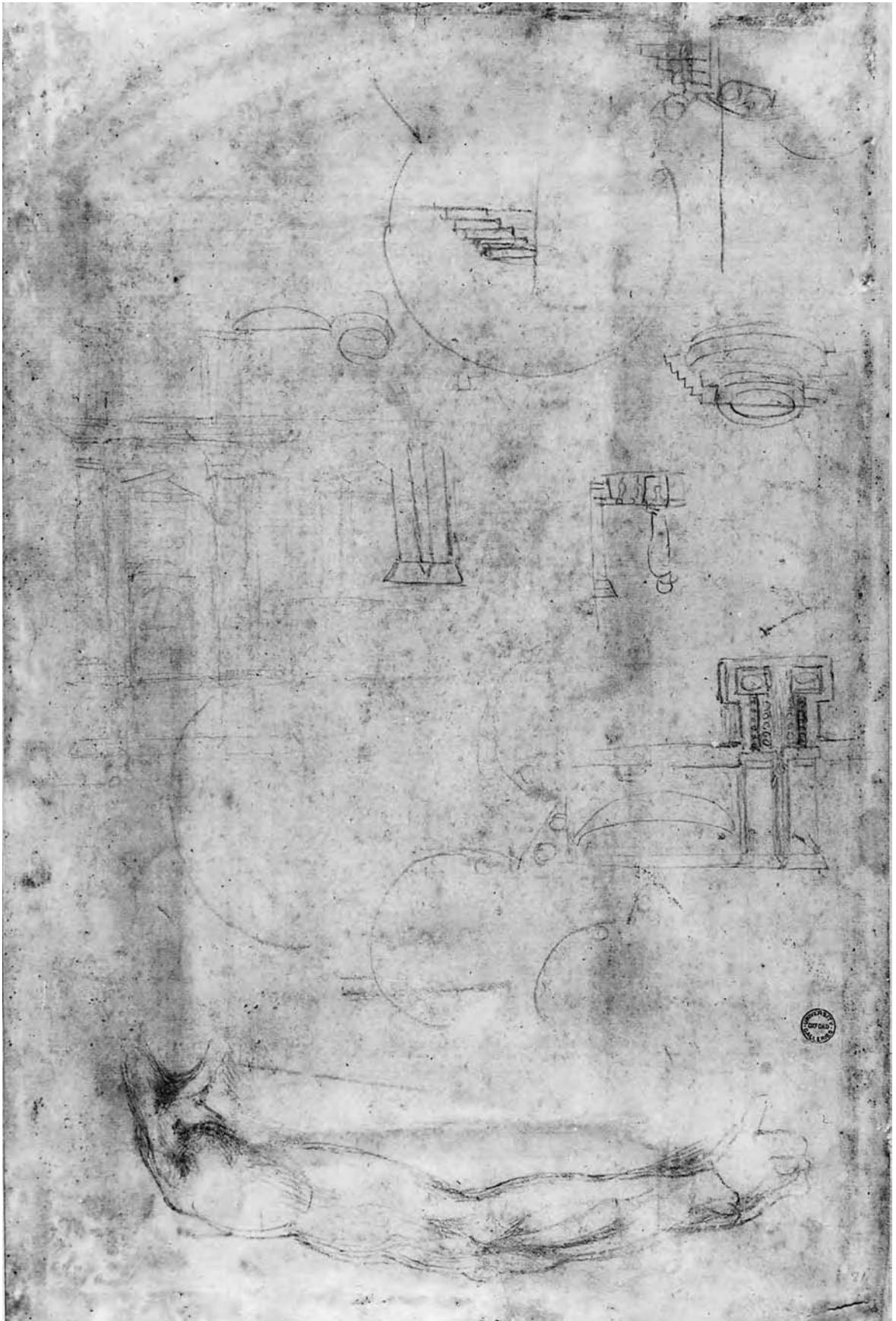
F. A detailed study of the elevation of the attic zone of A together with the plan for the double columns at entablature zone shown on the same plane. The attic zone is decorated with a simplified garland. The entablature zone of the columns comprises two statue bases and two balustrades.

Second line

G. A detail of F in profile, with the balustrade, the statue on its base and the pilaster of the attic zone.

H. A close up sketch of two pilasters of the attic zone of A and F.





Third line

I. A staircase in elevation and section comprised apparently of a curved – or perhaps semi-circular – central flight of four high steps with, at the left, a curving side flight of steps with lower risers whose number is not clear. At the right of the sketch, the side flight seems to be shown in section and can be seen to comprise six steps.

J. An abbreviated staircase, related to I.

K. An ambiguous form. It could be (a) an abbreviated garland, related to A; (b) a segmental pediment, an alternative to the triangular pediment in A; (c) a half step as at the top of I.

The compiler is inclined to favour the last option, which would also explain its proximity to J.

Fourth line

L. A plan of a curved chapel, fronted by paired columns, on a small scale.

The alternative, that the paired columns belong to M, indicating paired columns being tried on the curved part of the chapel wall, rather than the single column indicated on the curved part in M is also possible, but the columnar cluster that such a scheme would entail seems unlikely for Michelangelo.

M. Partly intersecting L, two curved chapels in plan separated by a straight wall with two columns before it and one at either side.

N. Part of the staircase I in section, showing four high steps with the platform above. This seems more likely than the alternative, that this is a half elevation of the central staircase.

O. The right-side flight of the staircase I in modified section and partial elevation?. However, this seems to comprise only five steps, which would indicate a modification of I.

Discussion

The recto has been connected by most students with the design of the second floor windows of the courtyard of Palazzo Farnese, which all early sources attribute to Michelangelo. It is hardly necessary to enumerate the very close similarities between them. Once the design was firmly established, of course, the execution and installation of the window frames would have been carried out by the executing architect, Giacomo Vignola. The date of Michelangelo's designs is uncertain. Although any day-to-day engagement with Palazzo Farnese may well have ceased after 1550, as Ackerman claimed, there would be no bar to Michelangelo's having made drawings for various details after this time.

The present sheet was probably prepared in CB 65A/B257/Corpus 548 (black chalk, 422 × 269 mm), as

the compiler suggested in 1978, dating it to c. 1550. De Tolnay retained for CB 65A a dating in the 1520s, but the page size, drawing style, and architectural forms indicate a much later date, one supported by the watermark (Roberts Crossbow B, found on paper used by Michelangelo in the period c. 1555–60). Morrogh, 1994, proposed a still later date for CB 65A, c. 1560, and suggested that it was drawn for the aedicule in the vestibule of the Conservatori; he also noted its design similarities with the present drawing and Cat. 56. However, a drawing by Michelangelo for this aedicule does exist (CB 97A recto/B167/Corpus 616; brush and wash over black chalk, 283 × 255 mm), but it is simple and severe, and there is no need to connect CB 65A with the Capitoline scheme. Nor does CB 65A seem to the compiler to be as late as c. 1560, although it is not easy to date the work of Michelangelo's last decade by style.

The recto drawing presents rich carving and the motifs are of great delicacy. These facts affirm that it was made for a project that was lavishly funded and corresponds both to the very elaborate cornice that Michelangelo designed for Palazzo Farnese, of which a full-scale version in wood was hoisted into place in July 1547, so that Pope Paul III could judge its effect, and to the upper-storey courtyard windows as carved, which are among the most elaborate of the period. Although the present design was not taken over fully for Palazzo Farnese, it has many features in common with these windows. However, because the present sheet contains on its verso drawings datable to 1559–60, and because its provenance is from Casa Buonarroti, it is reasonable to assume that it was not given to Vignola – the executive architect of Palazzo Farnese – to follow and remained in Michelangelo's possession. It would be, therefore, one among presumably numerous drawings that Michelangelo made for these window-frames, not the final design.

In 1965a, although agreeing that the drawing on the recto of the present sheet was made for Palazzo Farnese, De Angelis d'Ossat connected the recto of the companion sheet, Cat. 56, with the Capitoline palaces. His acute insights were developed in detail and with new documentation by Morrogh, who demonstrated that the final design of Palazzo dei Conservatori was arrived at by Michelangelo only at the very end of his life, rather than in the late 1530s, as Ackerman had argued. Construction of the Conservatori began only months before Michelangelo's death, and it would be contrary to his habits to have busied himself with detailed designs many years before they were required, or, had he done so, to have stuck to them. Morrogh pointed out that forms very close to those in the present drawing are found in the

aediculed niche on the first landing of the Conservatori's stairway, and noted a faint figural outline in the central aperture in the present drawing, suggesting that the niche was planned for statuary. He concluded that it should be dated to c. 1562–3.

Nevertheless, while Morrogh's observations seem to the compiler wholly accurate, his conclusion does not necessarily follow. The refined detail of the decoration, fully appropriate to Palazzo Farnese, is quite alien to the mode that Michelangelo adopted in the Conservatori, where he employed broader and heavier forms. The style of the chalk underdrawing, with firm thin lines ruled in black chalk, with the fine detail of masks, guttae, garlands, etc., inserted in precise and fully controlled freehand drawing, strongly suggests a date no later than c. 1550. What seems to have happened is that a drawing made in the late 1540s was re-worked – and simplified – by Michelangelo shortly before his death, in order to serve as a model for the tabernacle on the main staircase of the palace (a conclusion also reached by Elam, 2001). As the facsimile copy of the recto in the Fogg Museum shows, this was originally drawn with a thin line and sharp chalk – and, like CB 65A, without wash. Michelangelo then re-worked the image with a thicker chalk, partly freehand, partly roughly ruled, and added wash. This is particularly evident at the base, where three parallel lines have been extended across the drawing, and at the inner sides of the niche, where he extended the elaborate moulding into a flat flange, thin on the right and quite wide on the left. This narrows the central aperture in relation to the axial vertical, more so at left than right. At the left, the wider inner flange seems to break forward at capital level into a rectangular undecorated block, quite close to the style of CB 97A. At upper right he also sketched the outline of a triangular pediment to cover the segmental one, a solution that looks back to the inner door of the reading room of the Laurentian Library. Indeed, although this design was initially made for a window frame and was finally employed as a statuary niche, Michelangelo also considered employing it for a door, since he sketched steps at the bottom. Furthermore, although it is not easy to descry, he seems to have indicated two columns or pilasters, one on either side, with bases. These were drawn after the new framing and would further have simplified the forms. The copyist who made the drawing now in the Fogg Museum clearly indicated a column on the left side. Although the draughtsman obviously had difficulty understanding fully Michelangelo's original, it was no doubt more legible when he copied it than it is now.

The present drawing would not have been used for constructing the tabernacle; a fair copy would have been

prepared under Michelangelo's supervision by an assistant, probably Tiberio Calcagni.

It is interesting to compare the present drawing with one made in preparation for the aedicule in the entrance hall of the Conservatori. This sheet, CB 97A, carries on its recto sketches for the Porta Pia and, perhaps, the revised attic of St Peter's, which implies a *terminus post quem* of early 1561. CB 97A verso for the aedicule, made with a straight edge with minimal freehand re-working, is precise and exact, with little indication of a shaking hand. The technique is entirely Michelangelesque, and there is no justification for the commonly held view that it is by an assistant. It seems improbable that it should have been made more than a year or two before the beginning of the construction of the Conservatori in June 1563 and, like some of the initial drawings for the Porta Pia, it shows that when using a straight-edge, Michelangelo's handling exhibits fewer signs of his age. In contrast, in the re-working of the present drawing, one senses that manual command is departing. Concerned, in his last months of life, to maintain control over the forms of his building, now being erected, but finding new invention hard if not impossible, Michelangelo re-worked old designs, either unused, or used in modified form, rather than creating new ones. Indeed, much of the architectural detail of the Conservatori is backward-looking. Thus, the doors that run along the front of the building are virtual repetitions of that designed by Michelangelo exactly thirty years earlier for the first-storey cloister of the monastery of San Lorenzo, through which the visitor enters the corridor leading to the Reliquary Tribune in the church (see Cat. 38), a beautiful invention but one so relatively little known that Michelangelo probably felt few qualms in re-using it.

Verso

The verso is complicated. Some of the sketches are for St. Peter's, as de Tolnay first noted, others seem to have been done in preparation for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, and still others, for the staircase in the *ricetto* of the Laurentian Library.

The difficulty of interpreting such abbreviated sketches is exacerbated by the fact that forms planned to be perpendicular to one another in reality were drawn by Michelangelo as though they were in the same plane, and that he drew curved forms as though they were straight (the last is also a feature of his full-size constructional drawing for the wooden model of the drum of St. Peter's, CB31A; see Cat. 56). The most important of the sketches is A, which represents two bays of the drum in elevation: de Tolnay did not recognise this, but Morrogh may have done so;

Carpiceci, whose interpretation of much of this verso otherwise coincides with that of the compiler, thought it a hasty memory sketch of the body of the basilica as already executed. The elevation is divided into two storeys. The lower storey is articulated by columns on high bases. At the left is seen one column, at the right two, and the bay at right seems to be wider than that at the left. It would be easy to interpret this as a sketch of a palace façade composed of rhythmic bays – if of an unusual kind – but the explanation for the discrepancy in the number of columns is that Michelangelo has drawn that on the left as though it were in profile view, not face-on, and it thus conceals its companion. The apparent discrepancy in the width of the bays also responds to the foreshortening of the bay on the left, which notionally curves in depth away from the viewer. The effect, in more diagrammatic rendering, is similar to that of the Lille drawing (Brejon de Lavergnée 107/Corpus 595). Both bays of the main storey contain a vertical window topped by a triangular pediment. In the left-hand bay, however, this seems to be drawn over curved lines. It is difficult to be certain, but this sketch would seem to show Michelangelo deciding, finally, to substitute rectangular windows for the round windows indicated on CB31A/Corpus 600 and shown on Lille 107.

Above the main storey is a lightly sketched attic, articulated with short pilasters, again with one on the left and two in the centre. It is this attic that occupied Michelangelo's attention in the other drawings for St. Peter's on this page, all of them drawn with the sheet inverted with respect to A. The most important is F. This shows, in elevation, a section of the drum attic articulated by two short pilasters at the left and decorated by a garland, as seen in Lille 107. Below the two pilasters, the form that seems to be pendent is, in fact, a plan of the platform formed by the entablature of the giant buttress columns. The rows of small circles represent balustrades (cf. Cat. 38), and the ovals contained within rectangles at the outer side, the plinths and bases of statues. A statue, its plinth, a balustrade, and the pilaster at the rear are seen in profile elevation in G. The small sketch of paired pilasters, H, was probably made to work out their form more precisely. These drawings show Michelangelo trying to establish the details within the composition of the attic as seen in Lille 107, in which, despite the small scale, platforms bearing large statues above the buttress-columns can clearly be seen.

These St. Peter's identifications are crucial for the date of the present sequence of drawings. Because they seem to show a transition from a drum perforated by *ochi* to one perforated by windows, they were presumably drawn later than the plan for the wooden model CB31A/Corpus 600.

This would suggest a date no earlier than the end of 1558, and perhaps up to a year later.

There are also five sketches showing variants of curved forms. These seem all to be related to the same project, most clearly interpretable from C and M. These show two large curves, more extensive than a semi-circle, joined by a short straight section with two circles before it, and two circles on each of the re-entrants, adjacent to the straight section. This seems to be a ground plan of two curved chapels, opening from a building that is probably circular, but whose circularity is hardly discernible from the way that Michelangelo has chosen to draw it. They are obviously en-suite with the similar forms on Cat. 54 verso, and were no doubt made for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, thus datable 1559–60.

The four sketches of staircases [I, J, N, O] show variations of circular or oval flights. I, a view from the front, is the most informative. It shows three or four high steps rising to a circular platform. At the right and left sides are indicated further flights, in profile with, clearly, six risers at the right. The implication seems to be that the central form is primarily decorative, and that the route to the platform is by the side flight. N and O show, it seems, the central and side flights, the first, apparently, with four and the second with five risers, although the sketches are not precise enough to be certain of this. J is too vague to interpret. It seems likely that these drawings were made in response to the request to provide a design for the staircase of the *ricetto* of the Laurentian Library. In the 1520s, Michelangelo had experimented with curved steps, with central steps with higher risers flanked by steps with lower risers (see CB92A recto and verso/B89/Corpus 525; red and black chalk, pen and ink, 390 × 280 mm maximum), and in each case the side steps contain either five or six risers. The connection of the present sketches with the San Lorenzo *ricetto* project appears to be firm, and the date would again be congruent: late 1558–early 1559.

The sketch of a right shoulder seen from the front, B, was certainly the first drawing to be made on this side of the sheet, probably some time before the others. It cannot securely be connected with any other drawing or project by Michelangelo, but it was, in all probability, made to determine the surface forms of the right shoulder of Christ in the *Rondanini Pietà*, on which Michelangelo worked fitfully throughout the final years of his life.

Drawn Copies

1. The recto was copied on a small scale by Francesco Buonarroti on Uffizi 5350A, left side, a.
2. The recto and the arm study on the verso were copied on the recto and the verso of a sheet now in

the Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1998.194; black chalk, 396 × 257 mm. This sheet is a double-sided facsimile of Michelangelo's sheet, made before he re-worked the recto design and added wash to it, and before he made the architectural sketches on the verso. It must have been drawn in the master's studio between c. 1547 and c. 1560.

History

Bernardo Buontalenti? (the complementary sheet, Cat. 56, was certainly owned by Buontalenti before it was acquired for Casa Buonarroti, so this sheet may also have been in his possession); Casa Buonarroti; Jean-Baptiste Wicar?; William Young Ottley (his sale, 6 June 1814, and following days, lot 253? "One, an architectural design – a window from the Lorenziana library, studies on the back in black chalk. From the Bonaroti collection at Florence." *ℒ*1.1.0); Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2554); Samuel Woodburn.

References

- Ottley sale, 6 June 1814, lot 253? ("One, an architectural design – a window from the Lorenziana library, studies on the back in black chalk. From the Bonaroti collection at Florence"?). Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonaroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–66] ("An Architectural study for a Window on the reverse studies for part of the Figure."). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 1 ("A window . . . treated with great simplicity and grandeur . . . on the reverse is an arm, and some architecture."). Woodburn, 1842, no. 43 (As 1836.). Woodburn, 1846, no. 11 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1852, p. 6, pl. 31 (A Window.). Fisher, 1865, I, p. 19, pl. 31 (As 1852.). Robinson, 1870, no. 81 (More ornate than [Cat. 56] but of same period, after 1549. "Certain features of resemblance with some details of the Campidoglio architecture, but there is perhaps more direct analogy with some of the windows of St Peter's."). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 17, pl. 31 (As 1852.). Black, 1875, p. 215, no. 68. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 231. Fisher, 1879, L/52 ("Probably produced after 1548."). Berenson, 1903, I, p. 100 (Genuine.). Thode, 1908, II, p. 201 (Recto: for second floor courtyard windows of Palazzo Farnese.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 272 (Recto: for a window; by a pupil to Michelangelo's instructions reflecting his Florentine forms; related to upper storey of Palazzo Farnese, c. 1546–7.); no. 273 (Verso: relation of staircase sketches to *ricetto* of Laurentian Library but probably Roman and for Palazzo Farnese.). Thode, 1913, no. 453 (Recto: as 1908. Verso: difficult to know which building they are connected with; has abandoned idea that they are for St Peter's.). Berenson, 1938, II, p. 204 (As 1903.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 154 (Recto: c. 1550, for a window for the upper storey of the courtyard of Palazzo Farnese.). Parker, 1956, no. 333 (Recto: "certainly a design, drawn in about 1550, for the windows in the upper storey of the courtyard of the Palazzo Farnese"; simplified in execution. Verso: rejects Frey's views; "The purpose of all these scribbled sketches remains at present obscure."). Dussler, 1959, no. 634 (Recto: by a follower to Michelangelo's design.); no. 352 (Ascribed to Michelangelo, 1550s. Architectural sketches of uncertain purpose.). Ackerman, 1961, II, p. 77 (Recto: "reasonably close to the final version [of the windows on the upper level of the Courtyard of Palazzo Farnese] and may be Michelangelo's sole surviving sketch for the palace."); no. 60 (Verso: [A] "the elevation of a palace façade with a colossal order embracing arched apertures on the lower story and pedimented windows on the upper. The system is closer to that of the Campidoglio palaces than to other Michelangelo projects, but the connection cannot be verified."). Berenson, 1961, II, p. 348 (As 1903/1938.). Ackerman, 1964, II, p. 79 (Recto: as 1961.); p. 62 (Verso: as 1961.). Barbieri and Puppi, 1964a, pp. 887, 972, 1011 (Verso: [A] "l'alzato della facciata di un palazzo ad ordine gigante . . . vicini ai palazzi del Campidoglio, anche se mancano effettivi elementi per un sicuro agganciamento." Also sketches "anche avvicinabili agli studi per San Giovanni dei Fiorentini . . . però probabilmente precedente ai saggi sicuri per quella chiesa."); pp. 904, 1015 (Recto: for a window. "L'unico autografo superstite di Michelangiolo" for Palazzo Farnese.). Barbieri and Puppi, 1964b, tav. 83 (Recto: for Palazzo Farnese.); tav. 63 ("Prospetto di una facciata e schizzi di scala; . . . da porsi, sia pur con prudenza, col palazzi capitolini," datable c. 1550.). De Angelis d'Ossat, 1965b, II, pp. 356, 361 (Recto: for the second-floor courtyard windows of the Palazzo Farnese.). Hartt, 1971, no. 495 (Recto: 1546, for window in Palazzo Farnese.); no. 483 (Verso: 1538–50? "a giant order of pilasters [A] embracing a second storey of pedimented windows over a first story of arches . . . seems to be related to the Palazzo dei Conservatori . . . remaining . . . sketches even harder to identify and date."). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 149 (Recto: for windows in upper storey or Palazzo Farnese, c. 1547–9.). De Tolnay, 1980, Corpus IV, no. 589 (Recto: for Palazzo Farnese, c. 1550. Verso: [A] first to be drawn on this side, later than the *Crucifixion of St. Peter*. [B] for the exterior of the Chapel of the King of France of St. Peter's. [F, G] for the attic of the drum of St. Peter's. [H] for the coupled columns of the drum. The staircase designs recall those by Bramante for the *nicchione* of the Belvedere, but are probably for the *ricetto* of San Lorenzo.

The curved plans probably for the Sforza Chapel.). Nova, 1984, pl. 99 (Recto: for window of Palazzo Farnese.). Ackerman and Newman, 1986, pp. 186, 312, 316 (Recto: “contains overlaid window designs; beneath a design for the windows of the upper story of the Farnese Court is a simpler one, apparently intended for the Conservatori façade.” Verso: as 1964.). Contardi, 1990, pp. 261, 270 (Recto: identifiable with the window on the third floor of Palazzo Farnese); pp. 261, 349 (Verso: has been connected with Conservatori, no relation to the Sforza Chapel.). Carpiceci, 1991, p. 83 (Recto: for the windows of the third level of the Palazzo Farnese, at about 1/17 scale; datable c. 1560.); pp. 37–8, 83–5 (Verso: [B], for *Rondanini Pietà* or, more likely, with figures linked by him with the Riccio Chapel. [A] “un rilievo affrettato della fronte già eseguita.” [F, G, H] show the elevation, plan, and section of the attic of the drum. [C, etc.] for the Sforza Chapel. [J, etc.] for the staircase of the Laurenziana.). Morrogh, 1994, pp. 151–5 (Recto: “not . . . leading towards the Farnese windows, as making use of ideas . . . already . . . developed there. Also a faintly drawn standing figure in the opening suggests that the aedicule frames, not a window, but a niche for statuary.” Like [Cat. 56 recto], it “should be connected with the niche design used on the [Conservatori] staircase.” Verso: sketches for attic and drum of St. Peter’s which “would suggest a tentative *terminus post quem* . . . of October 1559.”). Wallace, 1998, p. 244 (Recto: study for the window of the Palazzo Farnese courtyard.). Perrig, 1999, p. 238 (Recto: Michelangelo. Verso: sketches by Giulio Clovio after Michelangelo’s Roman architectural projects; recorded in Clovio’s posthumous inventory as “Una finestra fatta da m. Michel-Angelo” or as “Una porta fatta di mano propa di Michel Angelo.” From Farnese Collection.). Elam, 2001, [unpaginated but p. 10] (Recto: for the windows in the top level of the courtyard of Palazzo Farnese, re-worked some years later.).

CATALOGUE 56

Recto: Design for a Door

Verso: Architectural and Figure Studies
1846.78; R.80; P.II 332; Corpus 605

Dimensions: 412 × 259 mm

Watermark: Robinson Appendix no. 19. Roberts Ladder
C. Briquet 5923, Venice 1491.

Medium

Recto: Wash and white heightening over black chalk, employed both free-hand and with a ruler.

Verso: Black chalk employed both free-hand and with a ruler.

Condition

There are several edge tear repairs, and infills, several abraded areas, some short diagonal scored lines, and a small skinned hole. There are extensive repaired fractures and skinning. Widespread uneven discolouration is visible, and significant major staining, apparently from a spillage of light brown ink on the verso, shows through to the recto. There is surface dirt and uneven blackening of the white body colour.

Inscriptions

Verso: Roman numbering in red chalk: *xi*.

Nineteenth-century numbering in graphite: 80 (Robinson).

Nineteenth-century inscription in graphite: *back not mentioned*.

Description

Recto

The pedimental plaque inscribed, in Michelangelo’s hand: *chi no vuoldelle foglie/ no ci [venga di] maggio*.

Guasti, *epitaffi* IV; Frey, CXXXVIII; Girardi, no. 278; Residori, no. 278.

With the lower edge as base

A. A ground plan with paired columns and spaces between them, done on a small scale. (The version of this on a still smaller scale described by Carpiceci along the lower edge is not visible to the compiler; a number of lines are visible at this edge of the sheet, but the compiler cannot reduce these to a coherent pattern.)

B. A variant of A, a ground plan with paired columns and spaces between them, done on a larger scale and with apsidal ended alcoves between them, fronted – presumably – by windows. Autograph inscription *porta* on second bay from left.

C. Detail of paired columns and corner element.

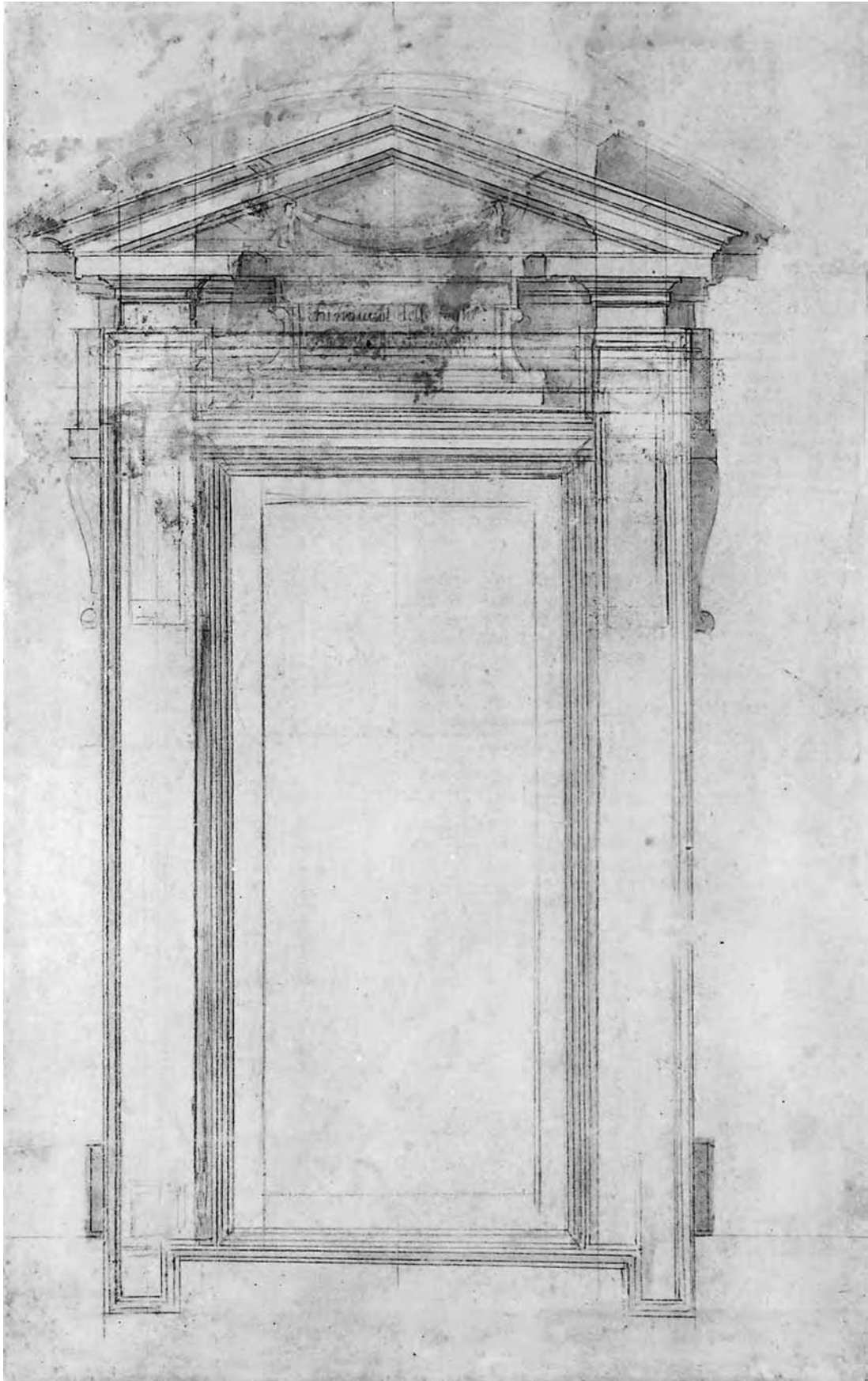
D. Three sets of lines ruled horizontally across the page, comprising

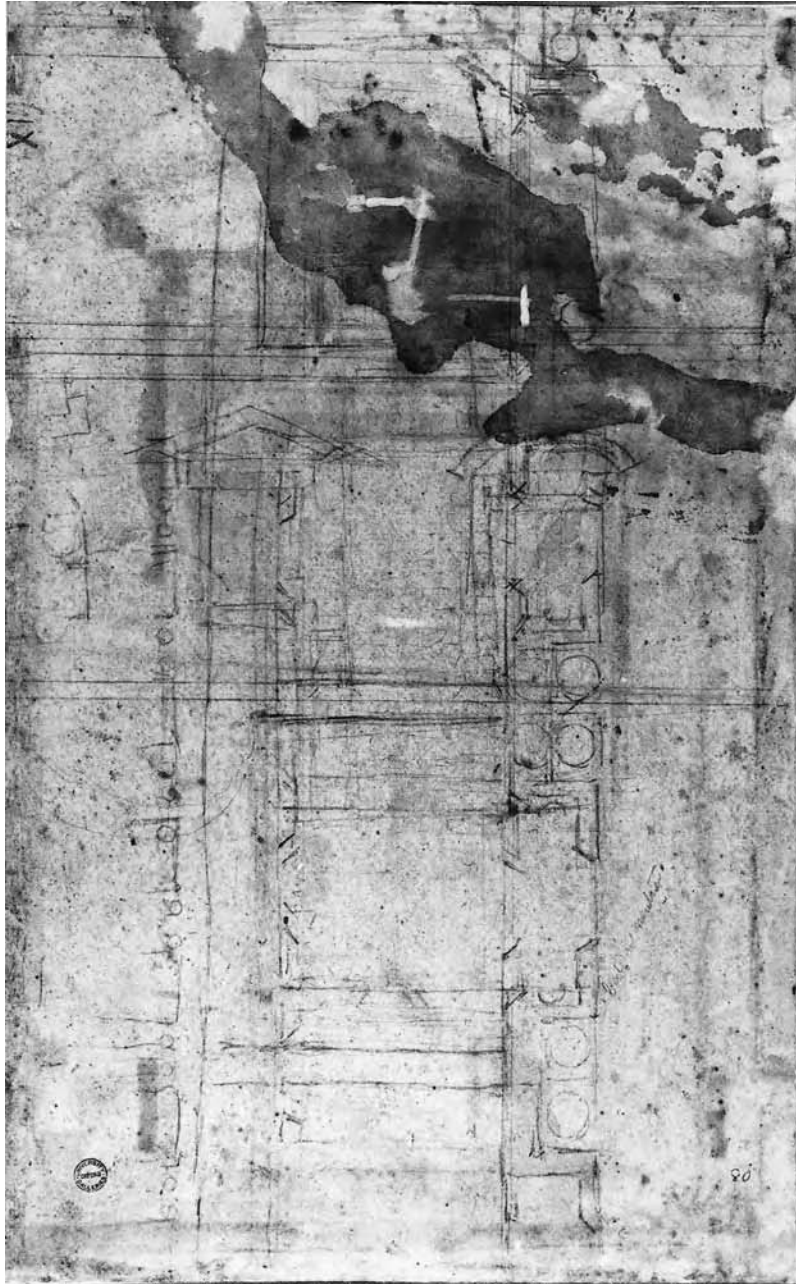
i. (top): three lines

ii. (middle): four lines, but differently spaced

iii. (bottom): two lines

E. Between Dii and Diii: two windows, one topped by a segmental pediment, the other by a triangular one.





F. A loose circle about 90 mm in diameter whose purpose is conjectural. A and C are drawn over this.

Drawn with the top edge as base.

G. A large double door, panelled, enframed, surmounted by a balustrade above which is a flat corniced window with rusticated framing pilasters.

Discussion

Recto

This drawing and Cat. 55 have generally been considered together. They share a history, are almost the same size, and are very similar in technique. Like that, this drawing

has often been connected with the Palazzo Farnese and dated c. 1550, although no door that resembles this one exists in that building, and it is not to be excluded that it was made in preparation for another architectural project of the same period or, conceivably, simply for a detail in a project by another architect.

The design clearly looks back to Michelangelo's project for the exterior portal of the reading room of the Laurentian Library in which a rectangular tablet breaks into the triangular pediment that surmounts the door. In Michelangelo's *modello* for this door (CB98A/B255/Corpus 550; pen and ink with brush and wash, 346 × 239 mm), which was somewhat simplified in execution, two

half garlands tie the top corners of the tablet to the outer sections of the pediment, which break forward slightly. That motif is deconstructed and re-distributed here, transformed into a garland that hangs above the tablet and two volutes, one either side of the table, which act as supporters. Michelangelo modified his old design in other ways. He included, rather faintly, a segmental pediment outside the triangular one, a doubling that he had first undertaken in practice in the interior door of the Laurentian reading room. Within this tablet, Michelangelo has written the phrase “*chi no[n] vuol delle foglie/ no[n] ci [venga di] maggio*,” a real or invented proverb that might loosely be translated as: “If you don’t want leaves, don’t come here in May.” This might suggest that the door was planned for a garden but Morrogh ingeniously argued that the leaves are those of books, and that the inscription refers to the contents of a library or an archive, thus maintaining for this door the same role as its Florentine prototype.

In relation to that prototype, the forms of the present structure are heavier, the mouldings of the interior frame are more elaborate, and the planar play of elements within the pediment zone are much more complex. It would seem that sometime after Michelangelo had made his drawing, he re-worked it. The first redaction would be defined by the sharply and very carefully ruled multiple lines that mark the outer edges of the frame and the top of the triangular pediment. It seems likely that, at this first stage, the drawing was made purely in line. If so, then it was in a second stage that Michelangelo added profiled consoles at the sides of the frame of the door that matched frontal consoles within the frames and small protrusions to the left and right near the base of the door, where it would be set against, perhaps, a wainscoting. All these elements seem to be drawn in a slightly broader line technique than the first stage, and in all of them, wash plays an important role in defining their volumes. Comparison between, say, the inner triangular and the outer segmental pediment makes it clear that the former is sharply drawn and precisely defined, but the latter is outlined quite loosely, without concern for regularity, and that wash is used to evoke its forms. All the additions, which are defined primarily in wash rather than line, are likely to be a few years later than the main part of the door. It may be that it was only during this re-working that Michelangelo added wash.

If this suggestion is accurate, this re-worked drawing was then re-worked a second time. The console seen in elevation in the right-hand side of the frame, and perhaps that on the left too, seems to have been eliminated with areas of white body colour, presumably to simplify the design. There seems to have been subsequent application of wash and perhaps further body colour, now oxidised

and faded, over the table, and a series of six horizontals was drawn across the upper part of the portal frame, eliminating the upper protrusions and cutting across the tablet, which was certainly to be eliminated. It would seem, therefore, that the complexities of the upper section and the carefully inscribed tablet were to be abandoned, and, in general, the forms were made heavier and coarser.

This drawing was first connected by De Angelis d’Ossat with the Palazzo dei Conservatori and specifically with the door to the Sala degli Orazi e Curazii. He implied a date for the drawing, in line with the then currently accepted views of progress on the Palace, of the late 1530s. This linking was accepted by Ackerman and Newman and maintained, with additional arguments, by Morrogh. Morrogh, who firmly established that Michelangelo’s final designs for the palace were made only very late in his life, drew the apparently logical conclusion, as with Cat. 55 recto, that this drawing is also very late. However, even though both Cat. 55 recto and the present drawing certainly provided starting-points for elements in the Conservatori, it seems that in both cases Michelangelo himself re-worked his old drawings in order to achieve a new effect, broadening the forms, reducing detail and decoration (a conclusion reached independently by Elam, 2001). Indeed, the inscription alone, which was obscured in the third redaction, is sufficient to eliminate a date in the 1560s, because its handwriting does not correspond to Michelangelo’s at that period. In any case, it is surely too witty actually to be carved at a library entrance. Further supporting a date in the 1540s for the first layer of the recto is the watermark, which recurs on Michelangelo’s *Pietà* drawn for Vittoria Colonna (Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston; Hadley, 1968, no. 7/Corpus 460; black chalk, 295 × 195 mm), which obviously antedates her death in 1547.

Verso

The verso is one of the most complicated of the ageing Michelangelo’s pages of architectural sketches. It is made more confusing by the fact that, as was his wont, Michelangelo made superimposed drawings, so that considerable effort is required to disentangle them: In this case, however, he did provide the student with some help because the three superimposed studies on this sheet are drawn with the sheet turned different ways. Second, he employed lines placed on the sheet with one function to stand in as scaffolding for drawings made for different purposes: This also creates difficulties. He had done this much earlier in life, but this practice, combined with the relatively soft handling of the forms on this page, means that different projects are hard to differentiate.

Many efforts have been made to interpret this page since it was first revealed in 1953. Morrogh's is the most elaborate, most closely observed, and, to the compiler, by far the most convincing, but it needs to be modified in one or two particulars. And, furthermore, of the six separable studies on this page – ignoring single lines – it seems clear that not all were made for the same project.

The two plans, drawn first on a small scale and then on a larger one, are the only ones that we have by Michelangelo's own hand for the Conservatori and they fully support Morrogh's late dating of the final project. Because they present a solution so very different from the project as executed, and because they are obviously late drawings, this demonstrates that the final version was a realisation of the close of the artist's life. They alone should have provided a warning against Ackerman's chronology. Drawn first, at the left, is a sequence of rectangles, each separated from the next by two circles. There is a total of seven rectangles and six groups of two circles. Although there are a few irregularities, with one circle seeming to stray inside a rectangle, these seem to represent the plans of individual compartments separated from one another by architraves or beams that are carried by paired columns. Thus, in embryo, the cell-like construction principle of the Conservatori, which has a seven-bay façade, is defined.

This plan was then tried again, more fully worked out, and on a larger scale, to the right. The sheet, which probably has not been cut down substantially, was never tall enough to show all seven bays on the enlarged scale, but because the system was repetitive, there was no need to do so. Michelangelo has here drawn three rectangular compartments and half of a fourth. Each is again separated from the next by paired columns. All the elements are more precisely defined. The columns are now shown to stand on paired rectangular bases in a graphic formula like that seen in Cat. 54 verso. The compartments now seem to have windows or doors at the right side with strongly accentuated corners, and they may themselves be subdivided, with a small atrium area, if the apertures are doors, or a window-seat area, if they are windows, plus the main compartment. At the left, where Michelangelo has written *porta*, they open into, presumably, the undescribed rear of the building. The formula is, as De Angelis d'Ossat so shrewdly realised, very like that sketched some thirty years earlier by Michelangelo in a drawing in Florence (CB42A recto/B78/Corpus 541; pen and black chalk, 209 × 294 mm). This famous drawing, which Wittkower – followed by many other scholars – believed to be for the interior of the Laurentian Library reading room, was rightly identified by De Angelis d'Ossat as a design for the exterior of a structure. It was suggested by the compiler (1981b) that it is, in fact, a project of c. 1524 for the exterior of the

Laurentian Library, when it was considered briefly as a high two-storey structure, set in parallel with the church, debouching eastwards into the Piazza di San Lorenzo, from the north-east corner of the cloister. Such a structure would have required an imposing exterior façade crossing the Piazza di San Lorenzo. Although this hypothesis was queried by Salmon, 1990, the compiler is inclined to retain it.

In any case, there can be little doubt of the closeness of CB 42A recto/Corpus 541 to the project for the Palazzo dei Conservatori as seen in the plans on the present page, and the link confirms that Michelangelo took as his starting point discarded designs for the Laurentian Library. Like CB42A recto/Corpus 541, in which the upper and lower storey of the building were continuous, the façade of the Conservatori as represented in the present plan would have been flat with no passage beneath an overhanging upper storey. Something of this is carried over into the façade as built, in which, instead of the inviting arcade of the traditional cloister, like the piazza of Santissima Annunziata, also in Michelangelo's mind when planning the Capitoline Hill, there is a tense contrast between wall and space.

It is difficult to work out in any detail what the elevation corresponding to the plan on this page would have looked like, but, once again, CB42A/Corpus 541 is probably the best guide. It is clear that at this moment, Michelangelo did not envisage the giant pilasters that now imbue the building with so powerful a combination of compactness, energy, and grandeur but thought of a lower storey articulated by embedded columns and wide pilaster strips, and, probably, a double cornice, again like CB42A/Corpus 541.

The two plans run down the sheet. De Tolnay interpreted the free-hand line just to the right of the upper plan and the loosely ruled line just behind the paired columns of the larger plan, which converge slightly towards the top of the page, as marking the edges of the ribs of a dome (that of St. Peter's) with some coffering indicated. In the compiler's view, the convergence, which is very slight, is not intentional and has no function.

When we focus on the horizontal, a different situation presents itself. There are three clusters of parallel lines ruled, not very precisely, across the whole width of the sheet: at the top, some 85 mm below the top, and again some 95 mm below that. They were drawn before the plans just described. These clusters, which are not identical in their make-up, cut across the paired columns in the large plan and might at first sight be thought to represent the beams that the columns support. But because they run all the way across the sheet, they cannot represent this solely. And indeed, Michelangelo seems to have regarded

them as cornices or string courses of some description, because between the lower and the middle clusters, he drew two windows of original design and heavy form. They are similar to a window on CB85A/B101/Corpus 620 (black chalk, 125 × 70 mm, fragmentary), an isolated sketch that seems to be contemporary with the Porta Pia. Here, the window on the left carries a triangular pediment; that on the right, a segmental one. Whether these were to alternate, or whether Michelangelo intended one rather than the other is conjectural. Carpićeci, making more precise a connection envisaged by Parker and de Tolnay, interpreted these as sketches for the interior drum windows of St. Peter's, but the compiler finds this improbable: The windows sketched here are considerably squatter than the windows of the drum, and the relation of pediment and aperture is very different. Another possibility, the windows of the Conservatori, is also unlikely: As executed they all carry segmental pediments, and their forms are lighter – and less imaginative – than these.

These three clusters of lines therefore would appear to define the *piano nobile* and upper storeys of a façade. In which case, if we assume this façade to be that of the Conservatori, it would have been planned as a three-storey building. But although it is not impossible that Michelangelo should have considered a three-storey façade, it is highly unlikely because that would have diminished comparatively the Senatori, which was always the focus of the piazza and which does have a three-storey façade. This opens the question as to whether the present drawing might have been made for the Senatori because whatever plans Michelangelo had had for that façade a decade earlier – work on it was abandoned c. 1550, save for the construction of the staircase – would surely not have been left unchanged. Above the rusticated dado, whose full height is occupied by the great double staircase, the façade of the Senatori is divided into two storeys of similar height. Thus, in principle, the three clusters of lines on the present page could define the upper two storeys of the Senatori. However, no representation of Michelangelo's design for the façade of the Senatori – which was in any case never carried out – shows it with windows shaped like these, with alternating pediments, or with the storeys separated by cornices or mouldings, and all show it articulated vertically by giant pilasters, although these might have been a last-minute decision. Therefore, tempting though it might be to connect these line-clusters and window-sketches with the Capitoline palaces and especially the Senatori, any such linking must be treated with extreme reserve.

The third element on this verso, not previously observed, is found when the sheet is inverted. Employing

the clusters of lines that cross the page as horizontals, and the ruled line that defines the inner wall of the larger façade drawing and the free-hand line that defines the outer wall of the smaller one, as framing verticals, Michelangelo has drawn the elevation of a grand door, with double, subdivided leaves. Above this, taking the second group of horizontals as a storey-division, is a balustraded balcony above which there seems to be a great window, framed at each side by narrow rusticated pilasters. There may be further forms sketched above this, but these cannot be distinguished with clarity. Once again, it would be tempting to connect this drawing with the Capitoline, but, once again, the compiler can see no ready way of doing so. The sequence of the double-leafed door and the balcony has obvious similarities with the Palazzo Farnese, but that is very different in form, and Michelangelo's contribution to that building had been completed several years earlier. The rusticated pilasters on the *piano nobile* might rather suggest a suburban setting, and the Villa Giulia, with whose design Michelangelo was heavily involved, might seem appropriate. But the forms do not correspond, and, once more, the Villa Giulia had been completed some years before this drawing was made. One possibility that occurs to the compiler is that the drawing might have been produced to assist Bartolommeo Ammanati – whom Michelangelo liked and respected and who finally executed the stairway of the Laurentian Library – with his design for Palazzo Grifone in Florence. However, the scheme shown in this drawing differs so much from that of the palace's doorway as built that any connection must remain entirely conjectural.

Roman numerals in red chalk of the type found on the verso of this sheet occurs on several other sheets either in, or with a direct provenance from, Casa Buonarroti:

VIII: CB73Abis verso/B164/Corpus 615

XV: BM W37 verso/Corpus 554

XVII: Frankfurt 392 verso/Corpus 322

XVIII: CB17A recto/B113/Corpus 579

XX: CB7F recto/B122/Corpus 301

XXXI: CB79A recto/B87/Corpus 559

XXXII: CB20A recto/B118/Corpus 578

The significance of these numerals eludes the compiler; they were no doubt applied after Michelangelo's death but probably still within the sixteenth century.

Drawn Copies

The pedimental zone of the recto was copied in a simplified form, which is understandable given the complexity of the overlays, by Francesco Buonarroti on Uffizi 5348A, left side, d.

History

The Roman Numeral Collector; Bernardo Buontalenti; Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger by 1618, Casa Buonarroti; Jean-Baptiste Wicar?; William Young Ottley (his sale, 6 June 1814, and following days, lot 254? (“One a ditto, [i.e., architectural design] ditto [i.e., a window for the Lorenziana Library], from the same [i.e., Buonarroti] collection.” £3.3.0); Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Michelangelo the Younger, c. 1618 (Transcription. “Nel frontispizio d’una porta”; from the group of drawings owned by Bernardo Buontalenti). Ottley Sale, 6 June 1814, etc., lot 254? (“One a ditto, [architectural design] ditto [a window for the Lorenziana Library], from the same [Buonarroti] collection.”). Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–94] (“A Design for a Window with some plans on the back.”). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 49 (“A Door – a fine architectural study, with some writing.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 42 (As 1836.). Woodburn, 1846, no. 12 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1852, p. 6, pl. 32 (A Door.). Guasti, 1863, p. lxxi (Transcription of a note by Michelangelo the Younger implying that the present sheet was previously owned by Bernardo Buontalenti.); p. 14 (Transcription of inscription.). Fisher, 1865, I, p. 20, pl. 32 (As 1852.). Robinson, 1870, no. 80 (Michel Angelo. Design for a Window. With [Cat. 55 recto] “resemblances with some details of the Campidoglio architecture but . . . more direct analogy with some of the windows of St Peter’s.” After 1549.). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 18, pl. 32 (As 1852.). Black, 1875, p. 215, no. 69. Fisher, 1879, XLIX/51 (Design for a window.). K. Frey, 1897, p. 485 (Transcription. Possible connection with St. Peter’s.). Berenson, 1903, II, p. 100 (Genuine.). Thode, 1908, II, p. 201 (For a window of Palazzo Farnese; similar to Laurenziana door.). K. Frey, 1909–11, 271 (By a pupil to Michelangelo’s instructions. For a window, developed from the portal of the *ricetto*. Related to Palazzo Farnese, c. 1546–7.). Thode, 1913, no. 452 (As 1908.). Berenson, 1938, II, p. 204 (As 1903.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 156 (Recto: c. 1546–50, for a window, probably for the Palazzo Farnese.). Parker, 1956, no. 332 (Recto: analogous to [Cat. 55 recto]; resembles Laurenziana doorway, but later. Verso: confused, but [Di – Biii] with windows show “part of the interior of a dome under which are windows with pediments alternatively triangular and segmental . . . possible connections with St. Peter’s”; [B] “a ground plan showing a façade with coupled columns in rectangular recesses . . . connected by Tolnay with the Palazzo dei Conservatori.”). De Tolnay, 1956, pp. 79–80 (Recto: “probably an early version of the upper-floor

windows of the courtyard of Palazzo Farnese.” First publication of the verso: by Michelangelo; distinguishes five partly superimposed projects: For St. Peter’s and Capitoline palaces.). Dussler, 1959, no. 633 (Recto: window project, for upper level of Farnese Palace. Studio drawing to Michelangelo’s design.); no. 206 (Verso: link with St. Peter’s unlikely; Capitoline palaces plausible.). Ackerman, 1961, II, p. 77 (Recto: “probably . . . unrelated” to Palazzo Farnese.); p. 60 (Verso: “contains plans and – elevations? – of a corridor with encased paired columns on the exterior and the note ‘porta’ on one of the interior openings. Tolnay interpreted the sheet as a group of studies for the ground floor portico of the Conservatori and for an interior elevation of the dome of St Peter’s; though the proportions, the position of the ‘porta’ and the number and vaulting type of the bays recommend the identification, the exterior apertures appear to be doors or windows rather than the open bays of a portico.”). Berenson, 1961, II, p. 348 (As 1903, 1938.). Ackerman, 1964, II, p. 79 (Recto: as 1961.); p. 62 (Verso: as 1961.). Barbieri and Puppi, 1964a, p. 1015 (Recto: study of a window for Palazzo Farnese, late 1540s.); pp. 887, 1011 (Verso: “la pianta di un settore di portici, riferibile al Palazzo dei Conservatori e, forse, un accenno al alzato.”). Barbieri and Puppi, 1964b, tav. 82 (Recto: study of a window; cite Ackerman’s denial of connection with Palazzo Farnese.); tav. 65 (Section of a portico for the Palazzo dei Conservatori.). De Angelis d’Ossat, 1965a, pp. 106–9 (Recto: not for a window and unconnected with the Palazzo Farnese. The superimposed studies related to the niche on the landing of the stairs of the Palazzo dei Conservatori and of the door of the palace’s archive.); p. 100 (Verso: projects for the Palazzo dei Conservatori, inspired by early ideas for the Laurentian vestibule and Michelangelo’s study for a façade, CB 42A/Corpus 541. Michelangelo “aveva ripreso e sviluppato lo stesso motivo, con tale ricchezza di spunti e tale forza di concentrazione da sembrar impossibile fosse studiato per quell’internò [that of the Laurentian reading room]. E un vero prospetto che possiamo collegare ed anteporre nella ricerca delle idee matrici del Palazzo dei Conservatori.”). De Angelis d’Ossat, 1965b, p. 337 (English edition pp. 336–7) (Recto and verso: as 1965a.). Hartt, 1971, no. 494 (Recto: 1546?. Perhaps for window in Palazzo Farnese, alternative to [Cat. 55 recto], presented to the patron.); no. 482 (Verso: 1538–50? “may possibly contain . . . an elevation of a portion of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, with alternating gabled and arched windows . . . drawn over at least two sketched plans for a colonnade with coupled columns.”). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 148 (Design of a window; must date from about the same time as [Cat. 55], but not necessarily connected with the Palazzo Farnese.). De Tolnay, 1980,

Corpus IV, no. 605 (Recto: contemporary with [Cat. 56]. Generally connected with Palazzo Farnese but De Angelis d'Ossat has drawn attention to relation to the aedicule and the door of the library in Palazzo dei Conservatori. Verso: horizontals [Di – Diii] and windows for the exterior of the drum of St. Peter's. Converging lines next to plans for the ribs of the dome. [A, B] plans for Conservatori. de Tolnay also sees an elevation of the portico based on [B], which the compiler cannot decipher. [G]: hermipilasters supporting a cornice.). Ackerman and Newman, 1986, p. 312 (Recto: "design apparently for the niche on the first landing on the grand staircase of the Conservatori." Probably unrelated to Palazzo Farnese. Verso: as 1961/1964, with addition "the drum and base of."). Conzatti, 1990, p. 261 (Recto: window design, probably for Conservatori. Verso: ground plans and perhaps elevations of a portico; perhaps for the Conservatori: The large plan in the centre [B] shows three bays with pairs of embedded columns recalling those in the vestibule of the Laurentian Library, while the plan along the left edge indicates fourteen free-standing columns in seven bays as they exist today.). Carpiacci, 1991, pp. 45, 87 with graphic analysis (Verso: identification of plans uncertain, perhaps a first idea for the Palazzo dei Conservatori; notes relation to Laurenziana vestibule. [E] a sketch of the interior of the drum of St. Peter's.). Morrogh, 1994, pp. 151–5 (Recto: "supplied the designs both for the niches on the first floor landing of the [Palazzo dei] Conservatori staircase and for the door to the Archive room on the *piano nobile* landing." The "Archive door is close, not only in design, but also thematically, to the door that leads to the Laurentian Reading Room" and the inscription punningly refers to *foglie* [leaves] of books. Verso: "A row of rooms, isolated from one another, runs up the sheet. On the right the façade is shown with its inset coupled columns, while on the left a door from each room leads to a series of inner rooms. It is highly unusual to find a row of small, independently accessed rooms behind a richly columned façade. . . . It is perhaps only in a major civic building that small, bottega-like, rooms are likely to be set behind a façade with columns. . . . We must suppose that the loggia would have been closed up, allowing for small ante-rooms in front of the guild rooms. Outside the coupled columns recall those of the Laurentian Vestibule. Their scale suggests that they would have embraced only one storey; so they would not have formed a giant order. This is all very different from the Conservatori that we see today."). Perig, 1999, p. 238 (Recto: Michelangelo. Verso: sketches by Giulio Clovio after Michelangelo's Roman architectural projects; recorded in Clovio's posthumous inventory as "Una finestra fatta da m. Michel-Angelo," or as "Una porta fatta di mano propa di Michel Angelo." From

Farnese Collection, not the Casa Buonarroti; Michelangelo the Younger recorded verses by Michelangelo preserved in other collections.). Elam, 2001, [unpaginated but p. 11] (Michelangelo; "shows evidence of erasures and corrections . . . used after Michelangelo's death to provide both a door and a niche surround for the Palazzo dei Conservatori.").

CATALOGUE 57

Recto: Christ on the Cross with Two Attendant Figures
Verso: The Crucified Christ
1846.89; R.72; P.II 343; Corpus 415

Dimensions: 278 × 234 mm

Watermark: Robinson Appendix no. 16. Roberts Arrows B. Briquet 6291, Rome, 1561–2.

Medium

Black chalk with some ruled lines, white heightening, three indented horizontal stylus lines above Christ's knees and ankles, respectively, probably to establish the proportions. Remains of framing line in black chalk.

Condition

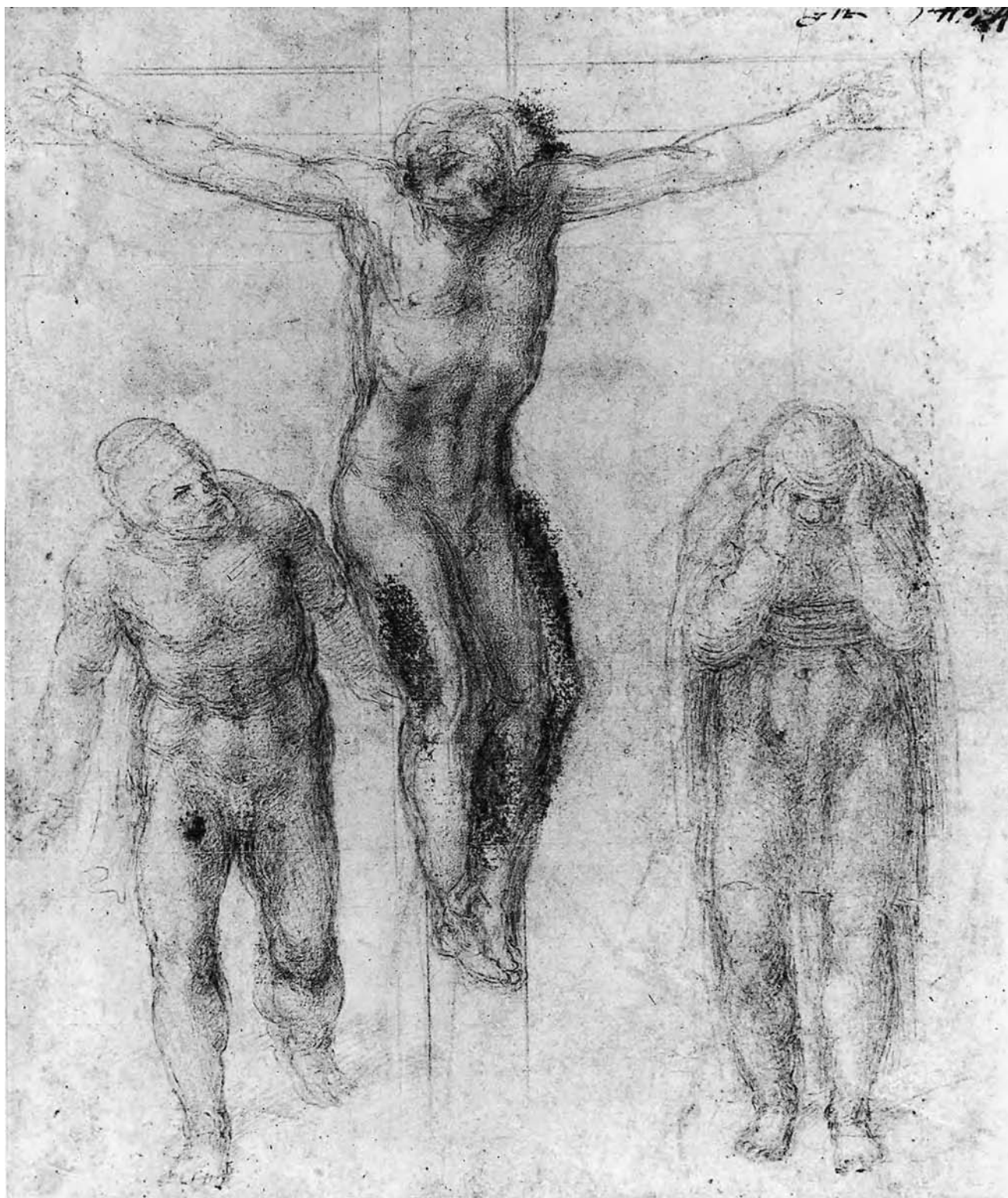
There are three horizontal incised lines. The sheet has a major pressed-out horizontal fold, inherent wrinkles, small edge nicks and losses, minor surface abrasions, a diagonal abraded streak, and fibrous accretions on the edges. There is uneven discolouration, local speckled staining, and adhesive residues on the verso.

Inscriptions

Recto: In pen and ink, upper right, *F 12* (?); *no. 24* (?).
Verso: In pen and ink, lower left *di Bona Roti*; above this the irregular number: *no. 58*.

Discussion

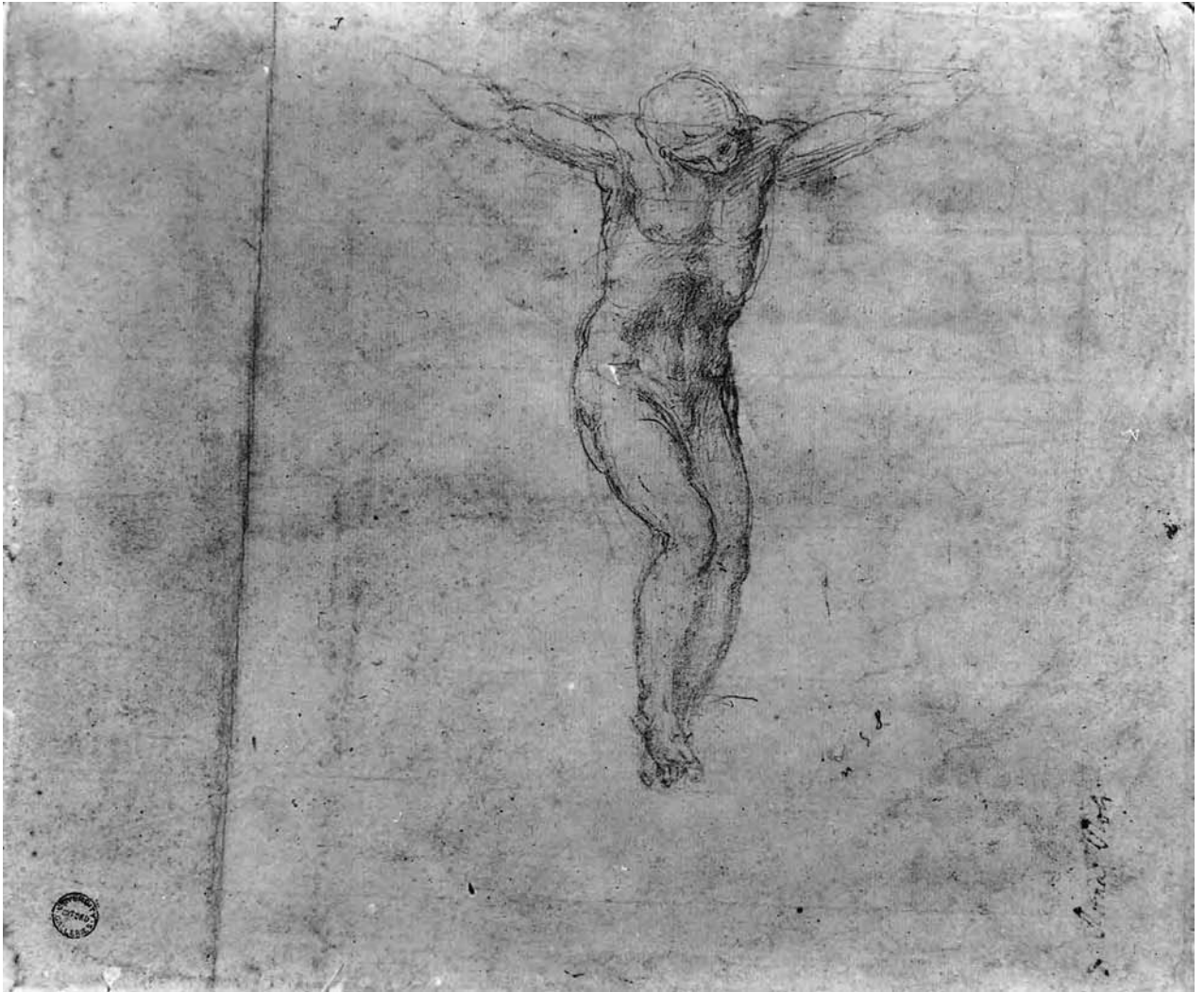
From the 1540s onwards, coinciding with and following his gift to Vittoria Colonna (see Cat. 67), Michelangelo made several – perhaps many – drawings of *Christ on the Cross*, some of which are now known only in copies and others of which are no doubt entirely lost. But the sequence of surviving drawings of the *Christ on the Cross* to which the present sheet is generally thought to belong seems to be particularly closely connected. These drawings form, in a sense, a series, although hardly a programmatic one, and they were drawn late in Michelangelo's life. However, a caveat is in order. Even though the present sheet is clearly related to the others in style and mood,



and no doubt date, its dimensions are sufficiently different from those to suggest that it was not drawn at exactly the same moment as those drawings, nor was fully en-suite with them.

The others are

1. Paris, Louvre, Inv. 700/J42/Corpus 414; black chalk with white heightening and pen and ink, 433 × 290 mm.



2. British Museum, 1895-9-15-509/W 81/Corpus 417; black chalk with white heightening, 413 × 286 mm.
3. British Museum, 1895-9-15-510/W 82/Corpus 419; black chalk with white heightening, 412 × 279 mm.
4. Windsor, Royal Library, 12761/PW 437/Corpus 416; black chalk, 405 × 208 mm.
5. Windsor, Royal Library 12775/PW 436/Corpus 418, black chalk with white heightening, 382 × 210 mm.

Two drawings in the Louvre (Inv. 720 and 698/J39 and J40/ Corpus 412 and 413; both black chalk, respectively, 230 × 110 mm and 250 × 82 mm), which show the Virgin and St. John as they are placed at the foot of the Cross, are not, as sometimes supposed, fragments of a seventh version but were drawn by Michelangelo in the mid-1550s to be added to the much-copied *Christ on the Cross*, the original drawing of which Michelangelo had presented to Vittoria Colonna c. 1540. These supplementary figures,

more solidly drawn than those in the present sheet and the five companion drawings, were no doubt provided by the artist at the request of his friend and servant Urbino, to prepare a painting to be executed for Urbino by Marcello Venusti (see Cat. 50).

One of the sheets, no. 4 (PW 437), provides some evidence as to what might have prompted Michelangelo to draw such a series. It carries on its verso a triangular outline encompassing the recto figure of Christ. De Tolnay, who first observed this, suggested that this represented a marble block and indicated that Michelangelo planned to sculpt a Crucifix late in life. This opinion was strongly opposed by Hirst, but he provided no alternative explanation for the verso outline. It seems more likely, as de Tolnay subsequently realised, that this block was intended to be small and of wood, and that the drawing is connected with a wooden Crucifix, referred to in two letters to Michelangelo's nephew Leonardo Buonarroti, of

1 and 2 August 1562 from, respectively, Lorenzo Martioti and Cesare Bittino. They inform Leonardo that Michelangelo planned to carve a *Crucifix* in wood and that he therefore wished Leonardo to forward to him his wood-working tools. A wooden *Crucifix* is obviously a more feasible project for a very old man than one in marble. Thus, as ageing artists often return to the interests of their youth, Michelangelo – who had probably not executed wood carvings in the intervening years, save, perhaps, for small models – reverted to the conception of the *Crucifix* in Santo Spirito, which he had carved exactly seventy years earlier, in 1492. It was probably in preparation for this that Michelangelo whittled the small model, also in Casa Buonarroti, perceptively revalued by de Tolnay in 1965. It is likely that the outline on the verso of the Windsor drawing simply indicated the dimensions and shape of a small piece of wood – which Michelangelo may or may not have carved.

It seems that the scheme to carve a wooden *Crucifix* proceeded no further. Instead, Michelangelo continued to labour fitfully on the *Rondanini Pietà*, which he had had underway for some years, and on which he was still working only a few days before his death on 18 February 1564. It is unlikely that all the *Christ on the Cross* drawings were specifically made with a carving in mind, and it is more likely that the idea of a carving provided the impetus for what became a series of meditations. They could be seen as a form of spiritual exercise, concentrating the artist's mind and spirit on the redemptive sacrifice; the old man at the left of the present drawing might well be an allusive self-portrait, like Michelangelo's representation of himself as Nicodemus in the *Florence Pietà*.

But the theme of the Crucifixion haunted Michelangelo, and his visual ideas pursued the archaising path that they had followed for some years. When writing about the *Pietà*, another drawing that Michelangelo had made for Vittoria Colonna, probably toward the mid-1540s (Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Hadley, 1968, no. 7/Corpus 460; black chalk, 295 × 195 mm, reduced at the top by about 50 mm), Condivi remarked that the Y-shaped Cross under which the Virgin was seated was that carried by the Bianchi during the great plague of 1348. This can hardly have come from Condivi's own store of knowledge, and he undoubtedly learned of it from Michelangelo. Together with the fact that in the *Pietà* the cross's upright bears a quotation from Dante, it emphasises that Michelangelo was turning consciously both to archaic sources and to his own youth, for what is generally recognised as his earliest drawing is a copy after Giotto. In the Wind-

sor drawing, the "Bianchi Cross" is used again, and the sliding sideways movement of Christ's body recalls the painfully intense small-scale crucifixes of Giovanni Pisano.

Apart from the conjectural impetus provided by the projected *Crucifix* of 1562, there is no external evidence to date these drawings. Most scholars place the series in the mid-1550s, but it is likely that this is too early. The highly pictorial style, and the technique, with successive application of chalk, brown wash, and layers of white, come, as Hirst has noted, closest to the style and technique of Michelangelo's drawings for the Porta Pia of c. 1560–1. The compiler believes that the Porta Pia drawings are a *terminus post quem* rather than a *terminus ante quem* for the *Christ on the Cross* drawings, and that they were made between 1562 and Michelangelo's death in February 1564.

The identities of the figures beneath the Cross have been much disputed. That at the right seems most likely to be St. John, while that at the left might be the Centurion, also present at the Crucifixion and one of the first gentile converts. Of course, if Michelangelo was creating a mystical rather than historical representation of the subject, then the left-hand figure might be any saint – or even non-saint – with whom he felt a strong identity.

On the verso of the present sheet, the Crucified Christ is found again, in a slightly more contorted and angular form. Michelangelo presumably made this as a correction to the figure on the recto but, as far as is known, did not pursue this particular type.

Also on the verso are found the *Bona Roti* inscription and the irregular numbering, one of the two occasions when these – or one of them – occurs on a sheet claimed to have a Casa Buonarroti provenance. If this claim is correct, then a second sheet of drawings in addition to that in the British Museum (W27/Corpus 185) owned by the *Bona Roti* and Irregular Numbering Collectors found its way into the Casa Buonarroti, probably, like the British Museum sheet, as one of Michelangelo the Younger's acquisitions. It is worth noting that the forms of the numbers at the upper right of the recto are, as far as the compiler is aware, found only on this sheet, which may indicate that it passed through the hands of yet another collector after it left the *Bona Roti*/Irregular Numbering Collection(s) and before it entered (if it did) Casa Buonarroti.

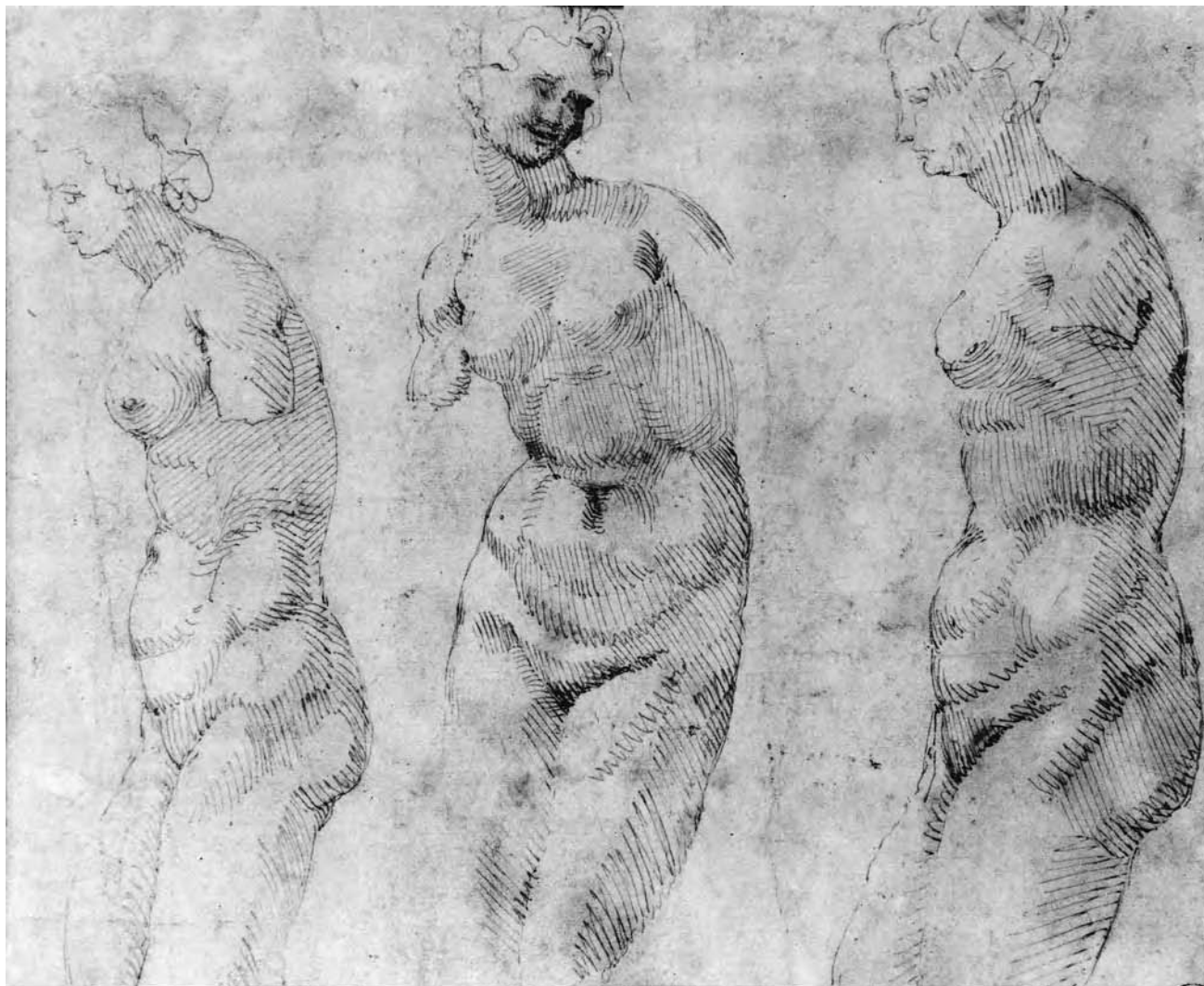
History

The *Bona Roti* Collector; The Irregular Numbering Collector; Unidentified Collector? Casa Buonarroti?;

Jean-Baptiste Wicar; Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

- Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonaroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–50] (“Another design [of Our Lord on the Cross], smaller, in which two figures are introduced.”). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 23 (“[A] very noble study. . . . On the reverse is a study for the Saviour.”). The Athenaeum, 16 July 1836 (“‘Crucifixions;’ interesting to the student; of some we cannot pronounce upon the authenticity, but all displaying a style of design reprehended in Zeuxis, – gross rather than grand.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 38 (As 1836.). Fisher, 1862, pp. 3–4, pl. 6 (As Woodburn, 1842.). Fisher, 1865, II, p. 20, pl. 6 (As 1862.). Robinson, 1870, no. 72 (Preliminary design for a *Crucifixion* for Vittoria Colonna; related to six other studies in various collections, and one in Christ Church. “Michel Angelo’s intention seems to have been to invest each separate essay with some special and novel feature, and whilst confining himself strictly to the orthodox symmetrical ordonnance of three figures only, to give to each composition a distinctive character of dramatic action and expression. In the present design, it may be inferred from the drooping head of our Saviour that He has just expired, and the Virgin, seen directly in front and standing rigidly erect, her head bowed down and the palms of her hands pressed convulsively against her temples, may be supposed to be uttering a wail of anguish. St John on the opposite side . . . standing somewhat behind the cross, steps forward on the instant and with the upper part of his body bent forward, hands outspread, and eager sympathetic countenance, directs his gaze towards the stricken mother of our Lord. This is probably the most naturalistic and touching of the several designs.”) Fisher, 1872, II, p. 20, pl. 6 (As 1852.). Black, 1875, p. 215, no. 62. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 224. Fisher, 1879, XLV/47 (“This drawing exhibits many alterations, only partly indicated in the plate.”). Berenson, 1903, I, p. 225, no. 1574 (With Virgin and St John. “The types are those we encounter in the Cappella Paolina.”). Thode, 1908, II, p. 472 (Late, one of a series: Mary at left, St. John at right.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 180 (Mary on the right; St John on the left. Linked with other Crucifixion drawings.). Thode, 1913, no. 446 (Inversion of Mary and St. John seen by Robinson and Frey incorrect.). Panofsky, 1922, p. 12 (c. 1540 or later; related to Crucifix drawn for Vittoria Colonna. The St. John resembles the figure in the right foreground of the *Crucifixion of St. Peter*.). Baumgart, 1935b, p. 54 (Crucifixion series probably of the late 1550s or early 1560s; self-sufficient works.). Berenson, 1938, I, p. 234, no. 1574 (As 1903.). Wilde, 1949, p. 260 (One of series of late Golgotha groups: “independent works of graphic art.”). Goldscheider, 1951, no. 125 (“[M]uch earlier than the series of late Crucifixion drawings,” c. 1546. St Peter on the left, St John on the right.). De Tolnay, 1951, pp. 153, 293 (Recto: “la Vierge et Saint Jean ont l’air de fuir avec horreur le lieu du supplice.” c. 1545–50.). Wilde, 1953a, p. 120 (One of at least seven known treatments.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 99 (c. 1557). Parker, 1956, no. 343 (Recto: one of a group of late Crucifixion drawings. Generally dated c. 1554. Identification of figures uncertain. Verso: uncovered in 1953. Essentially the same as recto figure.). Dusler, 1959, no. 204 (Michelangelo, early 1550s. Recto shows Christ on the Cross with the Virgin and John. Verso: Michelangelo.). De Tolnay, 1960, pp. 223–4, no. 254 (c. 1550–6, one of a series of Crucifixion drawings done in preparation for a projected marble group. Recto: figure on the right probably the centurion Stephaton, that on the left Longinus.); no. 255 (Verso: not preparatory for recto but “a fair copy made by Michelangelo shortly after.”). Berenson, 1961, no. 1574 (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1964c, no. 69 (Identification of lateral figures uncertain.). Brugnoli, 1964, no. 58 (1550s; the Centurion and Longinus, responding to the darkness that falls.). Berti, 1965, pp. 480–I, 491 (Recto: elements that suggest Grünwald). Goldscheider, 1965, no. 124 (Redated 1553–6; de Tolnay’s identifications “much more plausible.”). Hartt, 1971, no. 426 (Recto: 1550–5. Virgin at the right and St John at the left.); no. 427 (Verso: 1550–5.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 182 (One of a series of late drawings.). Keller, 1975, no. 63 (After 1550.). De Tolnay, 1975, p. 247 (“The two figures appear to bear all the responsibility for the crime which has been committed.”). Keller, 1976, fig. 173 (As 1975.). De Tolnay, 1978, Corpus III, no. 415 (As 1960.). Liebert, 1983, pp. 409 (Recto: “the naked John and Mary march forward, drawn like uncomprehending primeval beings.”). De Vecchi, 1984, pl. 118 (Michelangelo, late.). Hirst, 1988, p. 58 (The mourners “are male and female, but . . . clearly not the Virgin and St. John.”). Joannides, 1992a, pp. 253–4 (Recto: pose of Christ based on Giotto’s *Crucifix* in Santa Maria Novella.). Perrig, 1991, pp. 94–8, fig. 105 (Recto: by Venusti.). Perrig, 1999, pp. 240–I (As 1991; from Farnese Collection.). Paoletti, 2000, pp. 58–9, 77 (The clothed figure begun nude and then draped, firstly with a short tunic exposing the lower legs, identifying the figure as male, and then with a sash and trailing robe identifying it as female – the Virgin. The features of the left-hand figure “bear a distinct similarity to Michelangelo.”).



CATALOGUE 58

ATTRIBUTED TO PIERO D'ARGENTA

Recto: Three Studies of an Antique Statue of Venus

ATTRIBUTED TO AN UNIDENTIFIED LATE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY

FLORENTINE ARTIST

Verso: A Male Nude

1846.133; R.3; P.II 412

Dimensions: 201 × 240 mm

Medium

Recto: Pen and ink.

Verso: Red chalk.

Condition

Bevel inlay adhered to verso.

Recto: There is overall discolouration and surface dirt.

There are various tears and a tear repair at the top left





edge. There is minor surface abrasion near the edges and various infills, particularly at the corners.

Verso: Overall surface dirt and various localised staining.

Description

This sheet is made up of two sheets of off-white hand-made lightweight laid paper laminated together. The chain lines of the recto sheet run vertically; those of the verso sheet run horizontally. A watermark is visible at the lower right of a cross above the linked monogram IHS below which are initials, I R on a smaller scale. This watermark, which is on the verso sheet (i.e., that bearing the red chalk drawing) seems to be a later version of one recorded by Briquet, no. 9461, in Reggio-Emilia, 1522.

This state of affairs presents various problems, for the (most probable) interpretation of which the compiler is much indebted to Drs. Catherine Whistler and Julian Brooks. It may be best to introduce these problems by citing Robinson: "The study on the verso was hidden from view by a backing paper, pasted over it but brought to light by the writer on the occasion of his examination for the present Catalogue." Joseph Fisher's drawn copy of this red chalk drawing, included in his extra-illustrated copy of Robinson's catalogue preserved in the Ashmolean's Print Room, shows the figure, which Robinson thought of as

Narcissus, in reverse to its real direction. Robinson clearly did not realise that what he took to be a single sheet, with a pen drawing on the recto and a red chalk drawing on the verso, was in reality made up of a laminate of two very thin sheets; he thought he could see the red chalk drawing of a figure directly, but he was in fact seeing it in reverse, by transparency, through the back of the second sheet. Thus, at some time, the first "original" sheet with the pen drawing was strengthened by another sheet bearing a red chalk drawing. Incomprehensibly, this second sheet was attached to the first not by its blank side but by that which had already been drawn upon. Thus, the red chalk image appeared reversed because it could only be seen from the verso of the now laminated sheet. Subsequently, this side must have been backed by an opaque or semi-opaque mount. This mount was no doubt that removed by Robinson to reveal what he took to be a new drawing by the young Michelangelo.

On this verso, Robinson seems to have inscribed, in graphite as was his custom, the number that the sheet was to take in his catalogue, 3, and his too is probably – but not certainly – a further inscription, also in graphite, *Michelangiolo? / l'Antico*. This numbering and inscription remains visible, but only by transmitted light, since they are on the verso of the backing sheet, which is now

attached to the blank verso of the sheet on which the pen drawing was made. This means that between the publication of Robinson's catalogue in 1870, and Parker's in 1956, the sheet must have undergone conservation treatment, probably at the British Museum. At this time, it was presumably realised that what Robinson had taken to be a single piece of paper was in fact a laminate. The two sheets must then have been detached from one another, and the sheet bearing the red chalk drawing reattached to that bearing the pen drawing, but now in its proper sense with the side of the second sheet that carries the chalk work exposed to view, so that the red chalk drawing now appears the right way round, in the opposite direction to Fisher's drawing. In this process, the side of the second sheet on which Robinson had made his inscriptions – which were not erased – was concealed between the two layers.

Discussion

Recto

Another version of the recto, in Florence (CB28F/B213/Corpus 126; pen and ink, 303 × 274 mm, irregular) includes four studies after the same antique model. Three are the same size, and arranged in the same order, as those on the present sheet; the fourth study, not found here, is of the same torso, seen from the back. CB28, which is by a fairly feeble hand, and surely not by Bartolommeo Passerotti, to whom it has sometimes been attributed, includes a further study, of the head of a bald man, looking down. The identical head, somewhat better drawn, recurs on a sheet by a different artist, in the Uffizi (617E/B212/Corpus 127; pen and ink, 149 × 212 mm), on which is also found what must be a facsimile copy of a lost *concetto* by Michelangelo for the scene of the *Flood* on the Sistine ceiling. The bald head is no doubt copied from a lost drawing by Michelangelo, and Michelangelo's original was probably made after a sculptural model – perhaps an antique – since other drawings after this head, made from different angles, are known (see de Tolnay, 1975, p. 102). A similar, but not identical, head does occur in the *Flood*, and it could be that the originals of both the head study and the quartet of nude studies on CB28F and the trio on the present sheet were made in preparation for that fresco, in which several nude women are represented.

However, on balance, this seems unlikely. The originals of the nude studies on the present sheet and on CB28F were probably made as practice drawings, somewhat before 1508–9. There are close similarities with female nudes studied on a sheet of drawings in the Musée Condé, Chantilly (Lanfranc de Panthou 38 recto/Corpus

24; pen and ink, 261 × 386 mm), which were no doubt based on the same antique fragment. The figure on the right of the present sheet, in left profile, is very like that on the right of that in Chantilly. Another drawing by Michelangelo, probably of c. 1505, visible on the laid-down verso of a sheet in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Rennes (Inv. 794.1.2913/Corpus 632; pen and ink, 250 × 138 mm), of the haunches of a female nude from the rear, shows that Michelangelo continued to study the female form as represented in the sculpture of classical antiquity. Michelangelo was later to study a similar antique fragment in a series of black chalk drawings made in the early 1520s, when he was planning the female allegories for the New Sacristy. His studies are now divided between the Casa Buonarroti and the British Museum:

1. W43/Corpus 232; black chalk, 256 × 180 mm
2. W44/Corpus 233; black chalk, 202 × 110 mm
3. CB16F/B69/Corpus 234; black chalk, 147 × 100 mm
4. CB 41F/B70/Corpus 231; black chalk, 200 × 147 mm

As Wilde first indicated, all four were no doubt once parts of a single sheet. Michelangelo referred to the same torso in a now fragmentary drawing of the same period (Louvre, Inv.725 verso/J23/Corpus 230; black chalk, 223 × 123 mm).

The attribution of the present drawing to Raffaello da Montelupo is understandable but unconvincing. It contains a good deal of hatching, which runs from lower right to upper left, characteristic of a left-handed draughtsman, but nearly as much hatching conforms to that of a right-handed artist. In no known drawing does Raffaello copy so precisely Michelangelo's graphic style, and he generally employs for his copies a medium different from that of the original. Furthermore, he seems to have copied relatively few drawings from phases of Michelangelo's work prior to that of the New Sacristy.

There exists a group of pen drawings made by an artist working close to Michelangelo, which must date from late in the fifteenth or early in the sixteenth century. The compiler has conjecturally attributed this group to Michelangelo's friend and assistant Piero d'Argenta, who also seems to be the most likely candidate for the authorship of the present recto. The group includes the following:

1. London, British Museum, 1859-5-14-825, a nude man, with head and shoulders missing, holding a cup and a jug; pen and ink, some stylus indentation, 168 × 135 mm (irregular, maximum dimensions). Currently ascribed tentatively to Giovanni Antonio Sodoma, this unpublished drawing was part of the Buonarroti purchase of

1859 and is likely to have been made by an artist close to Michelangelo. Its handling is close to that of the others in the group.

2. Oxford, Christ Church, Byam Shaw 704 and 705, one sheet now divided into two, containing studies of lions on the recto and a sketch of a *Pietà* on the verso; pen and ink, 222 × 346 mm, maximum, combined.

3. Paris, Louvre, Inv. 701/J46; pen and ink, 378 × 208 mm, with a *Bound Satyr* on the recto and a female nude similar to that left of centre in the Chantilly drawing on the verso.

4. Paris, Louvre, Inv. 846/J45; pen and ink, 232 × 329 mm, after Michelangelo's much-copied model in the Casa Buonarroti, variously connected with the marble *David* and the lost *Hercules*.

5. Paris, Louvre, *Hercules and the Nemean Lion*, Inv. 687/J44/Corpus 12; pen and ink, 315 × 227 mm, sometimes given to Michelangelo himself and displaying intimate knowledge of his style.

6. Vienna Albertina, Birke-Kertesz 133/Corpus 13; pen and ink, 275 × 385 mm.

These drawings are closely interrelated, and some may adapt lost Michelangelo originals.

We know from correspondence that Piero d'Argenta, named from his home town near Ferrara, was with Michelangelo from at least 1498; he remained friendly with the master and wrote warmly to him as late as 1530. Hirst (1994–5) suggested that he might be the executant of the paintings attributed to the Master of the Manchester Madonna – with the exception of the name piece – and this hypothesis is supported by the fact (Agosti and Hirst, 1996) that Pablo de Cespedes named Piero as the painter of the lost *Stigmatisation of Saint Francis*, designed by Michelangelo for the first chapel on the left in the church of San Pietro in Montorio in Rome, and in situ until c.1590 when it was replaced by the extant fresco by Giovanni de'Vecchi. All the “Manchester” paintings would seem to depend on drawings by Michelangelo, and the pronounced angularity and slimness of their figures may be the result of a conscious effort on Michelangelo's part to conform to his friend's Ferrarese aesthetic (Louvre RF 4112 recto/J17/Corpus 25; pen and ink, 392 × 284 mm, might have been made by Michelangelo for Piero: The type of the Child is close to those of the paintings). Because the relation between the two men was evidently close, it is inherently probable that Piero drew in a Michelangelesque style.

The subjects of this group of drawings fit well with Michelangelo's Roman work of the 1490s. The recto of 2 and 6 depict virtually identical lions. The former,

which also carries a sketch of Michelangelo's *Bacchus*, bears an inscription “*Sandro di Domenico*,” perhaps the same “*alessandro*” named on the verso of Louvre, Inv. 726/J2/Corpus 31. Drawing 2 carries on its verso a rough sketch based on Michelangelo's *Pietà* in St. Peter's, plus a contemporary inscription which names “Baldassare da Siena” (i.e., Baldassare Peruzzi), whom Michelangelo could well have met when he visited Siena c. 1501 to survey the Piccolomini altar in the Duomo, the setting for the statues he was contracted to carve. It may be significant that 5 links with another work in the same church: the relief by Federighi of *Hercules and the Nemean Lion*. Both drawings and inscriptions suggest that the draughtsman knew the St. Peter's *Pietà*, travelled with Michelangelo, and was acquainted with Baldassare Peruzzi: All this would fit well with what can be reconstructed of Piero.

Verso

This drawing is certainly by a later draughtsman. No scholar since Robinson has considered it to be an original, nor can any link be adduced with a known work by Michelangelo. Robinson connected it tentatively with the marble figure in the Victoria and Albert Museum, then believed to be the *Cupid* that Michelangelo carved for Jacop Galli. But that work has long been transferred to its true author, Valerio Cioli, and the recent rediscovery of Michelangelo's *Cupid* in the French Cultural Legation in New York has eliminated any possible link with either the statue or the present drawing. Taken by itself, it would have been extremely difficult to date. However, since the watermark strongly suggests a sixteenth-century origin, it is presumably because the drawing is made in so naive and direct a style that it acquires a quasi neo-classical look. A comparable instance in the Ashmolean's collection is perhaps Parker II, 593, whose date has been disputed between the sixteenth and the eighteenth century.

Drawn Copy

A copy of the figure on the right of the recto was made by Sir Edward Burne-Jones in 1866–7, on fol. 8 recto of his sketchbook in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1070–2.

History

William Young Ottley; Sir Thomas Lawrence (no stamp); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Ottley, 1808–23, p. 25 (“I have lately had the good fortune to meet with a drawing, which I am strongly of

opinion was made . . . by Michael Angelo in the garden of Lorenzo de Medici. It represents an antique female torso, naked, drawn in three different points of view with a fine pen, and in a style of execution exactly resembling the drawing of two draped figures standing [Cat. 24 verso].”). Lawrence Inventory, 1830 M. A. Buonaroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–86] (“Three studies from the same female torso, pen.”). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 5 (“[F]rom the antique, at the time Michael Angelo was studying in the garden of Lorenzo de Medici.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 63 (As 1836.). Robinson, 1870, no. 3 (Recto and verso both by Michelangelo; the verso resembles the *Youthful Cupid* in the South Kensington Museum, executed c. 1497 for Jacopo Galli.). Black, 1875, p. 213, no. 3. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 236. Fagan, 1883, p. 136 (Probably from the same model as BM W43/Corpus 232 recto, and CB 28F/B. 213/Corpus 126 recto.). Berenson, 1903, I, p. 267, no. 1698 (Recto: probably Passerotti. Verso: same hand.). Thode, 1908, I, p. 64 (Not autograph, but side view similar to figure on Michelangelo’s drawing at Chantilly 29/Corpus 24 recto.). Thode, 1913, no. 388a (As 1908. Connected with drawings by Michelangelo at Chantilly 29/Corpus 24 recto, CB 28F/Corpus 126, and Louvre Inv. 725/J23/Corpus 230 recto.). Berenson, 1938, I, p. 267, no. 1698 (After originals by Michelangelo; the figure on the right copied from Chantilly 29/Corpus 24 recto.). Delacre, 1938, pp. 360–1 (Copy?; related to CB 28F/Corpus 126 recto and Chantilly 29/Corpus 24 recto.). Goldscheider, 1951, under no. 13 (After same antique as Michelangelo’s drawing at Chantilly 29/Corpus 24 recto; same figure in four attitudes recurs on Passerotti’s drawing, CB 28F/Corpus 126 recto. Another copy [sic] in Louvre Inv. 725/J23/Corpus 235 recto.). Wilde, 1953a, p. 80 (Female figure at right of Chantilly 29/Corpus 24 recto probably derives from a Cnidian Venus.). Parker, 1956, no. 412 (“The shading is to a large extent left-hand, and the attribution to Montelupo, therefore, inherently probable.” The female figure turned to the left on Chantilly 29/Corpus 24 recto from the same antique, which recurs in BM W43/Corpus 232, 44/Corpus 233; CB 28F/Corpus 126 recto and Inv. 725/Corpus 230 recto.). Dussler, 1959, no. 597a (Rejected.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1698 (As 1903/1938.). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, p. 43 (Female nude of Chantilly 29/Corpus 24 recto probably derives from central nude in Siena *Three Graces* rather than a Cnidian Venus. This drawing, by a pupil, probably inspired by the same figure.). De Tolnay, 1976, Corpus II, p. 52 (Reproduced in relation to BM W43/Corpus 232, derived from a Capitoline Venus.). Lanfranc de Panthou, 1995, p. 38 (Atelier. de Tolnay’s hypothesis of the figure’s origin in

the Siena *Graces* is reasonable.). Joannides, 2003a, p. 187, under no. 44 (Present recto conjecturally attributed to Piero d’Argenta.).

CATALOGUE 59

A Beckoning Man and Other Sketches

1846.92; R.15; P.II 346

Dimensions: 310 × 182 mm

Medium

Pen and ink. A later framing line in pen and ink.

Condition

The sheet is lined and much of the upper right corner is made up; it is extensively damaged with major toned and in-drawn infills; some of the toning has blackened. There are extensive toned infills at ink fractures and losses; major tear repairs, numerous black accretions, and local staining, some from ink. The primary support, which is very brittle, is drummed by the four edges to the backboard of the mount, so the verso is not visible.

Numbering

Lower right: no. F5? in pen.

Description

- A. Same-size copy of a figure on BM W4 recto/Corpus 48.
- B. Same-size copy of a figure on BM W4 verso/Corpus 48.
- C. Same-size copy of a figure on BM W4 verso/Corpus 48.
- D. Same-size copy of a figure on BM W4 verso/Corpus 48.
- E. Small pinioned? figure.
- F. Small pinioned? figure.
- G. F, seen from a different angle.
- H. Seated figure, washing hands, or giving instructions.
- I. Study of a left lower leg.
- J. St. John the Baptist filling his bowl.
- K. Figure in contorted pose.

Discussion

Four of the drawings on this page of copies [A–D] are same-size replicas – probably tracings – of surviving drawings by Michelangelo, found on two sides of a sheet datable c. 1505 now in the British Museum (W4 recto/Corpus 48; pen and ink, 375 × 230 mm). No

originals of any of the other drawings on the present page are known, but there can be no doubt that they too are replicas of drawings made by Michelangelo at about the same time. With the exception of the leg study I, which bears some resemblance to the right leg of the *Rebellious Slave*, and which might copy a drawing made in preparation for the Julius Tomb, all the other drawings on this page of which originals are not known are also found on a page that passed through the London art market in the early 1970s (Neerman, n.d. [c. 1972], no. 2; pen and ink, 318 × 221 mm; see Joannides 2002b) attributed, unconvincingly, to Battista Franco. The ex-Neerman page contains a further sketch that is known from a third sheet of copies (formerly Brussels, Emile Wauters collection, present whereabouts unknown; reproduced by K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 249a; pen and ink, 220 × 165 mm; since the verso of the ex-Wauters sheet bears a fragment of a letter in Michelangelo's hand, it evidently comes from Michelangelo's studio), as well as other drawings in the same style, which are also obviously replicas of sketches by Michelangelo, but of which no other versions survive. The ex-Neerman page was certainly not copied from the present one for the version of K that it bears is shown at greater length.

It is possible that Michelangelo's original sketches of the three putti on the British Museum sheet were drawn in connection with a scheme that included the Christ Child and the infant Baptist. Another of the drawings on W4 verso, not copied here, seems to have been used in Michelangelo's *Taddei Tondo*, now in the Royal Academy London, whose date is probably c. 1504. The main figure (copied here as A) is generally connected with the *Battle of Cascina* and may have been drawn with that project in view; but no figure resembling this appears in any other known drawing connected with it, and the compiler's suggestion that it might have been made for a figure in a *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand*, for which Michelangelo made numerous drawings c. 1506, remains an alternative.

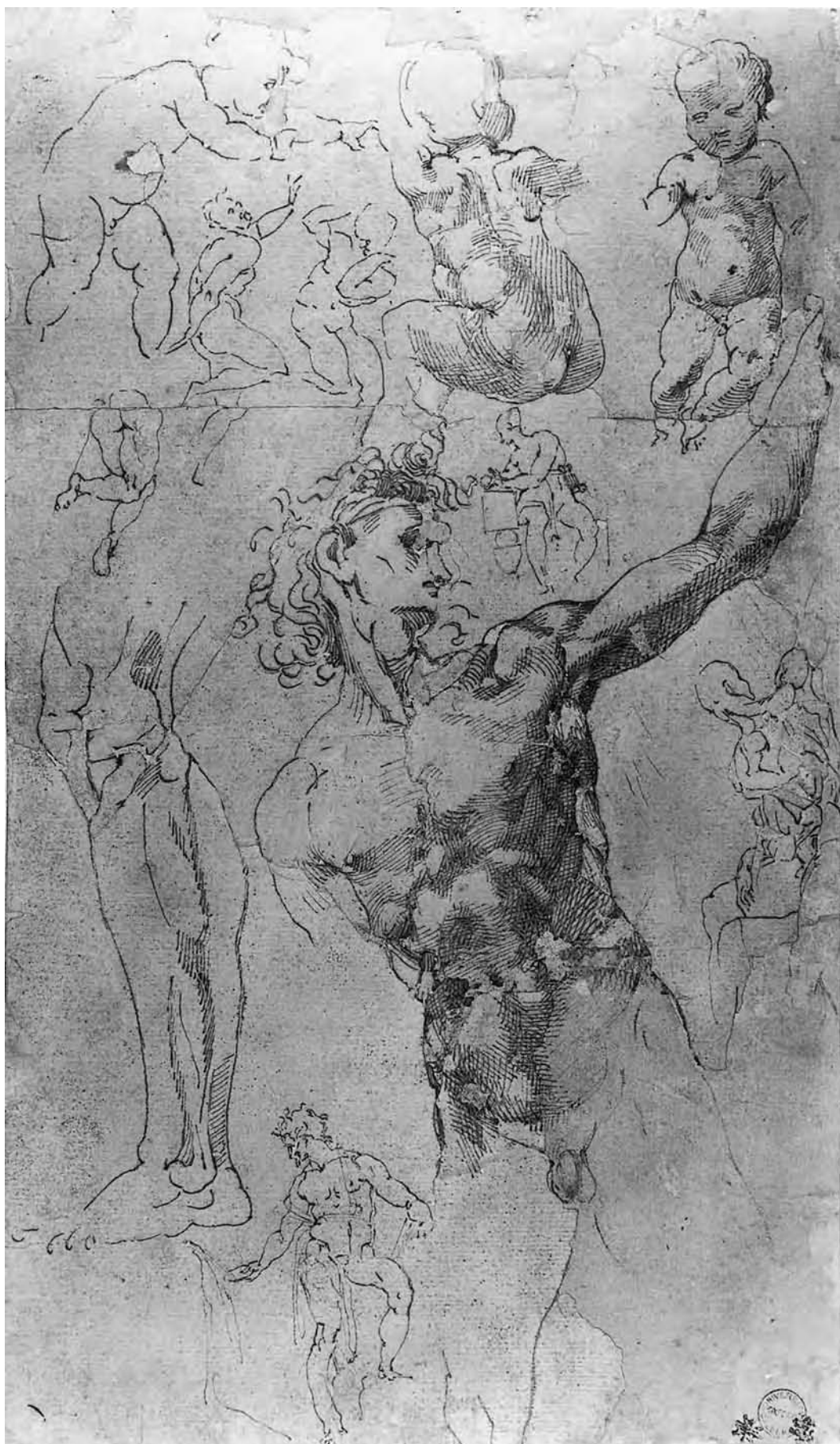
An important piece of evidence for the project of a *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand* is the fact that the figure in a contorted pose on the present page (K – more clearly recorded on the ex-Neerman page) is found in a drawing, known in three versions, that depicts seven men crucified on trees. One of these is by Michelangelo's young acquaintance Alonso Berruguete; one, by an Italian hand of the early sixteenth century; and the third is a later copy, but all of them must go back to a Michelangelo original. Three of the other figures on the present page, all of which recur, in a different relation, on the ex-Neerman page, might also have been made for this project. For a fuller discussion of this putative project, see

Joannides, 1994c and 2002b. An additional piece of evidence in support of the view that Michelangelo designed such a scheme is provided by a drawing attributed to him and recorded in Jabach's posthumous inventory of 1695 (Py, 2001, no. 769): *Un empereur sur son trône, entouré de gens de guerre, qui fait assommer un homme devant lui, à la plume, lavé sur papier bistré, long de 14 3/4 pouces sur 10 1/2 pouces*.

The small figure in the lower centre of the present page, *Saint John the Baptist Filling his Bowl* [J] – also found in the ex-Neerman page – was obviously drawn in preparation for a painting. Although this episode had been treated earlier within Saint John cycles, it seems to have been isolated as a self-sufficient subject only in the late quattrocento. An intarsia panel at the left side of the Tornabuoni Chapel in Santa Maria Novella, whose fresco scheme was being executed when the adolescent Michelangelo was in the studio of Ghirlandaio, shows *Saint John the Baptist Filling His Bowl* in an exceptionally intense design which has nothing to do with Ghirlandaio but seems to be by Filippino Lippi. Michelangelo no doubt recalled this when making his own drawing. Michelangelo may have had some responsibility for the theme's propagation: Paintings of *Saint John the Baptist Filling His Bowl* became quite popular in Florence after c. 1510; examples survive by Bugiardini and Bacchiacca among others, although no known examples reflect the present design, in which, unlike most renderings of the subject, the Baptist is shown not seated but standing, eager to begin his mission, a successor of Moses. However, a painting of *Saint John the Baptist Filling His Bowl* of c. 1517 by Raphael's pupil Giovanni Francesco Penni (London, formerly Pouncey Collection; oil on panel, 648 × 485 mm; identified by Philip Pouncey; published in Joannides, 1993), which shows the Saint standing, may reflect some awareness of Michelangelo's idea.

Only one commission that could in principle have some relevance to such a project is known: Cardinal Ali-dosi wrote to Michelangelo on 3 May 1510 asking him to execute a fresco of John baptising Christ in the chapel of his Villa at La Magliana. Although the subject is not the same, it could, in principle, have been planned as a complementary episode. However, the Cardinal's request seems to have had no sequel, and because it is improbable that the original of the present sketch could have been as late as 1510, it is most likely that it was sketched c. 1505 for some entirely independent project, perhaps for a friend.

The small seated figure, whose sex is unclear, turning to what seems to be a receptacle on his or her right, is difficult to interpret. It too recurs on the ex-Neerman page. There is some relation to the seated figures on the



platform in the various drawings for the 1505 and 1513 phases of the Julius Tomb, but these are insufficient to connect it securely with that project. It might be a judging figure in the *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand*, but, unlike two figures found on the ex-Neerman page, it is difficult to see how this figure would have fitted into that composition. The arrangement might also suggest Pilate washing his hands, but Michelangelo was involved with no known commission that might have included Pilate until he came to sketch out ideas for the Borgherini Chapel in San Pietro in Montorio for his friend Sebastiano in 1516, and the present figure can hardly be so late.

The figure K – clearer in the ex-Neerman page – was employed by Primaticcio in the design of a *Bacchanal*, frescoed in a pendentive of the Salle de Bal at Fontainebleau by Niccolò dell'Abbate 1552–6. Another fresco in the Salle de Bal, the *Concert* on the end wall, contains two *putti* borrowed from the verso of the British Museum drawing. The figure of Saint John [J] was also adapted by Primaticcio for the pose of Hercules in the scene of *Ulysses Meeting Hercules in Hades*, the twenty-fourth in the series of narratives from the Odyssey frescoed in the Galérie d'Ulysse at Fontainebleau. The figure [A] on BM W4, also has a French linking: It was employed, clad in armour, for that brandishing a severed head in Antoine Caron's *Massacres of the Triumvirate* of 1566 (Musée du Louvre). It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that both W4, whose earliest recorded provenance is French, and the original(s) of the other sketches on the present and ex-Neerman pages, were by c. 1550 in France and probably in the possession of Primaticcio. It is likely that the present tracing was made in France and was acquired there by Lanier; the British Museum sheet remained in France at least until the Mariette sale. At least two companion “anthology” pages of copies of lost and surviving sheets of drawings by Michelangelo, which were probably made in France in the sixteenth century, are known:

1. Montpellier, Musée Atger, Inv. 375; pen and ink, 300 × 200 mm.
2. Montpellier, Musée Fabre, Inv. 864–2–195; pen and ink over black chalk, 294 × 199 mm.

It would be tempting to add to these a third sheet, now in Dublin (National Gallery of Ireland, Inv. 2666; pen and ink, 405 × 251 mm, bearing the stamp of Sir Peter Lely), but none of the originals copied on it can be placed in France during the sixteenth century.

Drawn Copies

A copy of figure A from the present sheet was made by Sir Edward Burne-Jones in 1866–7, on fol. 11 recto of

his sketchbook in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1070–2 (see Østermark-Johansen, 1998, pp. 123 and 126, fig. 34, who thought that it was made after Michelangelo's original, W4, and dated it 1870–2).

History

Nicholas Lanier? (probably L.2885, but so smudged that it is difficult to be sure; for the stamps of the Lanier brothers see Wood, 2003); Unidentified collector (unidentified mark); Lord Hampden; William Young Ottley?, his sale 6–13 July, 1807 lot 377? (“One – the Fall of the Giants, pen and bistre – CAPITAL – from K. Cha.I cabinet.”); Sir Thomas Lawrence (L. 2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Ottley sale, 6–13 July 1807, lot 377? (“One – the Fall of the Giants, pen and bistre – CAPITAL – from K. Cha.I cabinet.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 19 (“A beautiful sheet of studies, for the David Conqueror of Goliath . . . From the Collections of King Charles I, and Lord Hampden.”). Woodburn, 1846, no. 38 (As 1842). Fisher, 1852, p. 3, pl. 10 (As Woodburn, 1842.). Fisher, 1865, I, p. 16, pl. 10 (As 1852.). Robinson, 1870, no. 15 (Michel Angelo “ancient tracings, on thick oiled paper” from recto and verso of drawing in Vaughan Collection [BM W4/Corpus 48] of c. 1500–1504 and other drawings no longer extant.” Woodburn wrongly described main figure in original as being connected with the marble *David*. More probably executed in connection with *Cascina*.). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 14, pl. 10 (As 1852.). Black, 1875, p. 213, no. 15. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 221. Fisher, 1879, XI/10 (Ancient tracing of drawing in Vaughan Collection [BM W4/Corpus 48]). Thode, 1908, I, pp. 101, 113 (Copies of BM W4/Corpus 48] etc.). K. Frey, 1909–11, under no. 92 (After BM W4/Corpus 48 and other lost originals.). Thode, 1913, no. 399 (Copies. Small figures probably connected with *Cascina* but possibly with *Sistine ignudi*.). De Tolnay, 1943a, p. 187 (Sixteenth-century copy of BM W4/Corpus 48.). Goldscheider, 1951, under no. 16 (Copy of BM W4/Corpus 48.). Parker, 1956, no. 346 (Copies from BM W4/Corpus 48 and other sketches.). Dussler, 1959, under no. 169 (Copies from recto and verso of BM W4/Corpus 48.). Joannides, 1994a, p. 23 (Figure [J] employed by Primaticcio in his design for the fresco of *Ulysses Meeting Hercules in Hades* formerly at Fontainebleau.). Joannides, 1994c, pp. 6–7 (Figure [K] connected with composition of the *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand*, known in fragmentary copy drawings in Madrid and Hamburg.). Joannides 2002b, pp. 8–10, 12–14 (Connection established with ex-Neerman sheet, which is analysed in detail; discussion of the John the Baptist composition.).



CATALOGUE 60

Twelve Heads

1846.93; R.32; P.II 347

Dimensions: 383 × 270 mm

Watermark: A flower, close to Briquet 6658, Florence, 1451.

Medium

Red chalk; a faint line in pen and ink. A later framing line in pen and ink.

Condition

The sheet is lined. A number of edge repairs and infills are visible, with some skinning, and it is possible that some white toning has blackened. There are abrasions, a vertical incised line, some small holes and a repaired hole with a flap. The primary support is drummed by the four

edges to the backboard of the mount, and the verso is not visible.

Inscription

Lower right, very faintly in ink: *Michel Angelo? No. 55* in graphite.

Description

A. A male head in right profile with elaborate locks.

B. A small male head in right profile, tilted down.

C. Immediately below B. A small male head facing right, turned slightly upward and outward, perhaps related to the head of Adam in the *Creation of Adam*.

D. A female head in right profile; probably after an original of the 1520s.

E. A female head in right profile, with an expansive head-covering; probably after an original of the 1520s; slightly Pontormesque in flavour.

F. A head copied at the same size as the original from Michelangelo's red chalk study of the head of the *ignudo* left above *Persica* on the verso of his study for Adam in the *Creation of Adam* in the British Museum, W11/Corpus 134.

G. A head of a man, looking downwards, his face tilted slightly upwards. Probably after an original of the *Last Judgement* period.

H. A female head with turban seen from front, tilted upwards; perhaps another view of E. The type is not far from that of the New Sacristy *Dawn*.

I. A male head copied at the same size as the original from Michelangelo's red chalk study of the head on a sheet in the Uffizi 14412F recto/B147/Corpus 379, perhaps made in connection with the *Last Judgement* but in any case of the early 1530s.

J. A head of a young man in right profile.

K. An old satyr? in right profile.

L. A young satyr in right profile.

Discussion

It is certain that two of these heads, and probable that all of them, are copies after drawings by Michelangelo. F is copied from a Michelangelo drawing in the British Museum (W11/Corpus 134 verso; red chalk, 193 × 259 mm) for the head of the *ignudo* to the left above *Persica*, seated next to Adam in the *Creation of Adam*. The figure of the recumbent Adam is studied on the recto of this sheet. I is copied from a study drawn by Michelangelo some twenty years later (Uffizi 14412F recto/B147/Corpus 379; red chalk and pen and ink, 272 × 282 mm). The head is similar to types devised by Michelangelo for the *Last Judgement*, but it does not seem

to have been made with that fresco in mind and was probably drawn a little before the inception of that commission. Both these copies are the same size as the originals. The other heads on the present sheet are probably after lost originals by Michelangelo datable between these two terms. A, for example, is quite similar in characterisation to a head by Michelangelo on a sheet in Princeton (Gibbons, no. 437; black chalk, 183 × 124 mm) as well as, in reverse, to the head drawing by Michelangelo on Cat. 28 verso.

The heads second from right in the top row, D, and at the right of the middle row, H, seem to be related to the head of *Dawn* in the New Sacristy and may have been made after preliminary drawings for it. There is some relation with what was probably once a single sheet of drawings in black chalk, now divided between Turin (Inv. 15716/6 D.C.; 101 × 60 mm) and the Louvre (Inv. 19 and 19 bis; respectively, 175 × 83 mm and 125 × 94 mm). The Louvre drawings are given to Allori by Berenson and by F. Viatte in annotations on the mount; that in Turin was attributed to Rosso by S. Béguin, 1990.

The obvious inference is that the present sheet was made by an artist with access to a group of drawings by Michelangelo. Woodburn affirms that W11 was in the collections of Jonathan Richardson the Elder and Sir Joshua Reynolds, which indicates that it had left Italy by the end of the seventeenth century, but nothing is known of its whereabouts in the sixteenth century. Nevertheless the inscription it bears relates it to a group of drawings by Michelangelo that seems to have been in an Italian – probably Roman – collection in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century and may not have left Italy much before Richardson acquired it. There is a sixteenth-century Italian copy of the recto of W11 in the Louvre (RF 28961 recto/J96; red chalk, 217 × 291 mm), and even though this could have been made as early as 1535, it is probable that it was made somewhat later. The Louvre copy does not have a French provenance, and this reinforces the view that the British Museum sheet was not part of Mini's cache, which would have been in France from 1532. Uffizi 14412F, partly torn, and carrying not particularly attractive drawings, probably never left Italy. Further support for this view is provided by the fact that the lost original of E seems to have been copied by Andrea Commodi on Uffizi 18619F verso right side, which indicates that, in all probability, it was in Casa Buonarroti c. 1580.

This sheet of copies could have been made at any time after Michelangelo drew the head now in the Uffizi, but the watermark supports an early date, and it was probably made shortly after 1530 in Michelangelo's workshop,

of which the draughtsman presumably had free run. Although this is, in effect, an anthology sheet, the treatment of the forms, shown merging with and emerging from each other, suggests that the copyist was aware of Michelangelo's own propensity for overlapping and superimposition. In principle, therefore, it is possible that the present drawing was made by Antonio Mini himself, in which case it would constitute his highest achievement. However, the compiler would find it hard to accept this attribution and, since it may be assumed that Mini's own drawings and copies after Michelangelo went with him to France, together with the originals given him by Michelangelo, one would expect the provenance of the present sheet to be French. However, although nothing is known of its history prior to its appearance in the collection of Jeremiah Harman, there is no suggestion that it came from France.

Alternatively, the present sheet might have been made by one of the other artists who collaborated with Michelangelo in the early 1530s. The style does not immediately suggest a specific candidate, but red chalk drawings by Giovanni Montorsoli, Silvio Cosini, and Niccolò Tribolo are virtually unknown, and much remains to be discovered about these sculptors' graphic work. The copyist is, in any case, likely to have been Florentine.

Because copies F and I are the same size as Michelangelo's originals, it is probable, but obviously not certain, that the other drawings on the present sheet are also the same size as the lost originals that they reproduce.

History

Jeremiah Harman; Samuel Woodburn (Parker's insertion of Sir Thomas Lawrence must be a slip).

References

Woodburn, 1842, no. 81 ("A fine sheet of studies of male and female heads."). Woodburn, 1846, no. 42 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1862, p. 4, pl. 16 (As Woodburn, 1842.). Fisher, 1865, II, p. 24, pl. 17 (As 1862.). Robinson, 1870, no. 32 (Michelangelo. Datable c. 1511–12, perhaps made for Tommaso Cavalieri. [F] developed from a head on British Museum, W11/Corpus 134 verso, close to that of Adam. "Several other of the heads . . . are, if not directly reproduced, probably only slightly altered from those of figures to be found on the ceiling." [A] "has something of the characteristic typical expression of Leonardo da Vinci's youthful heads . . . whilst the outline sketch of a grinning Satyr's face in profile [L] seems to have been inspired by a head in one of Andrea Mantegna's prints (the 'Fighting Tritons.') . . . The style of design of these heads is of inimitable power and perfection; the outlines are firmly

drawn, without any appearance of that uncertainty which so often distinguishes Michelangelo's drawings at a later period, and the shading is laid in in broad and simple masses of graduated tint, as if with a brush: in fact they are modelled up in precisely the same style as the heads in his oil pictures and frescoes. The writer's belief is, that Michelangelo, having been called upon for a sheet of studies to serve as drawing copies, selected various heads from his own works, previously executed; and copied them at once on this paper, on a reduced scale from the Cartoons in his studio"). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 15, pl. 17 (As 1862.). Ruskin, 1872, p. 100 ("[T]his sheet of Vasari's 'teste divine' contains, in fact, not a single drawing of high quality – only one of moderate agreeableness, and two caricatured heads, one of a satyr with hair like the fur of an animal, and one of a monstrous and sensual face such as could only have occurred to the sculptor in a fatigued dream, and which in my own notes I have classed with the vile face in No. 45 [presumably J or K on Cat. 30 recto]."). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 32. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 239. Springer, 1878, pp. 32–3 (By Michelangelo, early, strongly influenced by Leonardo in types and drawing technique. Illustrated.). Fisher, 1879, p. 25, no. 33 ("A Sheet of Studies."). Springer, 1883, I, p. 43, fig. 15 (As 1878.). Portheim, 1889, p. 145 ("[B]esonders der Lockerkopf links oben sich wie eine nachahmung Lionardo's ausnimmt." Criticism of Robinson's view that Michelangelo copied either Mantegna or his own work.). Wölfflin, 1891, pp. 62, 85–7 (A forgery based in part on drawings by Michelangelo. "Einen ächten Zug scheint der junge männliche Kopf in der Mitte links [F] zu besitzen. Er steht den letzten sixtinischen Köpfen nahe."). Knackfuss, 1896, p. 22 (Michelangelo, influenced by Leonardo.). Berenson, 1903, no. 1706 ("[W]retched imitations." [F] after same lost original copied on BM W11/Corpus 134 verso.). Ferri and Jacobsen, 1905, p. 12 (Note that head [I] copied after Uffizi 14412F/Corpus 378.). Steinmann, 1905, II, p. 595 (One of heads copied after same drawing also copied on BM W11/Corpus 134 verso.). Jacobsen, 1907, p. 393 ([F] after same lost original copied on BM W11/Corpus 134 verso.). Thode, 1908, I, p. 262; II, p. 337, 340 (Probably after drawings by Michelangelo of Sistine period; [F] and BM W11/Corpus 134 verso copied from *ignudo* left above *Persica*; [B] and [L] related; [A] from an Ideal Head.). K. Frey, 1907, p. 89 ("unächt."). K. Frey, 1909–11, under no. 155a (Not Michelangelo; by an artist from the second third of the cinquecento aware of drawings by Michelangelo and Leonardo; links with Cat. 1 verso and Louvre Inv. 684/J29/Corpus 95.). Thode, 1913, no. 419 (Copies; [F] after BM W11/Corpus 134 verso; [I] after Uffizi 14412F/Corpus 378.). Berenson,

1938, no. 1706 (As 1903; perhaps by Heemskerck. [I] is after Uffizi 14412F/Corpus 378.). Delacre, 1938, pp. 362–3 (Michelangelo?. Heads from Uffizi 617E/B212/Corpus 127 and CB 28F/B213/Corpus 126 repeated twice in different attitudes and expressions [sic]. [F] inverted [sic] with respect to BM W11/Corpus 134 verso, and immeasurably superior to it.) Wilde, 1953a, p. 24 (F is a copy of verso of BM W11/Corpus 134, erroneously as pen and ink.). Parker, 1956, no. 347 (Compilation of copies. Rejects Robinson's linking of [L] with Mantegna and Berenson's attribution to Heemskerck.). Dusler, 1959, no. 615 (Part copies after Michelangelo; datable to the 1570s or 1580s.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1706 (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1962, p. 184 (Head on Uffizi 14412F/Corpus 378 from which [I] is copied is datable to Last Judgement period.). De Tolnay, 1976, Corpus II, p. 93.

CATALOGUE 61

A Dog Gnawing a Bone

1846.98; P.II 353; R. p. 308, 173

Dimensions: 144 × 110 mm, irregular.

Medium

Pen and ink over traces of black chalk.

Condition

The sheet is extensively foxed on the verso edges. There are some accretions and dirty and discoloured edges. There is uneven discolouration. The primary support is drummed by the four edges to the backboard of the mount, so the verso is not visible.

Discussion

This drawing was made after the dog that surmounts the helmet of the Count of Canossa as seen in an elaborate Presentation Drawing made by Michelangelo c. 1520. The traditional identification of the subject, questioned by Wilde, was re-affirmed by Gere and Turner (exh. Cat. London, 1975, p. 96, under no. 115) on the basis, first remarked by Robinson (1870, p. 19), of the rebus of dog and bone so prominently displayed on the man's headgear (*cane* + *ossa* = *canossa*). Michelangelo's original is lost but a fine copy, often in the past identified as the original, is in the British Museum. The present drawing, which might have been made by an engraver, shows its forms at the same size as those of the British Museum drawing.

Michelangelo believed himself related to the Count of Canossa, and the current Count either accepted this or



humoured the artist by appearing to do so, and addressed Michelangelo as his kinsman. Whether the drawing was made for the Count is unknown, but it is an obvious possibility. In any case, it probably represents not an idealised living person, but an imaginary portrait of the founder of the Count's (and, in Michelangelo's belief, his own) line. The Count of Canossa drawing was highly influential and much copied. In 1613 it was etched by Antonio Tempesta (*The Illustrated Bartsch*, 37, no. 1371; 202 × 146 mm) with the inscription *Canossiae familiae nobilissimo Stipiti Michaelangelus Bonarotus delineabit*. It was paired by Tempesta with another etching (no. 1372; 202 × 146 mm) inscribed, *Michaelangelus Bonarotus inven.*, which was made after the *Ideal Head of a Woman*, a drawing by Michelangelo now in the British Museum (W42 recto/Corpus 316; black chalk, 287 × 235 mm). Tempesta's prints are crude and were no doubt made after derivations from Michelangelo's drawings rather than the originals. The female head cannot be the Marchesa of Pescara (i.e., Vittoria Colonna), which, according to Wilde, is the traditional identification of the British Museum drawing, unless it is an ideal portrait of her as she might have appeared in her youth – but she may be an imaginary portrait of the daughter of the first Count of Canossa, Countess Matilda of Tuscany.

Among drawn copies of Michelangelo's lost original of the Count of Canossa are:



1. London, British Museum 1895-9-15-492/W87 (but see also discussion under W42); black chalk, 410 × 263 mm. By far the best surviving version, until 1953 generally believed to be the original.
2. Sotheby's sale, London, 9 July 1981, lot 11 as Alessandro Allori; black chalk, 414 × 275 mm.
3. Christie's sale, London, 26 November 1973, lot 339; black chalk, 388 × 255 mm.
4. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. 10978/J71; black chalk, 235 × 183 mm, fragmentary. Made on tracing paper that has in part disintegrated; only the head survives.

These copies are all on the same scale, no doubt that of the original.

History

Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Woodburn, 1842, no. 154 (By Raphael.). Robinson, 1870, p. 308, no. 172 (Copy from Michelangelo. After helmet of Count of Canossa; "probably by an engraver of the sixteenth century."). Parker, 1956, no. 353 (Timid copy of a detail from Michelangelo's lost drawing.). De Tolnay,

1973, p. 39 (Timid copy after a lost drawing for the head-dress of the Count of Canossa; the head and neck anticipate Cat. 36; for the hind legs, see BM W50/Corpus 305.). De Tolnay, 1976, Corpus II, no. 303 bis (As 1973.).

CATALOGUE 62

BATTISTA FRANCO (c. 1510–1561)

An Ideal Head

1846.94; R.53(2); P.II 348

Dimensions: 148 × 163 mm, irregular, most of the top edge and the lower right corner made up.

Medium

Black chalk.

Condition

The sheet is tissue lined. There are major toned infills, a diagonal pressed-out crease, and repaired tears, with some skinning at repairs. The sheet has abrasions, fibrous accretions, general uneven discolouration and local foxing.

Inscription

At lower right, in pen: *n° 67*; partially in Greek: *δεττω...*

Mich: Buon^{ti}.

Discussion

To the compiler and to A. V. Lauder, the attribution by Robinson and Thode of this somewhat varied copy after Cat. 31 to Battista Franco, doubted by Parker, is convincing. The doubled contours are characteristic of his work as are the slightly over-emphatic internal demarcations. It may be compared, for example, with Franco's *Male Head* in the Museo Horne in Florence (Inv. 5749; black chalk, 208 × 181 mm; see Garofalo, 2000, no. 12).

Franco often – although not invariably – copied drawings by other artists, including those by Michelangelo, in a medium different from the original: Indeed, the Ashmolean Museum owns his splendid pen and ink copy (Parker, II, 236; 294 × 126 mm) after Rosso's red chalk *Old Woman* (perhaps a Sibyl) at Chatsworth (Inv. 712; Jaffé, 1994, no. 58; 274 × 136 mm).

The present copy is drawn freely and makes no attempt to replicate the original. It was probably executed shortly after 1540, when Franco was liberating himself from Michelangelo's spell. There exists another copy of Michelangelo's original, more exact than the present drawing and probably made a little earlier, that the compiler and A. V. Lauder also believe to be by Battista Franco: Oxfordshire, Private Collection; black chalk, 176 × 132 mm, from the collection of Carlo Prayer (L.2044).

The early collector (see also Cat. 70) who inscribed the drawing in Greek may have done so in imitation of the practice of Vincenzo Borghini, but is, as the compiler is assured by R. Scorza, distinct from him. A sheet of studies in the British Museum as Raffaello da Montelupo but not quite certainly by him (1946-7-13-374; pen and ink, 146 × 202 mm) bears the same inscription and the same number as the present sheet suggesting that the two were once mounted together. Like Cat. 70, the British Museum sheet bears the stamp of Sir Joshua Reynolds and it was also owned by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

History

The Greek inscriber, presumably Florentine late sixteenth century (see also Cat. 70); William Young Ottley; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonaroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830-1081] ("Two studies in black chalk, one a head in a Helmet, the other [Cat. 31]."). Woodburn, 1842,

no. 75.1 ("Two studies upon one mount – for a female head."). Woodburn, 1846, no. 52 (As 1842.). Robinson, 1870, no. 53.2 ("[O]bviously an inferior copy" of [Cat. 31]; "The peculiar unmeaning flourish or 'bravura' style of execution seems to betray the hand of Battista Franco; and it will be seen, that the noble features of the original countenance are here distorted and caricatured, and a comparatively mean and vulgar expression superinduced."). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 48b. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 239. Berenson, 1903, under no. 1552 ("[E]xcellent copy" of [Cat. 31]. Uffizi 602E/B188 is "of no interest, except that it impudently passes for an original."). Thode, 1908, II, p. 337 (Battista Franco.). K. Frey 1909–11, under no. 172b (Attribution to Franco questionable.). Thode, 1913, under no. 394 (As 1908.). Berenson, 1938, under no. 1552 ("[P]robably done by [Francesco] Salviati."). Delacre, 1938, pp. 173–5, 221 (Copy; attribution to Franco disconcerting but tempted to accept it.). Goldscheider, 1951, p. 42 ("[A]tttributed to Salviati or . . . Battista Franco."). Parker, 1956, no. 348 (Neither by Battista Franco nor Francesco Salviati; Uffizi copy conceivably by Bacchiacca.). Dussler, 1959, under no. 342 (Attributions recorded.). Berenson, 1961, under no. 1552 (As 1938.). Lauder, 2003, pp. 95–6 (Publication of a second copy by Franco of Michelangelo's drawing in an Oxfordshire private collection.).

CATALOGUE 63

A Copy of Michelangelo's Design for the Magnifici Tomb
1954.68; P.II 349

Dimensions: 384 × 244 mm

Watermark: Crossed arrows below a six-pointed star (very close to Roberts Arrows B/Briquet 6291, Rome c. 1560).

Medium

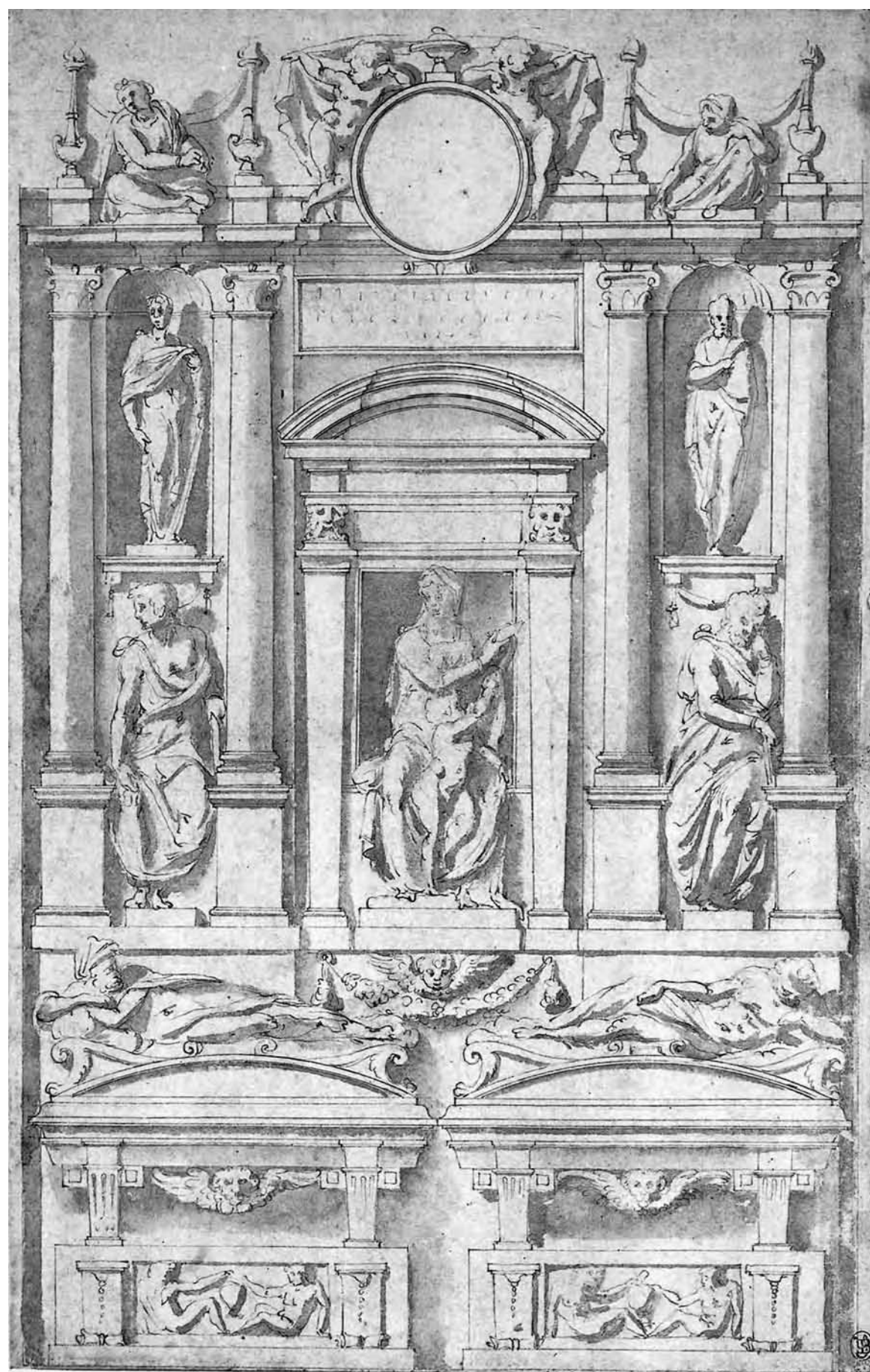
Pen and ink with brown wash over black chalk, with extensive employment of ruler and compasses.

Condition

There is a major horizontal score line and other small indentations at the upper edge. A repaired tear, abrasion, some pulp imperfections, accretions, and general uneven discolouration are visible.

Discussion

This and Cat. 64 are same-size replicas of a double tomb design by Michelangelo made in early 1521. There



are eleven others. These are, in alphabetical order of location:

1. Florence, Uffizi, 258E, sometimes attributed to Aristotile da Sangallo, but reminiscent of both Gherardi and Naldini; pen and ink over black chalk, 400 × 260 mm. This drawing is inscribed with the dimensions of the tomb, $7\frac{2}{3}$ braccia in width and $10\frac{1}{2}$ braccia in height, measured to the level of the base of the candelabra on the cornice.

2. Formerly London, sale at Phillips son and Neale, 6 December 1995, lot no. 179, as Italian sixteenth-century school after Michelangelo; brush and grey-brown wash over black chalk, compass-work and stylus indentation, with many measurements inscribed on the tomb and a braccio scale at lower left, 390 × 255 mm. Ex-collection Beurdeley (L.421) – like the present drawing – subsequently with R. S. Johnson, Chicago (Johnson, 1996); at the time of writing (1997) in a U.S. private collection.

3. Munich, Graphische Sammlung, no. 4932, anonymous; pen and ink over black chalk, 382 × 244 mm.

4. Oxford, Christ Church, JBS 71, anonymous; pen and brown ink with brown wash over black chalk, with extensive use of ruler and compasses; badly damaged and torn, with pieces missing from the right lower centre and the upper right, 388 × 244 mm.

5. Oxford, Christ Church, JBS 72, studio assistant of Michelangelo; pen and dark brown ink, extensive use of ruler and compasses; badly damaged with pieces torn from the centre and lower left, 407 × 289 mm. Watermark: A crowned eagle close to Briquet 86 and 87, Pisa-Florence c. 1500. This drawing, depicting the architectural member in outline, was probably made in preparation for ordering the marble.

6. Paris, Louvre, Inv. 837/J26/Corpus 194; brush and wash over black chalk and stylus indentation, 379 × 242 mm. In the compiler's view, this is an autograph *modello* by Michelangelo; it is technically and stylistically inseparable from a series of elaborate *modelli* by Michelangelo's own hand.

7. Paris, Louvre, Inv. 789/J101, anonymous; pen and ink over black chalk, brush and dark brown wash, extensive use of ruler and compasses, 378 × 239 mm.

8. Paris, Louvre, Inv. 18359/J100, anonymous; pen and ink over black chalk, brush and dark brown wash, extensive use of ruler and compasses, 379 × 244 mm. Extensively inscribed with measurements. Watermark: Crossed arrows below a six-pointed star (Roberts Arrows B/Briquet 6291, Rome c. 1560), the same as the present drawing.

9. Vienna, Albertina, BT 112, anonymous; pen and brown ink over black chalk, brush and brown wash,

extensive use of ruler and compasses, 390 × 257 mm. From the collection of P.-J. Mariette who believed it to be Michelangelo's original (*Abecedario*, I, p. 208).

All these versions are virtually identical in external and internal dimensions, although there are minor differences among them in the representation of the figures, in finish, and the employment of wash.

Two further copies are also recorded:

10. Berlin, Collection Dr. W. Kreis (formerly?); pen and ink over black chalk without wash, dimensions unknown (reproduced Laux, 1943, p. 327)

11. Vienna, Hofbibliothek, medium and dimensions unknown. The right side of the composition only (Thode, 1913, no. 531b).

In addition, several sketch copies of parts of this design survive: Among these may be cited Uffizi 607E, 3912A, formerly attributed to Aristotile da Sangallo but now agreed to be by Raffaello da Montelupo, and a number of drawings in an album formerly given to Giovanni Antonio Dosio in the Biblioteca Estense, Modena (Luporini, 1957–8, pp. 442–67). This album, reattributed to Raffaello da Montelupo by Nesselrath, 1986, contains repetitions of his earlier? studies (cf. fols. 74 recto and verso of the Modena codex and Uffizi 607E, recto and verso).

Although Michelangelo's authorship of this design has frequently been doubted in the twentieth century, there seems now to be fairly general agreement that it is his, whether or not his authorship of Louvre 837 is accepted. The number of replicas, which far outstrips any other series of copies of a Michelangelo drawing, testifies to the design's authority, one that no later pastiche could claim. A preparatory sketch by Michelangelo of the whole scheme in the Louvre (Inv. 686 verso/J24/Corpus 193; black chalk, 235 × 382 mm), sometimes dismissed in defiance both of its components and its provenance, is patently autograph and demonstrates that he conceived something very like the design displayed in the present drawing. Also in the Louvre (Inv. 708 /J25/Corpus 228; red chalk, 259 × 129 mm) is a study by Michelangelo for the seated figure to the viewer's left. Additionally, many of the forms and features of this design can be paralleled in others by Michelangelo datable to the 1520s or early 1530s. The Madonna, for example, is very close in form to the female figure on a sheet in Paris (Louvre, Inv. 704 recto/J36/Corpus 243; red chalk, 290 × 174 mm), the seated female figure on the cornice is re-employed in the *Dream of Human Life* (Princes Gate Collection, Courtauld Institute, London, Inv. no. 424/Corpus 333; black chalk,

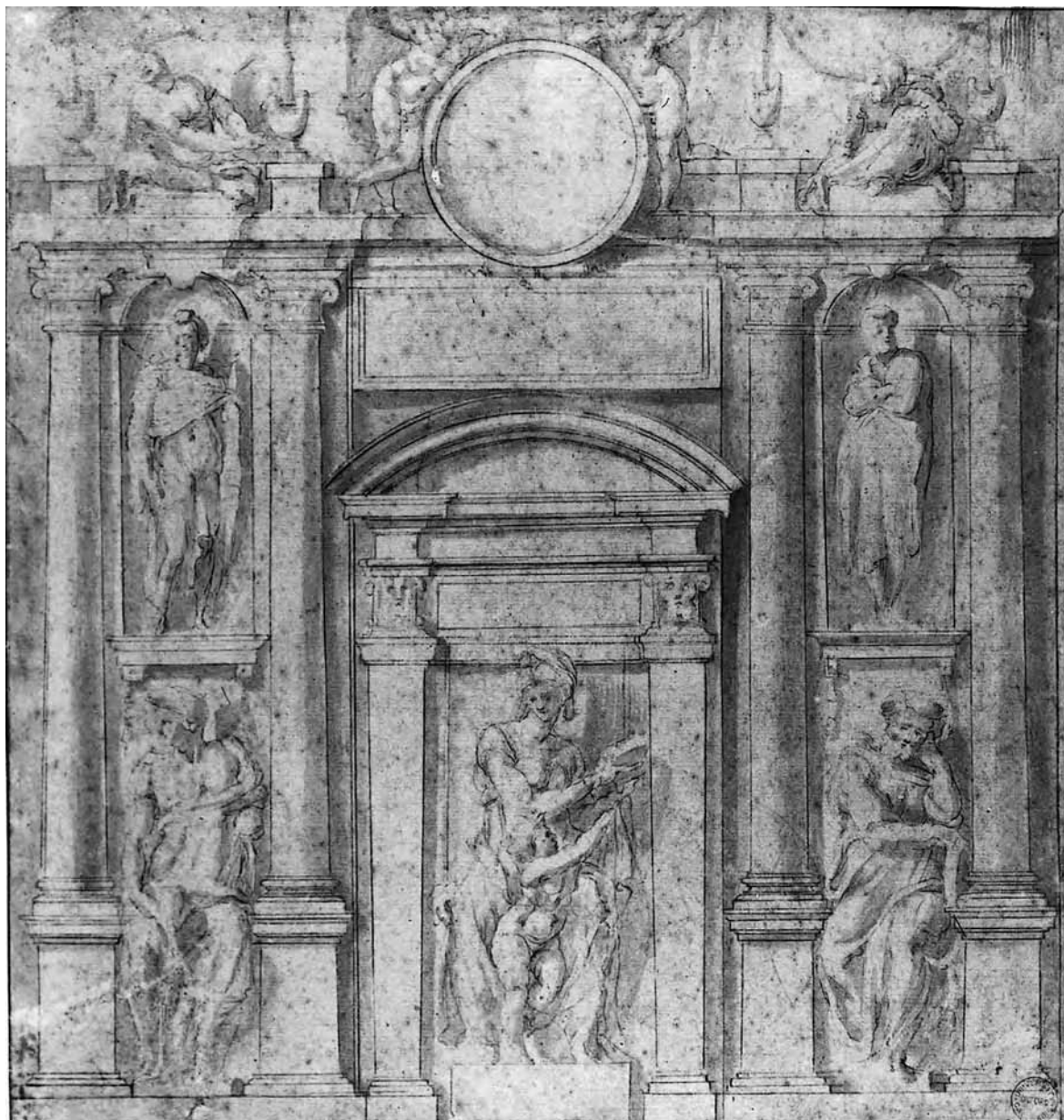
396 × 280 mm), the right hand seated Saint is of a type that recurs both in the Metropolitan Museum's *modello* for an early version of the Tomb of Julius II (Inv. 62931/Corpus 489; pen and ink over black chalk, 509 × 318 mm) and the Sistine ceiling. In addition, the two standing figures of saints, probably Lorenzo and Giuliano, echo, perhaps unconsciously, the early quattrocento forms of Nanni di Banco's *Isaiah* (Florence, Museo del Opera del Duomo) and Masaccio's shivering man in his *Baptism of the Neophytes* (Florence Santa Maria del Carmine, Brancacci chapel) – both images that Michelangelo, with his interest in the heroic phase of early quattrocento art, knew well.

However, the difficulties that this somewhat cluttered design has caused are great. Even so clear-headed a critic as Berenson, unable to accept that Michelangelo's preferences may not have coincided with his own, could be driven to the absurd hypothesis that Louvre Inv. 686 was drawn by Vincenzo Danti after Aristotile da Sangallo. A superficially more sophisticated view was advanced by Wazbinski (1983 and 1987), who stated that this design was devised only in the 1560s, when a project was under-way to complete the chapel. But apart from ignoring Michelangelo's preparatory drawings and the close stylistic links with other work by him of the 1520s, Wazbinski also overlooked the fact that the Madonna and two saints actually executed by Michelangelo and his assistants for the Magnifici Tomb are radically different in form from those shown in this design. Thus, this supposedly late pastiche would ignore what had existed for some thirty years in favour of Michelangelesque figures of different and less-developed type.

The date of origin of the present design can be established with some precision. The dimensions of the space available for the Magnifici Tomb, like the ducal Tombs, was fixed by 21 April 1521 when the architrave was set in place. This establishes a scale for the drawing of about 1:1.8. The block from which the "Nostra Donna a sedere" was to be carved was also ordered in April 1521. Because the Madonna as executed is some 46 cm taller than the figure shown in the *modello*, Michelangelo had either modified the present design before that date, or did so later, but before mid-1526 when Michelangelo referred to the Madonna as one of the statues that had been begun. Because work on the project ceased during the pontificate of Adrian VI (December 1521–November 1523), and because some of the marble ordered proved useless, Michelangelo had an opportunity to revise details of his plan in 1524, and the design of the architecture may have been modified in certain respects at that date. However, no work appears to have been undertaken on this tomb before the expulsion of the Medici in 1527, and the work seems, indeed, not to have been undertaken in earnest

until 1532–33. It is likely that there was a further and probably more fundamental revision of the design at this time (see Cat. 39), but because no carving seems to have been done on the architectural parts of this phase of the tomb other than the columns, any attempts at reconstruction could be based only on known designs by Michelangelo. The replicas were probably made with archaeological intent to prevent knowledge of even an out-of-date and anomalous original being lost. Michelangelo's reluctance to tell anyone anything, illustrated by his ambiguity of response to Ammanati's enquiries about the form of the Laurenzian staircase, quite apart from his action in burning drawings that he knew Cosimo wanted, is sufficient explanation for the production of posthumous replicas of *modelli* that did exist, despite the fact that anyone attempting to construct the Magnifici Tomb to this design would have been utterly confused. A parallel example is the replica in Berlin after Michelangelo's *modello* also in Berlin for the Julius Tomb (Inv. 15305/Corpus 55; pen and ink with traces of wash over black chalk and stylus indentation, 525 × 343 mm). It was made – according to a later inscription – by Jacomo Rocchetti, whose dates do not seem to be known, but who is mentioned together with Jacomo del Duca in a document concerning the Farnese Sacrament Tabernacle planned for Santa Maria degli Angeli. Rocchetti presumably entered Michelangelo's circle at the very end of the master's life, and the *modello* that he replicated would then have been obsolete by over half a century.

The design proposed by Michelangelo at this stage is modelled on painting rather than sculpture. It is essentially a triptych with flanking figures on two levels, and smaller figures decorating the cornice above, a transposition into the terms of classical architecture of an ambitious late trecento altarpiece. Considering that it was made after Michelangelo had already planned immensely active and vital figures, the restraint of individual figures here must have been deliberate, an effort to achieve an overall pictorialism in the chapel that was not to be disrupted by unduly aggressive forms. As always in Michelangelo's projects, the figures grew in energy and dynamism as he worked on them, entailing a corresponding simplification of their setting. Given that a similar process occurred in the ducal Tombs, whose architecture was set in place while the statuary was still being carved, it is unsurprising that with the Magnifici Tomb, the statuary that had been begun may have encouraged Michelangelo radically to simplify the setting. It is recorded in 1546 (Aschoff, 1967, p. 136; see Cat. 39) that columns had been executed, but these either do not survive or have not been identified, and we cannot, therefore, establish whether they were made for the present project, of 1521, or for



what the compiler believes to be the final one, developed from Cat. 39, of around a decade later, or even for some intermediate one.

The compiler finds certain similarities between the present copy and drawings by Marco Marchetti da Faenza (before 1553–88).

History

Carlo Prayer; Alfred Beurdeley, Paris sale, 31 May 1920, from lot 110.

References

Parker, 1956, no. 349 (Related to projected double tomb of Lorenzo the Magnificent and Giuliano. Michelangelo's original design lost; this probably drawn in his studio.).

Dussler, 1959, no. 635 and under no. 699 (Copy; documentary value questionable.). Gere and Turner, 1975, no. 52 (“[O]f good quality and seems at least to be a product of the studio.”). Perrig, 1981, pp. 267, 282 (Copy after Michelangelo.). Joannides, 2003a, p. 137 (Copy.).

CATALOGUE 64

A Copy of Michelangelo's Design for the Magnifici Tomb
1846.95; R.41; P.II 350

Dimensions: 251 × 236 mm

Watermark: Briquet 6098, 1543–59.

Medium

Pen and ink with grey wash over black chalk, with extensive use of ruler and compasses, parts reinforced with pen and ink. Later framing lines in pen and ink.

Condition

The sheet is undulating uncomfortably. There is a major, discoloured, infill with in-drawing, a minor edge hole, minor tear repairs with ingrained dirt, some abrasion, and uneven discolouration. The primary support is drummed by four edges to the backboard of the mount.

Discussion

Another early copy after Michelangelo's design of late 1520 for the tomb of the Magnifici in the New Sacristy. This copy was no doubt originally complete, but at some point the entire lower storey was cut away. Robinson, 1870, p. 104, believed this drawing to be by the same hand as Christ Church JBS 71 (version 4 in Cat. 63), an opinion not shared by the compiler, who believes it rather to be by the same hand as Musée du Louvre, Inv. 18359 (version 9 in Cat. 63). For further discussion of this project see Cat. 63.

Drawn Copy

A copy of the two *putti* flanking the tondo and the seated figure on the left side of the attic was made by Sir Edward Burne-Jones in 1866–7, on fol. 40 recto of his sketchbook in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1070–2.

History

Paignon-Dijonval; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Woodburn, 1842, no. 3 (A design for the tomb of the Medici family.). Woodburn, 1846, no. 48 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1852, p. 5, pl. 25 (As Woodburn, 1842.). Fisher, 1865, p. 18, pl. 25 (As 1852.). Robinson, 1870, no. 41 (Copy from Michel Angelo. "Design for a portion of the wall-façade of one of the Medici tombs. . . from a lost original" made "perhaps as early as A.D. 1521." "The present example is perhaps the earliest and best rendering; but it is less complete than the others." Three other examples noted: in the Louvre, the Albertina, and the Uffizi. That in the Louvre engraved by Caylus.). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 16, pl. 25 (As 1852.). Gotti, 1875, II, p. 229 (As in black chalk.). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 38. Springer, 1878, p. 382 (Copy of a study for a Medici double tomb.). Fisher, 1879, XXX/32 (Copy.). Springer, 1883, II, p. 218 (As 1878.). Portheim, 1889, pp. 149–50 (By same hand as Christ Church [JBS 71] and drawings in Paris, Florence, and

Vienna; uncertain whether they are pastiches or whether their weakness is the reflection of originals copied at second or third hand.). Thode, 1908, I, p. 457 (Truncated copy after Michelangelo's lost definitive design for Medici double tomb.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 265 (After Michelangelo's lost original.). Justi, 1909, p. 237 (One of several copies.). Thode, 1913, no. 424 (As 1908.). Fasolo, 1927, pp. 452–4 ("[S]pecialmente studiati le disposizione delle sculture nel complesso architettonico." Design follows on from BM W28 and Louvre 686/J24 verso.). Berenson, 1938, no. 1708A (Replica of upper section of Louvre, Inv. 837/J26/Corpus 194.). Delacre, 1938, p. 340 (Copy.). Parker, 1956, no. 350 (Copy. Execution resembles that of Louvre, Inv. 837/J26/Corpus 194.). Dussler, 1959, no. 619 and under no. 699 (Copy; documentary value questionable.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1708A (As 1938.). Perrig, 1981, p. 282 (Copy after Michelangelo.). Joan-nider, 2003a, p. 137 (Copy.).

CATALOGUE 65

GIUSEPPE BOSSI (1777–1815)

The Virgin? and Child with Singing Angels
1846.96; R.14; P.II 351

Dimensions: 350 × 260 mm

Watermark: the letters F. G. A.

Medium

Black and white chalks.

Condition

There are handling creases, a small indentation/puncture and some abrasion and foxing with slight general discolouration.

Discussion

A same-size copy of Michelangelo's drawing of c. 1530, which is now in the Accademia in Venice (Inv. 199 recto/Valenti Rodinò, 1989, no. 2/Corpus 244; black chalk, 373 × 249 mm). The original entered the Accademia from the collection of the artist and art historian Giuseppe Bossi, and Bossi no doubt made the present copy as a gift for his friend Leopoldo Cicognara. Cicognara in turn seems to have presented it to Lawrence, who liked to acquire copies of drawings that he could not possess in the original. It would not be fully clear from Lawrence's letter to Woodburn, quoted later, that Lawrence knew the drawing to be a copy, but he must



have done so because it is ascribed to Bossi in the 1830 inventory.

Unlike another same-size copy, which seems to be of the sixteenth century, in the Louvre (Inv. 695/J109; black chalk 376 × 245 mm, with a provenance from Everard Jabach), the present drawing does not attempt to mimic precisely the technique of the original but employs different graphic means to create a similar general impression.

The subject of Michelangelo's design is debated. It is generally described as the Virgin and Child with Angels, but the woman is older than the Virgin as she is generally depicted in Michelangelo's work, and she may be St. Anne, coming for the Child in the Virgin's absence. Because St. Anne is sometimes identified with

the Prophetess Anna, who attends the presentation of the Child in the temple, this might account for the prophetic mood of the present composition.

A painted copy was reproduced by de Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, p. 60, as in the Frescobaldi Collection, Florence. This appears to be approximately contemporary with the original drawing and probably by a young Florentine painter. More of Michelangelo's designs were in circulation in this period than is generally appreciated by modern scholarship.

History

Giuseppe Bossi; Count Leopoldo Cicognara; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Sir Thomas Lawrence, letter to Samuel Woodburn of summer 1825 reprinted in Williams, 1831, II, pp. 418–20 (With respect to the drawing of Michael Angelo, from Bossi; “I was in correspondance with Count Cicagnaro [sic], respecting Canova’s monument: and it was in interchange of letters on this subject that, learning from you the drawing was his, I mentioned to him my wish to possess it. Be assured of this, that I did not take advantage of your information respecting the little Raphael, to write about it, and procure its passage to this country, for that I should not have done without consulting you.”). Lawrence Inventory, 1830, Varia, Case 7, Drawer 1 [1830–137] (“A beautiful copy by M. Bossi of Milan from a Drawing by M. Angelo.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 20 (“A Highly finished composition for the Holy Family.”). Woodburn, 1846, no. 25 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1852, p. 4, pl. 13 (As Woodburn, 1842.). Fisher, 1865, p. 16, I, pl. 13 (As 1852.). Robinson, 1870, no. 14 (Replica of the drawing in Venice; the original probably executed in Rome in 1499. Angels imitate those by Luca della Robbia in his Cantoria.). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 14, pl. 13 (As 1852.). Black, 1875, p. 213, no. 14. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 223. Fisher, 1879, X/9 (Replica of drawing in Venice.). Berenson, 1903, no. 1700 (A copy of the drawing in Venice, which is by Sebastiano.). Steinmann, II, 1905, p. 416 (Venice drawing: Recto by Sebastiano after Michelangelo; the original was probably begun as a Madonna and developed into a Sibyl, related to the *Libica*). D’Achiardi, 1908, p. 308 (A copy of Sebastiano’s drawing in Venice.). Thode, 1908, II, p. 411 (Venice Inv. 199 recto by Michelangelo; identified as a Sibyl.). Justi, 1909, p. 114 (One of three copies; that in Venice Inv. 199 recto the best. Related in concept to Manchester Madonna.). Thode, 1913, under no. 394 (Copy of a drawing by Michelangelo in Venice [Thode, no. 519], wrongly given by Wickhoff and Berenson to Sebastiano, but probably preparatory to the Libyan Sibyl.). Berenson, 1938, no. 2490A (Former 1700; as 1903.). Delacre, 1938, pp. 158–68 (Represents a Sibylline Virgin; copy of Venice drawing. Detailed discussion of the relation of the original, this drawing and Louvre Inv. 695/J109.). Dussler, 1942, p. 92, and no. 174 (The Venice drawing by Sebastiano.). Pallucchini, 1944, pp. 82, 179, 180 (A copy of Sebastiano’s drawing in Venice.). Parker, 1956, no. 351 (“An old and rather good copy of” the Venice drawing.). Dussler, 1959, under no. 694 (A copy of Sebastiano’s Venice drawing.). Berenson, 1961, no. 2490c (As 1903/1938.). De Tolnay, 1976 Corpus II, under no. 244 (Copy.). Perrig, 1999, p. 274 (A falsification by Bossi.). Joannides, 2003a, p. 254

(Ashmolean drawing by Bossi, as recorded in the Lawrence inventory.).

CATALOGUE 66

RAFFAELLO DA MONTELUPO (1505?–1566)

Recto: Infant Bacchanal

Verso: Figure Studies

1846.131; R.52; P.II 410

Dimensions: 280 × 420 mm

Medium

Recto: Pen and ink and some black chalk; a later framing line in pen and ink.

Verso: Pen and ink; two thin ruled lines in black chalk.

Condition

Double-sided solid museum mount.

Recto: There is overall discolouration and light foxing. There are tear repairs near the top left corner and another repair at the centre of the top edge. The medium has bled at the bottom edge, and there is some darkening of the densely inked areas.

Verso: The old repairs are more clearly visible on this side, and minor show-through is visible.

Numbering

A fragmentary number in pen, perhaps 10, at the lower right of the recto, perhaps the numbering of Pierre Crozat.

Description

Verso

A. A standing nude man seen from the front, the head first turned to his right, then altered so that he looks to his left. His left arm is held out from his side with the hand outstretched and pointing downward; the right arm was first tried hanging by the right side and then bent up to touch the head.

B. Various hatching lines; these may have been made to test the pen; if they have some further purpose, it eludes the compiler.

With the left edge as base

C. Two ruled lines in black chalk.

D. Sketch of the lower part of figure A.

E. Sketch of the left leg of D, slightly modified.



F. Sketch of the right leg of D, modified. The vertical ruled line immediately to the right may indicate a revised placement of the figure's left leg.

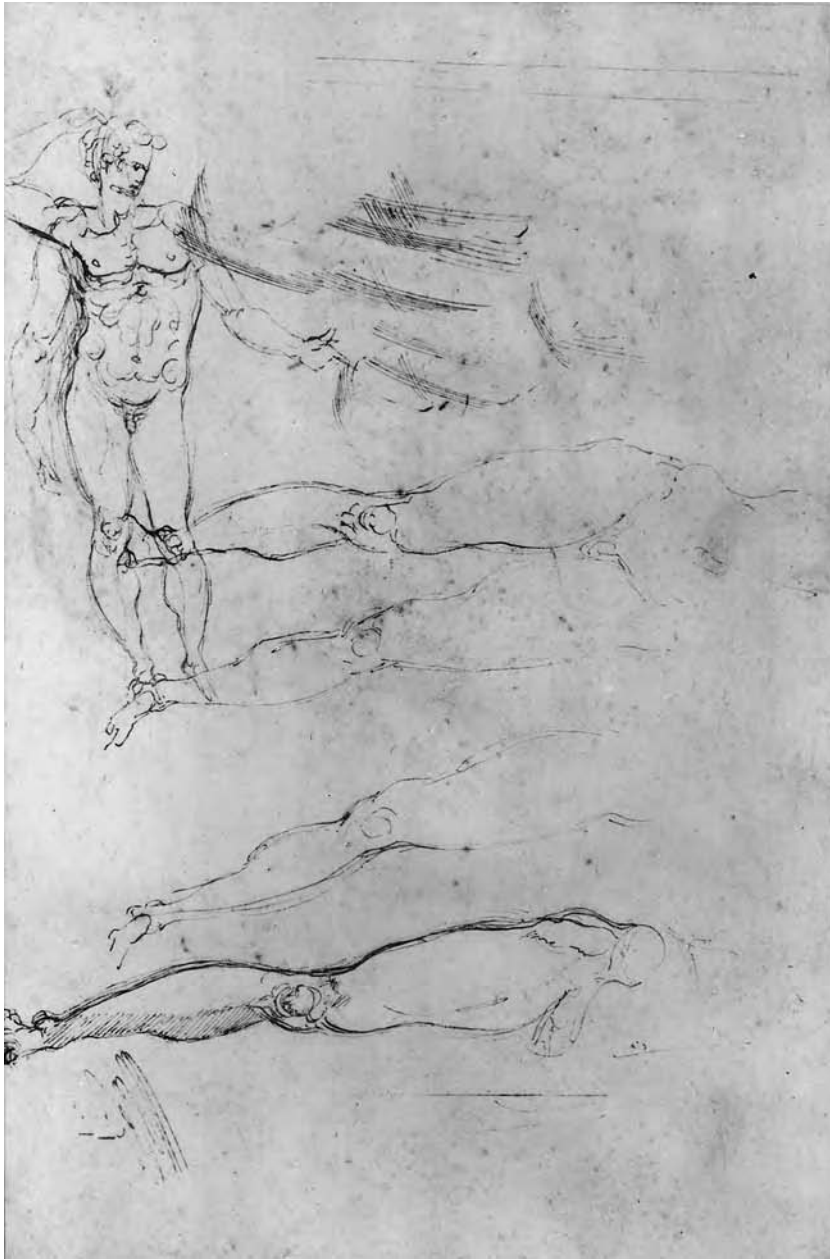
G. Various hatching lines. The orientation of the sheet when these were made is uncertain.

Discussion

The recto is a partial same-size copy after the famous drawing now in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle (PW431/Corpus 338; red chalk, 274 × 388 mm), executed by Michelangelo late in 1533 or early in 1534 for Tommaso de'Cavalieri. It was the most elaborate of Michelangelo's gifts to his young friend. The drawing was engraved by Enea Vico at an uncertain date (*The Illustrated Bartsch* 30, no. 48 (67) [XV, pp. 48, 305]; 286 × 405 mm) and by Nicolas Beatrizet in 1546 (*The Illustrated Bartsch* 29, no. 40 (297) [XV, 260, p. 40]; 284 × 402 mm) in reverse, but, perhaps because of its complex composition and opaque subject, did not enjoy the same popularity as Michelangelo's more straightforwardly narrative drawings like the *Ganymede* and the *Fall of Phaeton*. Several part copies are known, and individual figures were employed

by other artists, but apart from the present unfinished copy, only one drawn replica of the full composition is known to the compiler, Christie's, London, 2 July 1996, lot 88, attributed to Giulio Clovio, but in the compiler's view not by Clovio; red chalk, handled like metal point, 281 × 405 mm.

In his *Infant Bacchanal*, Michelangelo, at least in part, cannibalised an earlier project, that of a *Bacchanal* for Alfonso d'Este. A sheet in the Uffizi (621E/B131/Corpus 70; pen and ink, 238 × 214 mm) carries a drawing by the master of a *putto* urinating into a dish held by another *putto*. This is sometimes taken to be a study for the *Infant Bacchanal* but, as de Tolnay realised, it must be at least a decade earlier, because the sheet also carries drawings made by Antonio Mini soon after he entered Michelangelo's service, as well as a draft of a letter from Michelangelo to his father Ludovico, who died in 1530. Another sketch by Michelangelo on this sheet, a man carrying a child on his back, was copied by Mini no later than 1525 in a drawing in Casa Buonarroti (CB53F verso/B174/Corpus 229bis; red chalk, 353 × 242 mm). Michelangelo's memories of his abandoned project for Alfonso d'Este would have been re-kindled by his visit



to Ferrara in 1529, when he promised the Duke the *Leda*, probably the first movable painting he had executed for some years. It seems that Michelangelo responded strongly to what he saw in Venice and Ferrara: Several of his Presentation Drawings of the early 1530s seem to have been conceived in dialogue with contemporary Venetian art.

Raffaello da Montelupo began working with Michelangelo in 1533 and had some access to his drawings. The original bears no signs of stylus indentation, so the present copy may have been traced from it via a pane of glass. It was probably from this copy that Battista Franco knew of Michelangelo's design – well in advance of the publication

of any prints – for he employed the sprawled figure at lower left for the dead Christ in his *Deposition* (Lucca, Villa Giunigi), datable to c. 1537.

Raffaello was clearly fascinated by Michelangelo's Presentation Drawings for, in addition to the present copy, he made a loose sketch in the Royal Collection, Windsor Castle (PW787; pen and ink, 340 × 238 mm), after the *Fall of Phaeton*, the original of which is also in the Royal Collection, Windsor Castle (PW430/Corpus 343; black chalk, 413 × 234 mm), another of the drawings given to Tommaso. Raffaello probably intended to work up more fully the present drawing, like his two elaborate copies, probably the same size as the lost

original, of Michelangelo's so-called *Allegory of Prudence* (?): Montelupo's drawings are in the British Museum (W89; pen and ink, 261 × 359 mm) and the Musée Condé, Chantilly (Lanfranc de Panthou 48; pen and ink, 251 × 197 mm, the composition divided between recto and verso). In all these cases – with the possible exception of the “*Prudentia*” copies – Raffaello made his copies in a medium different from that of Michelangelo's original.

Raffaello copied other drawings by Michelangelo. A drawing by him (Christie's, New York, 30 January 1997, lot 1; pen and ink, 268 × 203 mm, probably of 1534) records a lost sketch by Michelangelo made at a preliminary stage in the development of his design for Sebastiano del Piombo's *Pietà*, painted for the Cobos family chapel in San Salvador, Ubeda (now Madrid, Museo del Prado). Raffaello's sketchbook in the Musée des Beaux-Arts Lille (Brejon de Lavergnée 717–808), which contains mostly architectural drawings, includes several after projects by Michelangelo. Related sheets by Raffaello in Florence and Budapest, which may once have formed part of the same or a similar sketchbook, carry figural sketches further demonstrating his interest in Michelangelo's designs (see Cat. 34).

Verso

The pose of A, modified for the lower part of the figure in the sketches D, E, F, is loosely based on Michelangelo's marble *David*, a relation seen particularly clearly in the arrangement of the right arm, and again in the supplementary studies of the legs. The sketch was probably made from memory and not directly from the statue, although it is possible that it reflects a lost preparatory drawing for it by Michelangelo. A sketch by Antonio Mini after a preparatory drawing or a model for the statue was sold at Bonhams, London, 8 July 2002, lot 69 (pen and ink over red chalk, 208 × 172 mm); even though it bears no close relation to the present sketches, it again demonstrates the attention of Michelangelo's pupils and associates to his earlier work.

History

Pierre Crozat, a fragment of his numbering at lower right, presumably part of his sale of 1741?; Gerhard Michael Jabach, his sale, Amsterdam, 16 October 1753, lot 15?; Pierre-Jean Mariette (L.1852); the Marquis de Lagoy (no stamp); Thomas Dimsdale; Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonaroti Case 3, Drawer 3, no. 19 [1830–22] (“A magnificent sheet of

Sporting Boys etc for a bacchanalian subject, free pen on both sides the paper.”). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 17 (“[C]hiefly of sporting boys; most admirably drawn with the pen.”). The Athenaeum, 16 July 1836 (“[F]or the cognoscenti.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 16 (As 1836.). Fisher, 1852, p. 5, pl. 24 (Recto: as Woodburn, 1842.). Fisher, 1865, p. 18, I, pl. 24 (As 1852.). Robinson, 1870, no. 52 (Michelangelo, study for Windsor *Bacchanal*, PW431/Corpus 338.). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 16, pl. 24 (As 1852.). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 47. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 237. Springer, 1878, p. 522 (Michelangelo; no mention of Windsor version.). Fisher, 1879, XXXVI/38 (“[O]riginal design for . . . Windsor drawing” PW431/Corpus 338.). Springer, 1883, II, p. 389 (Sketch for Windsor drawing, PW431/Corpus 338.). Berenson, 1903, I, pp. 255–7, no. 1716 (Recto: Montelupo after Michelangelo's Windsor drawing, PW431/Corpus 338; resemblance to Montelupo's Uffizi 619E/B204. Verso: Montelupo.). K. Frey, 1909–11, p. 91, under no. 187 (Recto: free copy of Windsor PW431/Corpus 338.). Thode, 1913, p. 210 and under no. 543 (Copy of Windsor PW431/Corpus 338.). Berenson, 1935, p. 107 (Montelupo?. Resemblance to Uffizi 619E, inscribed by Baldinucci with Montelupo's name.). Berenson, 1938, I, pp. 257–8, no. 1716 (As 1903.). Delacre, 1938, pp. 410–12 (Surprising from Montelupo; many differences from Windsor *Bacchanal*, PW431/Corpus 338, and perhaps preparatory.). Wilde, 1949, p. 254 (Montelupo.). Parker, 1956, no. 410 (Free copy by Montelupo after Michelangelo's drawing at Windsor, PW431/Corpus 338.). Dussler, 1959, under no. 365 (Free copy of PW431/Corpus 338 by Montelupo, summer 1533.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1716 (As 1903/1938.) Barocchi, 1962, pp. 256, 258 (Similarity to Uffizi 619E supports its attribution to Montelupo.). Gatteschi, 1998, pp. 54–5 (Recto: cites Berenson; probably drawn from memory.). Py, 2001, p. 185 (Perhaps identical with lot 15 in the Gerhard Michael Jabach sale of 1753.).

CATALOGUE 67

GIULIO CLOVIO? (1498–1578)

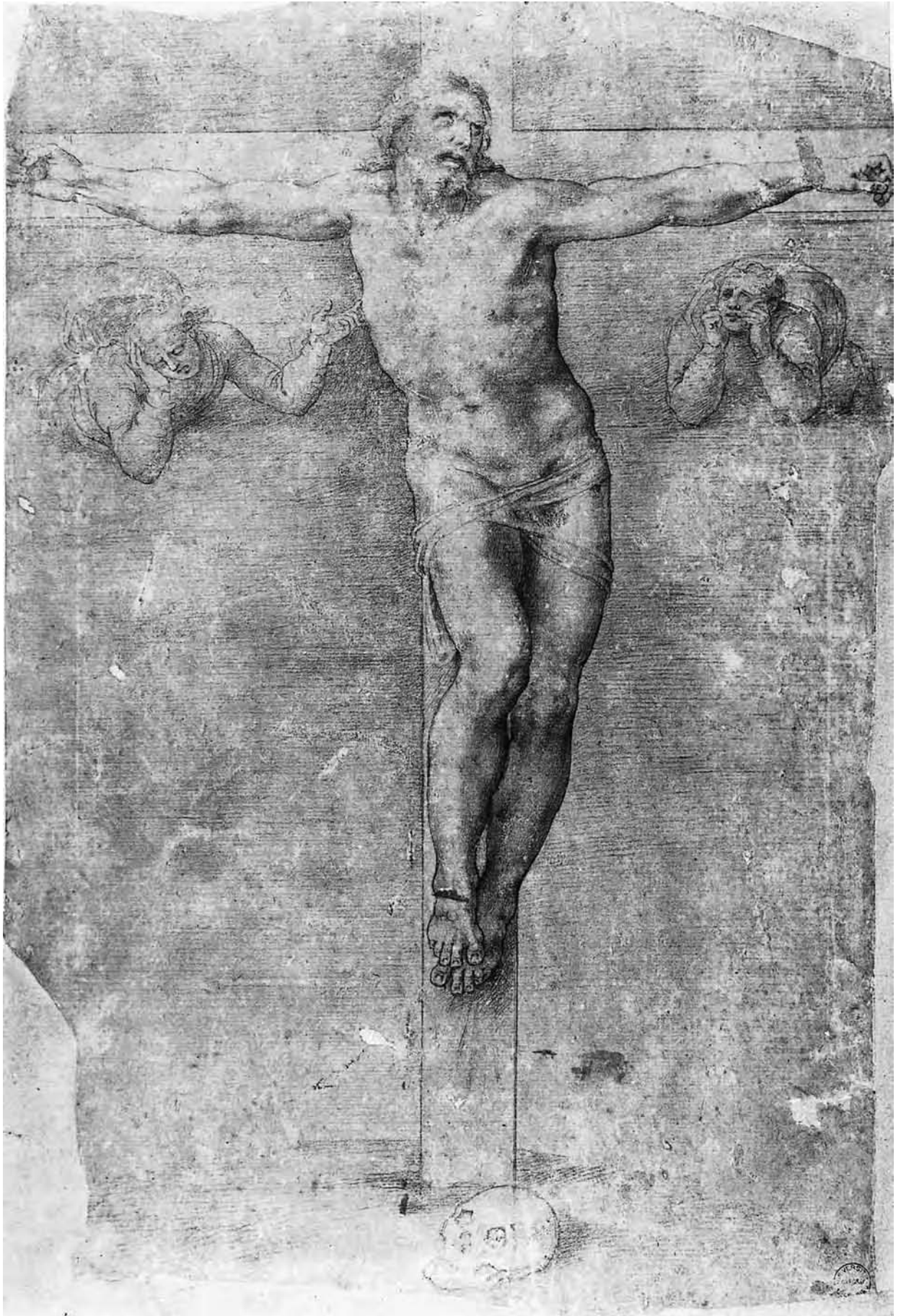
Christ on the Cross

1846.97; R.73; P.II 352

Dimensions: 370 × 250 mm, irregular, made up at the lower left and most of the lower and right edges, and the left upper corner.

Medium

Black chalk.



Condition

The sheet is extensively damaged and restored, and lined. There are toned infills, major tear repairs, minor edge infills, extensive abrasions, and some local staining. There is a major horizontal score line and other small indentations at the upper edge. The primary support is drummed by the four edges to the backboard of the mount, so the verso is not visible.

Discussion

A same-size copy, somewhat trimmed, of Michelangelo's highly finished drawing presented to Vittoria Colonna, now in the British Museum (W67/Corpus 411; black chalk, 370 × 270 mm). Michelangelo's preparation of the drawing is referred to in several undated letters: In the opinion of Perrig, 1997 (pp. 133–5), these suggest that it was only at Vittoria's prompting, and with some reluctance, that he added the lamenting angels, at either side of the cross, which she found very beautiful; however, this interpretation is questionable. The drawing was probably made not long after 1540. During her lifetime, Vittoria presumably permitted Michelangelo's drawing to be copied in preparation for engraving and no doubt allowed serious artists access to it. It is not known what happened to the original after Vittoria's death in 1547, and whether or not it remained accessible is conjectural. Of the drawn copies known to the compiler, most seem plausibly to be datable within the 1540s. Michelangelo's inventions were very quickly seized upon both by artists and by sophisticated patrons. Drawings after the *Last Judgement* were commissioned and sent by Nini Sernini in Rome both to Giulio Romano and to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga in Mantua within a year of the fresco's completion; more significant in the present context, copies of the three (or three of the) drawings made by Michelangelo for Vittoria Colonna, including the *Christ on the Cross*, were available in Mantua by the end of the 1540s. In the case of the *Christ on the Cross*, Cardinal Ercole would have been informed about the drawing very early; one of Vittoria Colonna's undated letters to Michelangelo (*Carteggio*, IV, p. 101) states that she wished to show it, even if unfinished, to the "gentiluomini del Reverendissimo Cardinale di Mantua." Cardinale Ercole probably had all three of Michelangelo's drawings for Vittoria Colonna reproduced in paintings (see Brown, 1991).

There are also many painted versions of Michelangelo's design, most of them with around the same dimensions as the drawing. Some of these were executed within a few years of the original, including several by Michelangelo's protégé Marcello Venusti. An indication of the

significance of this design to Michelangelo and to his immediate circle is that around the mid-1550s, he returned to it, adding the Virgin and Saint John, for whom his drawings survive in the Louvre (Inv. 720/J39/Corpus 412 and Inv. 698/J40/Corpus 413; both black chalk, respectively 230 × 110 mm and 250 × 82 mm). This addition was no doubt made at the request of his servant and friend Francesco d'Amadore, called Urbino, for whom the expanded design was executed as a painting by Marcello Venusti (see Cat. 50). Venusti would have made a preparatory *cartonetto* for the painting, in which the *Christ on the Cross* for Vittoria Colonna and the two figures in the Louvre were integrated.

The present copy, which is of good quality, is probably by Giulio Clovio, an attribution already proposed in the Lawrence inventory. It seems to the compiler to show Clovio's deliberate and slightly uncertain handling and, in the mourning angel, his characteristic facial types. However, it must be admitted that here Giulio is more successful than usual in establishing the volumes and plasticity of the forms.

The present drawing is probably that owned by William Young Ottley, and described in his *Italian Schools of Design* on p. 34 as a "highly wrought drawing of Christ in Agony on the Cross, in his own Collection, formerly belonging to the King of Naples" and subsequently offered in his sale of 1814. Ottley seems to have believed that he possessed Michelangelo's original, but he is not included among the owners of the British Museum original by Samuel Woodburn in the 1836 catalogue, no. 22: These are listed as the King of Naples and Monsieur Brunet. There seems to be no solid information about the partial dispersal of the collections of the King of Naples, although it is certain, from remarks by Bottari in 1760, that at least some drawings had by that date passed out of the collection: He specifically mentions that Michelangelo's *Epifania* cartoon, now in the British Museum (W75/Corpus 389; black chalk, 2327 × 1656 mm) was owned by Cardinal Valenti, in whose family's collection it remained until the Valenti sale of 1809. It is highly unlikely that Brunet acquired Michelangelo's original in Italy. It was no doubt purchased by him at the sale of the collection of the painter and dealer Julien de Parme in Paris on 21–22 February 1794, in which it appeared as lot 11, "Un Christ en Croix: deux Anges sont aux deux côtés, & au bas est une tête de mort, dessinée come le précédent" (i.e., "précieusement"). (This sale catalogue, which survives in a single copy, was unknown to scholars before it was published by P. Rosenberg, 1999–2000, pp. 26–31.) Of course, it could be argued that the drawing owned by

Julien de Parme was a copy and that it was Ottley's drawing, acquired directly or indirectly from Wicar's collection, which was the original. One would then have to argue, supplementarily, that from Ottley the original passed to Lawrence – either directly or via Roscoe – and that after Lawrence's death its provenance became confused with that of the copy. However, the price that Ottley's drawing attained in 1814 is much too low for the original of so famous a design, and it seems clear that the drawing owned by Roscoe (unless one assumes he owned two drawings, the original and a copy) had a different provenance (see following discussion, copy 2).

Alternatively it could be proposed, since the present drawing is listed in Woodburn's 1842 catalogue as coming from Wicar, that Wicar, who was in Paris in 1794, acquired a copy at the Julien de Parme sale, and that the original, owned by Brunet, was acquired by Brunet from some other source. However, this alternative also seems unlikely because lot 10 at the Julien de Parme sale – another of Michelangelo's Presentation Drawings for Vittoria Colonna, the *Pietà* now in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston – also appeared in Woodburn's 1836 exhibition with its provenance given solely as Brunet. It seems most probable that Brunet acquired both drawings either directly at the 1794 sale or later from some intermediary. Brunet is no doubt identical with Louis-Charles Brunet (1746–1825), the brother-in-law of Dominique-Vivant Denon, by whom he was presumably advised on his purchases. Brunet died in the same year as Vivant Denon, and his collection seems to have been acquired by Woodburn in Paris at around the same time as he acquired drawings from the collection of Vivant Denon himself, shortly after the latter's death, on 28 April 1825.

Ottley may genuinely have believed that his version of *Christ on the Cross* was that owned by the King of Naples, but unless the King owned both the original and a copy (not inconceivable – after all both the original and the copy were later owned by Lawrence), it is more likely that he was simply misinformed about the source of his drawing. It is probable, therefore, that it was the present drawing, not the original, that was owned by Ottley, offered as lot 1591 in his sale of 1814, bought in, and subsequently sold to Lawrence with the rest of Ottley's collection.

Other drawn copies of the *Christ on the Cross* drawn for Vittoria Colonna of which the compiler is aware are:

1. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. K67.35; black chalk, 410 × 270 mm. According to Dr. Loránd Zentai

(letter of 30 January 2003) this is very similar to the Louvre copy (7 in this list).

2. Cumberland, G. McKay Collection in 1955 (letter and photograph in the files of the Ashmolean Museum); black chalk, 394 × 267 mm. This drawing bears the stamp of H. C. ("Dog") Jennings (1731–1819) who, during a sojourn in Rome between 1753 and 1761, acquired many works of antique and modern art from the sculptor and dealer Bartolomeo Cavaceppi. If the McKay drawing was among these, it would thus have left Italy well before the dispersals of the 1790s. It was subsequently owned by William Roscoe, appearing in his sale of 1816, lot 75 "Christ on the Cross, a Figure in the clouds on each side of him, in attitudes of Lamentation. Exquisitely finished in black chalk and undoubtedly designed for the Marchesa di Pescara. 15 1/2" h. 10 1/2" w. From the Collection of C. Jennings, Esq. with the ancient Print by Niccolò Beatrizet after the same."

3. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstichkabinet, Inv. C 1989–106, Güse and Perrig, 1997, no. 34; black chalk, 362 × 250 mm. Acquired before 1756 from the collection of Dr. Paul Ackermann, Dresden. It seems to the compiler possible that this fine copy is also by Giulio Clovio, but he does not know it in the original.

4. Lockinge, Loyd Collection, Loyd, 1999, no. 105a; black chalk, 413 × 267 mm. From the collection of Reverend Gordon Kenworthy.

5. London, British Museum, W93; black chalk, 400 × 276 mm. Cracherode bequest, from the collection of Jonathan Richardson the Elder. In this copy, the two lamenting angels are omitted; if Perrig's reconstruction of events is correct, this copy might have been made before Michelangelo added the angels, or the copyist deliberately omitted them to restore Michelangelo original intentions, which would imply a copyist close to the master. However, it is more likely a consequence of the fact that the drawing is unfinished. Daniel Godfrey has pointed out to the compiler that the forms in this drawing are also nearly ten percent larger than those of the original, which implies a copying process that expanded the image. The mount carries Richardson's inscription *Bartolommeo Aretino*, which, according to his explanatory annotation on the rear, repeats an old attribution on the drawing's now-concealed verso.

6. London, formerly Mond Collection, Borenius and Wittkower, no. 157; black chalk, pen and bistre wash, 381 × 260 mm. Later, presumably, in the Brackley Collection, Norfolk, where other ex-Mond drawings migrated and where Perrig, 1991, p. 47, refers to a copy of Michelangelo's drawing. As far as the compiler is aware,

the Mond-Brackley copy last appeared at a sale at Christie's, London, 12 April 1983, lot 209.

7. Paris, Louvre, Inv. 732/J121; black chalk, 381 × 262 mm. The attribution of this copy to Giulio Clovio, first suggested by Philip Pouncey, is widely accepted. However, in the compiler's opinion, the drawing is by a hand distinct from Clovio's, one responsible for several other highly finished copies after highly finished originals by Michelangelo, made in an individual chalk technique that closely resembles silverpoint. This hand would be responsible for the following copies of drawings by Michelangelo:

- a. After Michelangelo's *Male Anatomy* in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle (RL 12765/PW421; red chalk, 289 × 180 mm); in the E. J. Poynter sale, London, 24 April 1918, lot 82 (red chalk, 394 × 146 mm) as School of Michelangelo; present whereabouts unknown. This copy is known to the compiler only from a photograph in the Witt Library; it was assigned to Clovio by Wilde in his entry on the original in the Windsor catalogue.
- b. After Michelangelo's *Three Female Heads* in the Uffizi (599E/B186/Corpus 308; black chalk, 341 × 235 mm), in the Teyler Museum, Haarlem, Inv. A13/VT 76; black chalk, 236 × 219 mm. This copy was given to Clovio by C. Monbeig Goguel in an annotation on the mount.
- c. After Michelangelo's *Bacchanal of Infants* in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle (RL 12777/PW431; red chalk, 274 × 388 mm) in Christie's sale, London, 2 July 1996, lot 88; red chalk, 281 × 405 mm, as attributed to Giulio Clovio.

That all four drawings are by the same hand seems likely, but the compiler sees no clear link between this group and drawings certainly by Clovio and is inclined to think that it is by a different, as yet unidentified, draughtsman.

A further copy of the *Christ on the Cross* drawn for Vittoria Colonna, which shows the expanded design prepared by Michelangelo at the request of his servant and friend Urbino, is in Liverpool, The Walker Art Gallery (from the Ince-Blundell collection, WAG 1993.307; black chalk, 455 × 303 mm). This drawing probably copies one by Marcello Venusti, made in preparation for his painting. Like copy 2, this drawing was owned by William Roscoe, appearing in his sale of 1816 as lot 76: "Christ on the Cross, the same subject as the preceding [i.e., no. 2 above], but with the addition of the Virgin and Mary Magdalen [sic] standing at the foot of the Cross in lamentation. The Figures in the Clouds are in this drawing but

very lightly sketched in black chalk; very fine. 18 h. 12 w. From the collection of Mons. Marchetti, Bishop of Arezzo, afterwards of Lord Somers and since of Jonathan Richardson; with remarks on the back in the hand writing of Jon. Richardson the son. This drawing also belonged to Mr. Barnard." Bought Slater for Blundell, £3.15.0.

History

Jean-Baptiste Wicar?; William Young Ottley, his sale, 6 June 1814, lot 1591? ("One – Christ on the cross, two angels lamenting on each side of him in the clouds – a highly finished design – black chalk. CAPITAL. Made by him for the Marchesa di Pescara (See Vasari) formerly in the King of Naples' collection at Capo di Monti." £6.16.6); Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Ottley sale, 6 June 1814, lot 1591? ("One – Christ on the cross, two angels lamenting on each side of him in the clouds – a highly finished design – black chalk. CAPITAL. Made by him for the Marchesa di Pescara (see Vasari) formerly in the King of Naples' collection at Capo di Monti."). Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonaroti Case 3, Drawer 3, no. 18 [1830–21ii] (BM W67 "together with a copy by Julio Clovio."). Woodburn, 1842, no. 24 ("A Careful drawing of our saviour on the Cross – as presented by Marcello Venusti. . . . From the Collection of the Chevalier Wicar."). Woodburn, 1846, no. 33 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1862, p. 4, pl. 7 (As Woodburn, 1842.). Fisher, 1865, I, p. 22, pl. 7 (As 1862.). Robinson, 1870, no. 73 (Copy after Michelangelo.). Fisher, 1872, II, p. 20, pl. 7 (As 1862.). Gotti, 1875, II, p. 224. Springer, 1878, pp. 452–3 (Drawing reproduced; the best copy.). Fisher, 1879, XLVI/48 (Copy.). Springer, 1883, II, pp. 307–9 (As 1878.). Springer, 1895, II, pp. 308–11 (Copy; illustrated.). Berenson, 1903, I, p. 223 ("[W]retched" copy.). Steinmann, II, 1905, p. 502 (Copy, like BM W67/Corpus 411.). Thode, 1908, II, p. 467 (Copy.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 160 (Copy, like BM W67, of lost original made for Vittoria Colonna.). Thode, 1913, no. 447 (Copy after Michelangelo's original, BM W67/Corpus 411.). Berenson, 1938, no. 1724A (Copy.). Delacre, 1938, p. 314 (Copy. BM W67/Corpus 411, which is probably the original.). De Tolnay, 1951, p. 144 (Copy, like BM W67/Corpus 411.). Wilde, 1953a, p. 107 (Copy.). Parker, 1956, no. 352 (After BM W67/Corpus 411.). Dussler, 1959, under no. 329 (Copy.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1724A (As 1938.). Perrig, 1991, p. 47 (Copy, like BM W67/Corpus 411.).



CATALOGUE 68

A Seated Nude Man

1846.116; R.12 (1); P.II 370

Dimensions: 78 × 52 mm, irregular.

Medium

Red chalk.

Condition

The sheet is probably lined. There is localised minor foxing, uneven discolouration, and ingrained dirt. The primary support is drummed by its four edges to the backboard, so the verso is not visible.

Numbering

Lower centre: Robinson's numbering in graphite: 12.

Discussion

This is presumably a quick sketch for a model seated on a stool, and obviously a fragment cut from a larger sheet. Although the forms are quite similar to those found in the Sistine sketchbook (see Cats. 9–16), and the creasing of the abdomen is economically indicated, this figure is

more loosely constructed than the figures found there, and the line-work is lacking in energy and decision. The quality does not seem to be high, but even though the compiler would prefer not to accept that this sketch is by Michelangelo, he would not reject it out of hand. Were it found on a page surrounded by sketches securely by Michelangelo, it might be accepted without comment. But, given that Michelangelo and his pupils occasionally drew side by side on the same sheets, it could still have been drawn by a pupil on a sheet that Michelangelo himself used. However, this fragment cannot be attached to a known sheet.

The sketch was traditionally linked with the Sistine ceiling and identified as being for a Prophet. Steinmann thought of *Ionas*, but the figure is in fact closer to *Ezekiel* as Justi noted. Michelangelo did begin work on the ceiling with a Florentine crew, one of whom might, in theory, have made such a sketch. However, the style of the present sketch does not correspond with that of any of those artists whose drawings have been identified. After Michelangelo dismissed his Florentine assistants, he employed a pair of minor Emilian painters to help him. But no drawings by either are known.

The fact that the present sketch does not share a provenance with the Sistine sketchbook also counts against it as an autograph drawing; furthermore, Michelangelo does not seem to have made *concetti* for the Sistine ceiling in red chalk.

History

Sir Joshua Reynolds (no stamp); Sir Thomas Lawrence (no stamp); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Lawrence Inventory, 1830, Case 7, Drawer 1 [1830–1301] (“Two small Studies in red Chalk, M. Angelo” [with Cat. 71]). Woodburn, 1842, no. 57 (“Two studies on one mount – both in red chalk, the one a sitting male figure.”). Woodburn, 1846, no. 29 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1852, p. 6, pl. 30, upper (As Woodburn, 1842.). Fisher, 1865, I, p. 19, pl. 30 (As 1852.). Robinson, 1870, no. 12.1 (Michelangelo, c. 1518.). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 17, pl. 30 (As 1852.). Ruskin, 1872, p. 100 (“Passing by.”). Black, 1875, p. 213, no. 12a. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 237. Justi, 1900, pp. 117–18 (First idea for *Ezekiel*). Fisher, 1879, VII/7, upper (“[A] naked sitting figure.”). Berenson, 1903, no. 1554.1 (Michelangelo: for a dead Christ; Sistine period.). Steinmann, II, 1905, pp. 381, 599, no. 37 (Michelangelo, for *Ionas*). Jacobsen, 1907, pp. 390–1 (Closer to *Ioel*; could also be for an Apostle



before the scheme was changed.). Thode, 1908, I, p. 253; II, p. 491 (Not for *Ionas*, perhaps for a *Pietà*). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 155a (Michelangelo: study for a Sistine prophet, perhaps *Ioel*). Thode, 1913, no. 396 (Neither for *Ionas* nor a *Pietà*). Berenson, 1938, no. 1554.1 (As 1903.). Parker, 1956, no. 370 (“[M]ore than doubtful whether this very slight sketch is attributable to Michelangelo.”). Dussler, 1959, no. 601 (School drawing; Sistine period.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1554a (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1962, p. 23 (Michelangelo.). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 150 (Attribution to Michelangelo doubtful.). Joannides, 1981b, p. 682 (Not Michelangelo.). Perrig, 1991, p. 146 (By a pupil of Daniele da Volterra.).

CATALOGUE 69

A Boy Struggling with an Unidentifiable Form
1846.114; R.42 (1); P.II 372

Dimensions: 163 × 129 mm

Medium

Black chalk.

Condition

There is minor edge skinning, minor abrasion, local foxing, and uneven discolouration.

Discussion

This drawing has generally not been accepted as being by Michelangelo over the last century, and, despite its decent quality, this view is surely correct.

The pose is based on a well-known Hellenistic prototype of a boy wrestling with a goose, which exists in numerous versions, and which was certainly known to Michelangelo (Natali, 1985, p. 28, suggests that the Child in the *Doni tondo* was inspired by such a figure.). In the present drawing, however, the compiler is unable to descry the boy's opponent, and thus the subject. The infant Hercules strangling the serpents is obviously one possibility, and even though this victory was, in principle, achieved by a child seated or reclining in a cradle

rather than standing (cf. Cat. 80), it was shown in a form not entirely dissimilar to that of the present drawing by Michelangelo's pupil Antonio Mini in a drawing in the Louvre (Inv. 35296/J53; red chalk, 285 × 172 mm). Another possibility is that it could represent Ganymede abducted by Jupiter, but the child's form seems more muscular and less pliant than one would usually expect in a treatment of Ganymede.

The present treatment, however, does have suggestions of a Michelangelesque force and energy and – despite the unresolved lighting, with shadows cast by the left leg both horizontally and angled into depth – it is not inconceivable that it could be a copy of a lost drawing by Michelangelo. The *putto's* physique and movement are considerably more vigorous, for example, than the derivation of the same prototype included in the scene of *Putti playing with Swans*, one of the vault frescoes in the Villa Madama designed by Giulio Romano or Gianfrancesco Penni shortly after Raphael's death.

Alternatively, the pentiments in the head – the boy seems to have a third eye – and around the feet and legs might suggest an original effort by an artist working in a Michelangelesque manner. In either case, the compiler thinks that this drawing might be by the same hand as one in Frankfurt (Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, Inv. 393/Corpus 332; black chalk, 186 × 124 mm), with a provenance from Casa Buonarroti and Wicar; this too seems not to be by Michelangelo, but it reflects his models.

The same figure was also copied by Battista Franco (Paris, Louvre, Inv. 4973; red chalk, 180 × 112 mm).

History

Casa Buonarroti?; Jean-Baptiste Wicar?; Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–101i] (“Two – a Winged [sic] Cupid, black chalk, highly finished and” [Cat. 25]). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 9.1 (“A Cupid – undraped; probably a design for the celebrated statue which he made and buried, to be dug up as an antique, and which deceived the antiquarians of Rome, and established the reputation of Michael Angelo. This beautiful drawing is highly finished in black chalk; and is, in point of grace and classic feeling, equal to the best of the Greek sculptors.”). The Athenaeum, 16 July 1836 (“‘A Cupid’; finished with the delicacy of a Leonardo, the grace of a Raffael, and his own grandeur.”).

Woodburn, 1842, no. 17 (As 1836.). Fisher, 1862, p. 5, pl. 23 [sic: pl. 22, left] (As Woodburn, 1842.). Fisher, 1865, II, p. 24, pl. 22, left (As 1862.). Robinson, 1870, no. 42.1 (Michel Angelo. “apparently made from the well-known antique marble group of an *amorino* struggling with a goose; but a flying drapery has been added, and instead of the bird a slight indication of what appears to be intended as the fore parts of a bounding panther is substituted” c. 1510–20.). Fisher, 1872, II, p. 22, pl. 22 (As 1862.). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 39a. Gotti, 1875, II, pp. 238–9 (Wrongly described as in pen.). Fisher, 1879, XXXI/33 (Quotes Robinson, 1870.). Berenson, 1903, under no. 1709 (“[T]oo soft and pretty . . . to be by Michelangelo; nor does it quite seem by Sebastiano, although much closer to him.”). Thode, 1908, I, p. 64 (Michelangelo, based on boy struggling with goose.). K. Frey, 1909–11, p. 104 under no. 214 (Too weak for Michelangelo or Sebastiano.). Thode, 1913, no. 426 (As 1908.). Berenson, 1938, under no. 1709 (As 1903.). Parker, 1956, no. 372 (“[O]f indeterminate character and little importance. Robinson was no doubt rightly reminded in it of the Hellenistic figure of the Boy with the Goose.”). Dussler, 1959, no. 620 (Neither Michelangelo nor Sebastiano.). Berenson, 1961, under no. 1709 (As 1903/1938.). Hartt, 1971, p. 390 (Listed without comment.). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus II, p. 107 (Placed in relation to the *Infant Bacchanal*.).

CATALOGUE 70

A Man in Violent Action

1846.119; R.66; P.II 373

Dimensions: 213 × 145 mm

Watermark: A spread eagle; Robinson Appendix no. 15.

Medium

Pen and ink over red chalk; a few lines in black chalk.

Condition

The sheet is probably lined. There are minor edge losses and the impression of a central pressed-out horizontal fold with some ingrained dirt. There are minor edge and corner tear repairs, some infills where the ink has burned through, and some inherent wrinkles. The sheet has minor surface abrasion, edge dirt, and general



discolouration. The primary support is drummed by its four edges to the backboard, so the verso is not visible.

Inscriptions

Lower left: in pen and ink, partially in Greek: δελττω
Buonarrroti.

Upper right: in pen and ink: 147: GB; about 15 mm below this 47 (or 67?).

According to Robinson there was a now lost inscription on the verso by Sir Joshua Reynolds:

Michel Angelo/

Study for restoring the Torso

Discussion

Although the thighs and torso are obviously inspired by the *Belvedere Torso*, like so much of Michelangelo's work, this drawing can hardly be, as Reynolds thought, a project for its restoration.

It may show one figure standing above another, about to strike, following one of Michelangelo's designs for a group of *Victory* for the Julius Tomb, or, conceivably, his planned *Samson Slaying Two Philistines*, but it cannot precisely be related to any known sculptural project. There is also some relation to Christ in the *Last Judgement*, but

because that figure is developed from the same thematic cluster, that is unsurprising.

The drawing's authorship is conjectural. Parker, like Berenson, was reminded of Montelupo; the compiler thinks he can see some relation with the work of Battista Franco, who worked with Montelupo. The figure type and the way the drawing is structured, would suggest an artist with knowledge of the *Last Judgement* and, perhaps, of preparatory drawings by Michelangelo for that work.

This and Cat. 113 (for which see further discussion) seem to be the drawings recorded in Ottley's sale of 1803 as part of lot 27. This contained four drawings, two of which, "in pen and bistre," were "from M. Angelo's model for restoring the celebrated antique torso." These studies were attributed by Ottley to KENT, by which he presumably meant William Kent, the painter and, still more famously, architect. If this attribution is correct, they were no doubt copied by Kent after earlier drawings because neither bears any obvious relation to his known drawing style; nor do they resemble each other. But it is much more likely that they were simply owned either by Kent, or his homonym, the dealer, and ownership was mistaken for authorship by Ottley – it is difficult to credit that either Kent would have inscribed the present drawing in Greek.

Parker's tentative suggestion of Bandinelli as the author of the companion drawing, Cat. 113, may have been a slip for this drawing and has not been taken up by later writers. There is no similarity between that drawing and the one that he cites as a comparison in the British Museum (1854–6–28–1/Berenson, 1938, no. 1681, as Bandinelli; pen and ink with wash, 400 × 210 mm), but there is a distinct resemblance between the British Museum drawing and the present one. However, whether this is sufficiently tight to confirm that they are both by the same hand is moot. Nevertheless, both drawings are energetic and vital and do seem to be by a draughtsman or draughtsmen of real quality. As Berenson noted, the British Museum drawing is a free variant upon the *ignudo* to the right above Joel, while the present drawing is, as noted previously, a free variant upon the *Belvedere Torso*.

The early collector who inscribed the drawing in inaccurate Greek may have done so in imitation of the practice of Vincenzo Borghini, but is, as the compiler is assured by R. Scorza, distinct from him.

History

The Greek inscriber, presumably Florentine late-sixteenth-century (see also Cat. 62); Pierre Crozat? (a trace of his numbering lower right?); Unidentified Collector (lower right, stamp? L. 1418); Sir Joshua Reynolds

(L.2364); William Young Ottley, probably his sale of 1803, part of lot 27 (“Four – two of studies, pen, and two drawings in pen and bistre by KENT, from M. Angelo’s model for restoring the celebrated antique torso. See on the back, quotations from Richardson and Wright.”); Sir Thomas Lawrence (no stamp); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Ottley sale, 1803, lot 27? (“Four – two of studies, pen, and two drawings in pen and bistre by KENT, from M. Angelo’s model for restoring the celebrated antique torso. See on the back, quotations from Richardson and Wright.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 74 (“Study for the Restoration of the Torso – vigorous pen drawing.”). Woodburn, 1846, no. 40 (As 1842.). Robinson, 1870, no. 66 (Michelangelo. “Sir Joshua Reynolds, to whom this drawing formerly belonged, has written on the back of it – ‘Michelangelo/ Study for restoring the Torso.’” But “Although there is a certain general resemblance to the well-known antique fragment, the violent action or movement of the figure is . . . different from that of its supposed prototype. The exaggerated muscular development, or rather the precise manner in which the superficial muscles are defined, suggests, on the contrary, the idea that this was a sketch for a projected anatomical model for the use of artists.”). Black, 1875, p. 215, no. 56. Berenson, 1903, no. 1723 (Heemskerck’s sketches should remove any doubt that it is a sketch for restoring the torso; probably by Montelupo?. A smoother black chalk version of the same sketch is in the Uffizi, perhaps by Daniele da Volterra, but formerly ascribed to Michelangelo himself: no. 1653.). Justi, 1909, p. 256 (Michelangelo: sketch for restoring the Torso.). Berenson, 1938, I, pp. 257, 263, no. 1723 (As 1903.). Delacre, 1938, pp. 453–4 (Reproduced as Michelangelo?. Related to drawing at Dresden formerly attributed to Michelangelo but rejected by Morelli [1892, col. 54] and annotated Cambiaso.). Parker, 1956, no. 373 (Not Michelangelo. “A derivation from the Torso of the Belvedere can hardly be doubted, and, even if not by Montelupo, the drawing may well be the work of some other contemporary sculptor.”). Berenson, 1961, no. 1723 (As 1903/1938.).

CATALOGUE 71

A Caricatural Head

1846.120; R.12 (2); P.II 374

Dimensions: 118 × 85 mm

Medium

Red chalk.

Condition

The sheet is probably lined. There are extensive repairs and major vertical and horizontal pressed-out folds. There are some repaired fractures and tears with ingrained edge dirt and toned infills, accretions, local staining and uneven discolouration. The primary support is drummed by its four edges to the backboard, so the verso is not visible.

Discussion

This sheet was at some time torn into four and then re-assembled; the left edge also seems to have been cut away and then restored.

The facial type is certainly related to those drawn by Michelangelo, and, in the past, this drawing has frequently been accepted as an autograph work, c. 1526. The compiler would not exclude absolutely Michelangelo’s authorship, but a lack of vivacity in the handling and a dryness in the line-work suggest that it is less likely to be by the master than to be a copy after him, by an unidentified artist.

History

Sir Joshua Reynolds (L.2364, fragmentary); Sir Thomas Lawrence (no stamp); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Lawrence Inventory, 1830, Case 7, Drawer 1 [1830–130ii] (“Two small Studies in red Chalk, M. Angelo” [with Cat. 68]). Woodburn, 1842, no. 57 (“Two studies on one mount – both in red chalk, . . . the other a grotesque head of a man.”). Woodburn, 1846, no. 29 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1852, p. 6, pl. 30, lower (As Woodburn, 1842.). Fisher, 1865, I, p. 19, pl. 30, lower (As 1852.). Robinson, 1870, no. 12.2 (Michelangelo, c. 1500.). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 17, pl. 30 (As 1852.). Black, 1875, p. 213, no. 12b. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 237. Fisher, 1879, VII/7, lower (“[A]pparently a caricature from life.”). Springer, 1883, I, p. 310 (Shows influence of Leonardo.). Berenson, 1903, no. 1554.2 (“[A]n amusing caricature, nearly contemporary with” [Cats. 32, 31, 29]). K. Frey, 1909–11, under no. 155a (Not Michelangelo. By an artist from the second third of the cinquecento who knew drawings by Michelangelo and Leonardo; links with [Cat. 31] and Louvre Inv. 684 recto/J29/Corpus 95.). Justi, 1909, p. 296 (Caricature of Alessandro dei Medici.). Thode, 1913, no. 397 (Frey wrong to dismiss this drawing; links with Faun’s Head, Louvre Inv. 684 recto/J29/Corpus 95.). Berenson, 1938, no. 1554.2 (As 1903.). Parker, 1956,



no. 374 (Not by Michelangelo, but an original drawing, not a copy.). Dussler, 1959, no. 602 (Second half sixteenth century.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1554b (As 1903/1938.). Hartt, 1971, p. 390 (Rejected.). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 129 (Michelangelo, c. 1515–17?. Mistakenly says accepted as an original by Parker.). Østermark-Johansen, 1998, pp. 87, 91, fig. 13 (Michelangelo.).

Condition

There are several areas of tissue repairs and infills and major tear repairs. There is a skinned patch, local staining, foxing and uneven discolouration. The primary support is drummed by its four edges to the backboard, so the verso is not visible.

Discussion

This drawing studies in detail a section of a Golgotha composition of which a fuller rendering survives in the Louvre (Inv. 839/J79; red chalk, 186 × 142 mm). The Louvre sheet is smaller than the present one, and the forms common to both are less precisely described than here. The Paris version, which entered the Louvre with Jabach's sale of 1671, displays more signs of creativity, with a small, unrelated figure sketched at the top right of the sheet and subsequently covered. However, in the present drawing, there are also signs of thought, if of a rather dull kind: The feet and lower part of the drapery of the collapsed Virgin is repeated at the bottom of the sheet, and

CATALOGUE 72

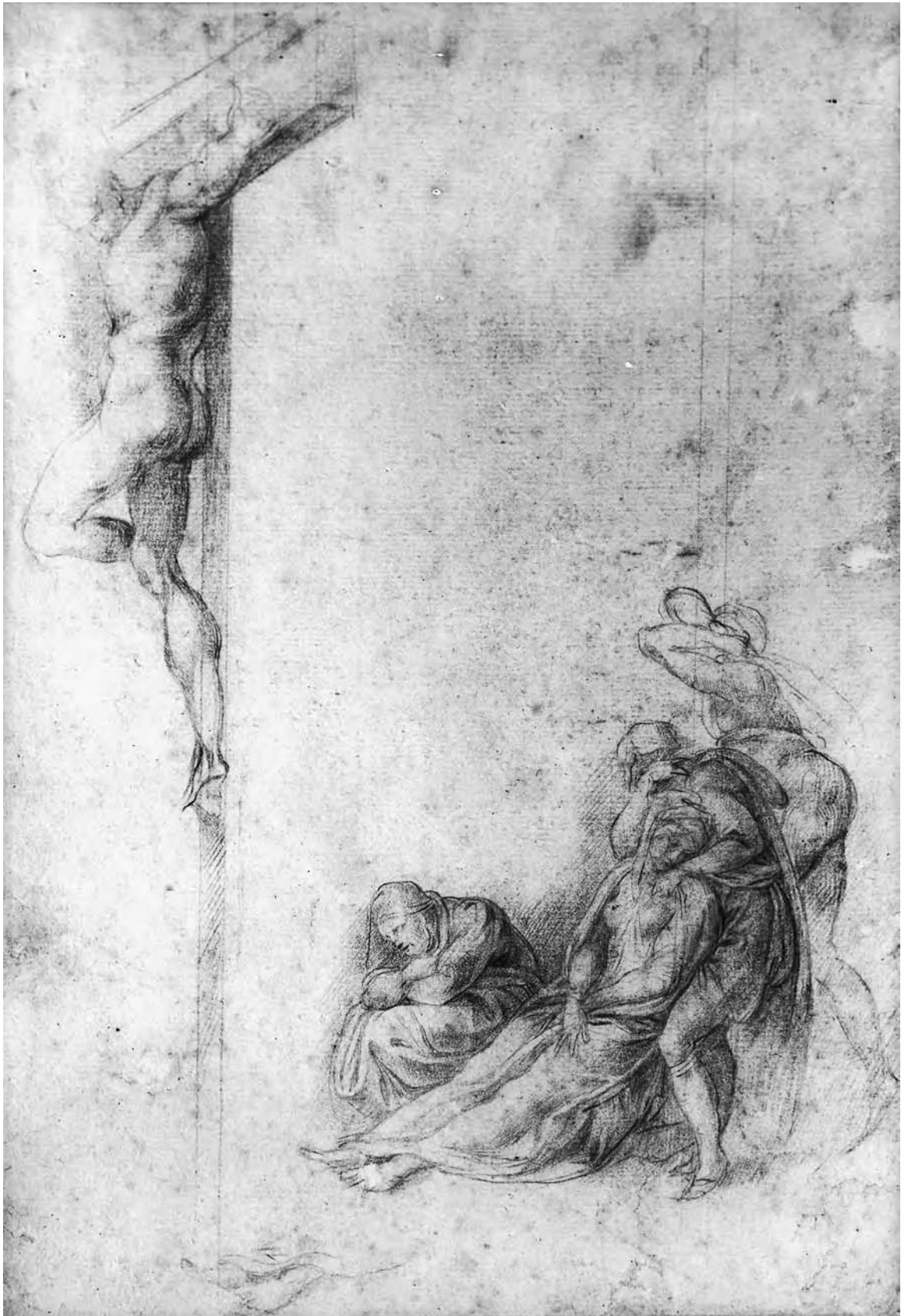
Golgotha

1846–122; R.38; P.II 376

Dimensions: 264 × 180 mm

Medium

Red chalk.



the angle at which the horizontal bar of the cross is seen has been modified.

The obvious assumption would be that Louvre 839 represents a preparatory sketch for a Golgotha composition, and that the present drawing is a copy of a section of a worked-up version of that, on a larger scale. It would seem that the draughtsman of the present drawing did not allow himself enough space to make his copy and that, after copying the mourning group and laying in with a ruler the upright of the cross of the bad thief at the left, was compelled to insert the figure of the bad thief directly above the Virgin and her companions. This analysis would imply that the two drawings are by different hands, a contention that could be reinforced by noting that it would be unlikely for one and the same artist to create a composition and then to copy his own work inaccurately. However, in the compiler's view, there is little to choose qualitatively between the two drawings, and he tends to think that both probably are by the same hand. If so, this would suggest that both drawings are copies of a lost prototype: the Louvre drawing a sketch copy, the present drawing a would-be same-size copy that the sheet was too small to contain. Such an interpretation would also reinforce the general assumption that both drawings are copies after a lost composition by Michelangelo.

However, the compiler doubts whether this is the correct answer. Although the composition as laid out in Louvre 839 shows numerous references to Michelangelo's drawings, it seems to be an assemblage of parts from different Michelangelesque sources, rather than a copy of any single composition. No parallel can be found in Michelangelo's work for the collision of the crosses, nor for the grouping of the mourning figures, where compositional coherence is slight, and the body of the Virgin stiff and inexpressive. The same is true of the details. The pose of Christ seems to derive from a type with which Michelangelo experimented in a drawing in Christ Church (JBS 63/Corpus 421; black chalk, 162 × 101 mm, perhaps the good thief, St. Dismas), and the present artist has produced a version of this, elongated in a way that anticipates El Greco. The right-hand thief, with legs crossed, seems to show knowledge of studies for the Medici chapel *Evening*; the figure below with raised hands is strongly reminiscent of the left-hand Heliade in the British Museum version of the *Fall of Phaeton* (W55/Corpus 340; black chalk, 313 × 217 mm); the figure supporting the Virgin, with one arm bent across her face, comes close to the left-hand seated Sibyl of the Metropolitan Museum *modello* for the Julius Tomb (Inv. 62931/Corpus 489; pen and ink and wash over black chalk, 509 × 318 mm); the female figure advancing

from the left shows, in headdress and facial type, knowledge of Presentation Drawings by Michelangelo such as the *Three Female Heads* made for Gherardo Perini in the Uffizi (599E/B186/Corpus 308; black chalk, 343 × 236 mm). Such a *mélange*, plus the compositional infelicity of the design as a whole, suggests that although it is the work of an artist with access to Michelangelo's drawings, it does not record a composition by the master. Indeed, a Crucifixion shown obliquely is a conception more to be expected from a Pordenone than a Michelangelo. Nevertheless, given its close reflection of Michelangelesque types, this drawing seems more appropriately included in the section of copies after lost works by Michelangelo than among the rejected drawings.

Compilations of this type were produced by Bacchiacca, but neither Louvre 839 nor the present drawing seem to be by him, nor does anything similar survive among his abundant painted production. A more likely possibility is that both are the work of Giulio Clovio, which some of the forms (such as the head of the left-hand female which is close in type to that of the Virgin in Clovio's *Adoration of the Magi* in the Royal Collection (PW241; grey chalk, 308 × 215 mm) would also indicate, as would the miniaturist refinement of execution; the lack of qualitative discordance with the Louvre drawing, which suggests an artist used to repetitive production; and the link with El Greco, a protégé of Clovio's in his late years.

It would still be difficult to explain the fact that in the present drawing the bad thief was drawn in an inappropriate position, but this might be accounted for by hypothesizing that the artist was producing a partial replica of his own work, for cannibalisation elsewhere.

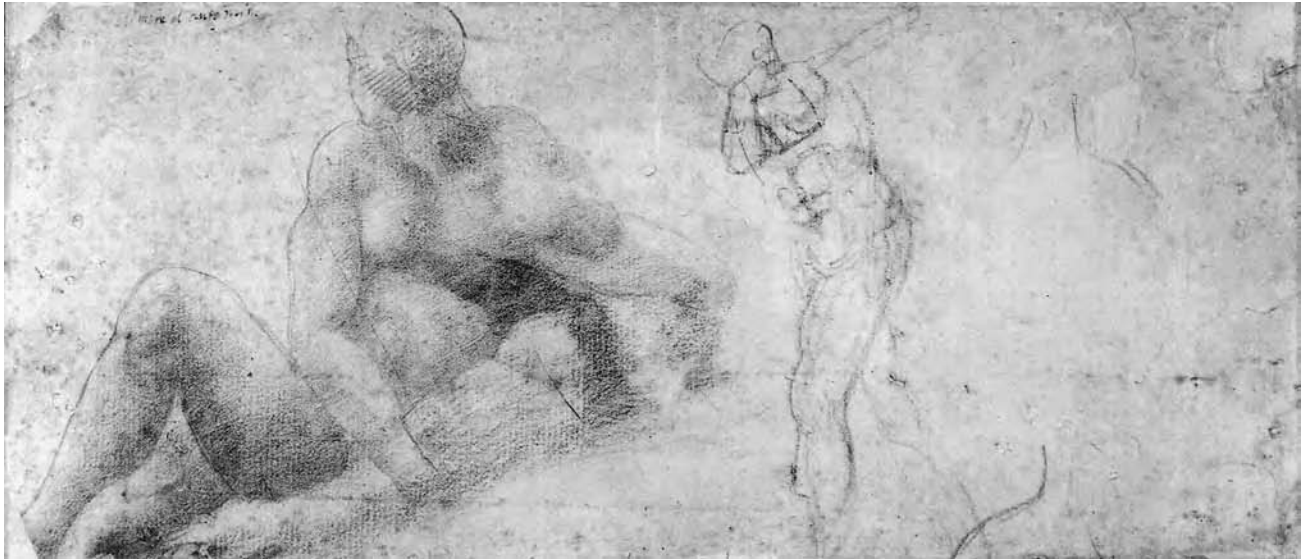
A copy of the Louvre version appeared at Sotheby's, London, 2 July 1999, lot 121; red chalk, 161 × 115 mm; it is probable that this is identical with a drawing recorded in Jabach's 1695 inventory (Py, no. 764), which seems to have been a same-size copy of the Louvre version and might well have been cut down; the present version is too large to correspond to Jabach's drawing.

History

Paignon-Dijonval; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti Case 3, Drawer 3, no. 9 [1830-12] ("Study for part of the Crucifixion, the Virgin fainting. – red chalk."). Woodburn, 1842, no. 36 ("[A] very highly finished design."). Woodburn, 1846, no. 44 (As 1842.). Robinson, 1870, no. 38 (Michel Angelo "doubtless intended to assume the



shape of a rather crowded pictorial composition of small figures... It is probable that the foreshortened figure of one of the thieves, seen in side view on the left, and the beautiful group with the Virgin swooning... are disconnected studies; i.e. meant for the same composition, but not arranged in their proper relative position." Analogies between this drawing and Michelangelo's studies for Sebastiano's *Flagellation*, and his *Three Crosses* in the British Museum, W32/Corpus 87.). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 35. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 224. Fagan, 1883, p. 116 ("[A] study of the same subject [as BM W32/Corpus 87], the principal group being of the Virgin swooning. Daniele da Volterra has also represented the group with more or less of identity in the *Deposition* in the church of the Trinità del Monte, Rome."). Thode, 1908, II, p. 476 (After a lost Michelangelo design, like Louvre Inv. 839/J79.). Thode, 1913, no. 421 (As 1908.). Parker, 1956, no. 376 (This and Louvre Inv. 839/J79 are "copies of a common original... the work of some follower of the master."). Dussler, 1959, no. 617 (Doubtful if an original by Michelangelo existed.). Hartt, 1971, p. 391 (Rejected.). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, no. 88 (After a lost drawing by Michelangelo, c. 1524–5.). Joannides, 1981b, p. 681 ("Assemblage of elements derived from Michelangelo"; sources noted.). Joannides, 2003a, pp. 225–6 (Discussion of Louvre Inv. 839/J79.).

CATALOGUE 73

ANTONIO MINI (1506–c. 1534)

Recto: A Reclining Figure; A Fleeing Figure

Verso: A Fleeing Figure; A Column

1846.123; R.60.4; P.II 377

Dimensions: 148 × 340 mm

Medium

Recto: Red chalk.

Verso: Red chalk with touches of black chalk; pen and ink, a ruled line in stylus down the centre of the column.

Condition

Double-sided solid museum mount.

Recto: There are losses at the upper left and right corners and the lower left corner that have been repaired and made-up with off-white laid paper. There is overall surface dirt and discolouration. The sheet has various holes, and there is patchy foxing.

Verso: In addition to the patchy foxing, there are various stains in the leg area.

Inscription

Recto: Upper left in pen: *di mano d'anto mini* (in a sixteenth-century hand).

Description

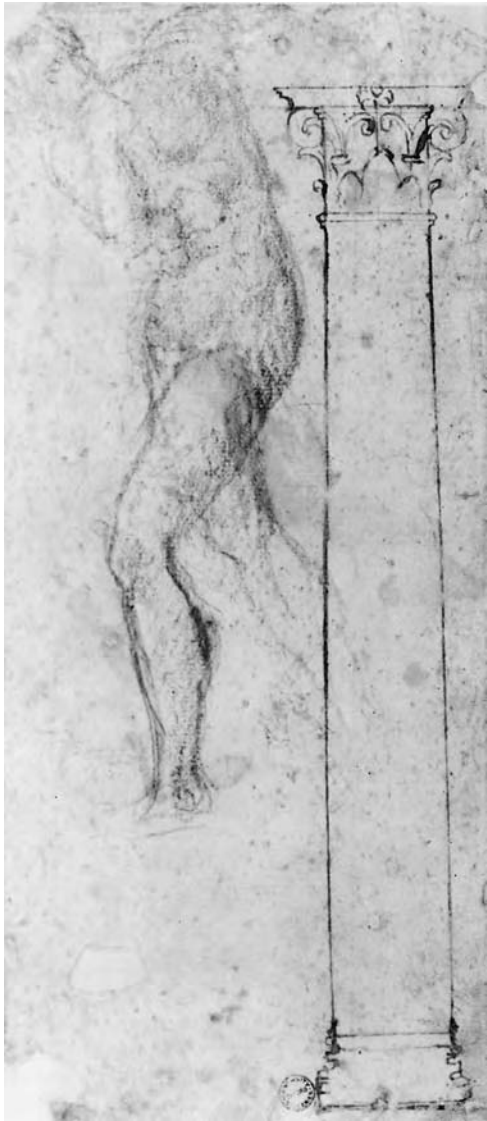
Recto

A. Study of a model? for the *Day*, from the rear.

B. A figure advancing from right to left while turning around to his right. Generally described as an *Archer*, he is, perhaps, running in fear.

C. Caricatural outline of a head, seen from the rear?. This weak outline drawing might be by Andrea Quaratesi.

D. Outline of a left shoulder seen from the rear.



Verso

A. A larger version of B on the recto.

B. In pen and ink: a column with Corinthian capital.

Discussion

Both sides of this sheet, with the possible exception of C on the recto, are no doubt by Antonio Mini as the old inscription indicates.

The outline drawing of a column on the verso, although not penned with Michelangelo's precision, is similar to studies by him for architectural projects. The vertical lines are too exact to have been drawn free-hand, and they were no doubt made with the aid of a curve. It does not appear to be a practice drawing, intended to familiarise Mini with classical architectural forms, and because, as far as we are aware, Mini was not independently active as an architect, it seems most probable that

this drawing was made as part of the preparation for a project by Michelangelo. Perhaps Michelangelo felt that a task of this kind could safely be delegated. Alternatively, it might be a copy of a lost drawing by Michelangelo, with Mini trying out his hand at an architectural form.

It is uncertain to what project the column may be related, but it could have been the reliquary tribune of San Lorenzo, on which Michelangelo began to work in late 1531, shortly before Mini undertook his ill-fated voyage to France. The columns that support the reliquary tribune are – uniquely in this period of Michelangelo's work – Corinthian, as in the drawing, and the proportions too seem appropriate.

The view of *Day* from the back is unlikely to have been drawn from the statue itself; as Wilde pointed out, it was probably made from a small model. But because the *Day* (and the *Night*) seems to have been re-designed in late 1524 when the marbles that Michelangelo had planned for these figures failed to materialise, and because the present drawing corresponds closely – although not exactly – with the figure's new state, 27 October 1524 – when Michelangelo had marbles transferred to San Lorenzo from his own stock in his Via Mozza workshop (Ricordo CXVIII) – is a secure *terminus post quem*. However, the competence of the drawing is greater than Mini would have seemed capable of even in late 1524, and it too was probably made a little later, perhaps in 1525 or 1526. It may be that the model of the *Day* was one of the many that Michelangelo gave to his pupil to assist him in his career in France.

The smaller drawing of the "Archer," or fleeing figure, on the recto and its enlargement on the verso cannot be connected securely with any project by Michelangelo, and the purpose of this figure remains conjectural. The pose does not seem to the compiler securely that of an archer, but if this is the correct identification, the drawings might have been made in connection with a *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*, although none such is known either by Michelangelo or by Mini. If fleeing, he might be a guard in a *Resurrection*, a subject treated frequently by Michelangelo in the early 1530s. There are also some similarities of pose with figures in an active composition sketched by Mini on a sheet in Florence (CB 37F/B170; red chalk, 203 × 248 mm), which seems to be a variant (perhaps an independent one) of a *Brazen Serpent* design by Michelangelo (see Cat. 78). They are also very similar to those on a double-sided sheet of red chalk drawing (195 × 86 mm, clearly cut down from a larger sheet), which appeared in the N. Rauch sale, Geneva, 13–15 June 1960, lot 261 (the recto alone illustrated) as by Michelangelo, with a provenance from the collections of Prince Argoutinsky-Dolgorouff and H. de Marignane (père);

it was presumably acquired, or bought in, at that sale by H. de Marignane fils, for it was included in the exhibition of his collection held in Monte Carlo in 1966, as no. 6, attributed to Michelangelo. The entry notes that two (unnamed) specialists had considered it to be by Mini, one of them believing it to have been retouched by Michelangelo, a view held by Berenson of the present drawing. The compiler agrees that the Marignane drawing, which was once part of the collection formed by Padre Resta for Monsignore Marchetti, is by Mini.

Drawn Copies

A on the verso was copied c. 1580 by Andrea Commodi on Uffizi 18611F recto.

History

Casa Buonarroti by c. 1580; Jean Baptiste Wicar; Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (no stamp); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Woodburn, 1842, no. 35 (“Five very fine studies on one Mount . . . one in red [chalk] on which is written de Mano di Anton Mini”; added to [Cats. 51–53], which seem to have been mounted together from at least 1804 and no doubt earlier, and [Cat. 101].). Woodburn, 1846, no. 40 (As 1842.). Robinson, 1870, no. 60.5 (Michelangelo. Recto: “a recumbent male figure, evidently done from a cast or wax model, but in a broad and masterly style. . . . If it be really the work of Mini, it shows how completely he had mastered Michelangelo’s style, even in the manner of his slightest sketches.”). Black, 1875, p. 215, no. 55. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 227. Berenson, 1903, I, pp. 253–4, no. 1722 (Mini.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 245 (Recto: main figure Mini; smaller female one possibly Michelangelo.); no. 246 (Verso: figure perhaps Michelangelo; also possibly the column, related to those for San Lorenzo.). Thode, 1913, no. 439 (Recto: the reclining figure probably by Mini; the fleeing figure might be Michelangelo, but the motif certainly his.). Popp, 1925a, p. 19 (Mini, 1525–6. [A] a free copy after a model for *Night* [sic].). Berenson, 1935, p. 272 (Mini’s name probably added by Baldinucci. A weak drawing, well below anything assigned to “Andrea.”). Berenson, 1938, I, pp. 256, 364, no. 1722 (As 1935; [A] “after some slight sketch for one of the recumbent figures in the Medici chapel, possibly for one of the River Gods.”). Delacre, 1938, p. 91 (Doubtful of attribution to Mini.). Wilde, 1953a, p. 68 (By Mini after a model for the *Day*. Another drawing by Mini inspired by *Day* is BM W34.). Parker, 1956, no. 377 (Recto and verso by Mini. [A] perhaps not after a model for *Day* but simply

a memory sketch.). Dussler, 1959, no. 628 (Both sides by Mini. Recto: [A] from a model for *Day*.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1722 (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1962, pp. 216–17 (Similarities support attribution of CB34F to Mini.).

CATALOGUE 74

ANTONIO MINI (1506–c. 1534)

Recto: A Drunken Faun and Another Figure

Verso: Sketches of Limbs

1846.124. R.79; P.II 378

Dimensions: 335 × 238 mm

Medium

Red chalk.

Condition

Double-sided solid museum mount with thin perspex applied to both sides; the hinges discoloured to yellow-brown.

Recto: The support is undulating. There is overall discolouration and surface dirt plus various pale brown stains overall. A large section of paper is missing at the lower left corner; there is also an irregular strip at the lower right side and at the bottom edge, which have been made up in thin toned paper. There is a vertical tear at the upper left and many small vertical tears along the top edge. There is one vertical fold line down the centre.

Verso: Six horizontal fold lines are particularly visible from this side as are the tear repairs at the edge and the lower part of the vertical central fold. There is overall discolouration and surface dirt and the stains on the recto are darker on this side.

Description

Recto

A. A drunken faun seen from the front.

B. A figure in a complex pose.

C. A very faint schematic form at lower right, possibly part of a foot.

Verso

Top line

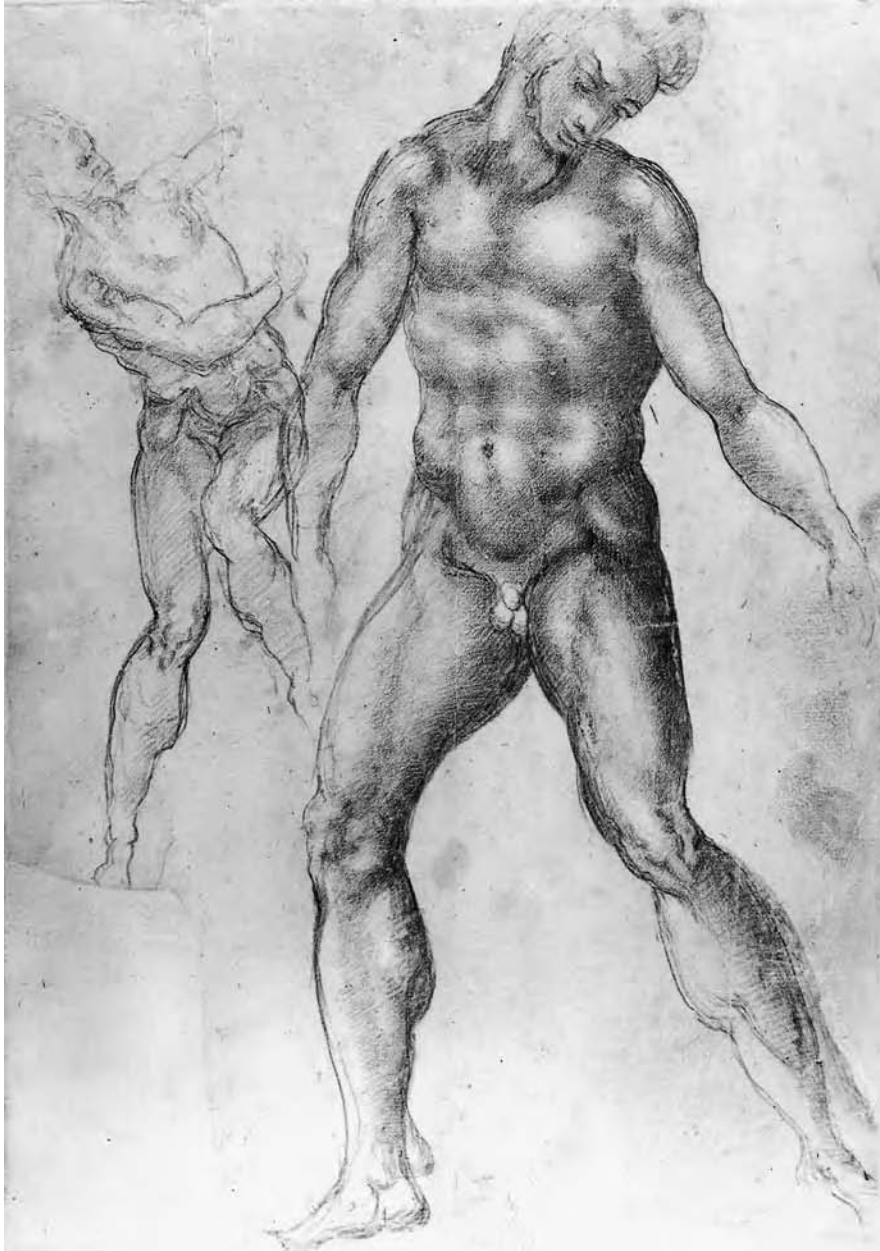
A. A face looking down, in right profile.

B. A left leg, seen from the right.

C. Indecipherable; perhaps a bone.

D. A left hand, seen in right profile.

E. A right leg, seen frontally.



Second line

F. A right arm, seen frontally.

G. The small and fourth fingers of a right hand, seen from above.

H. Right? part of torso and shoulder, seen frontally.

Third line

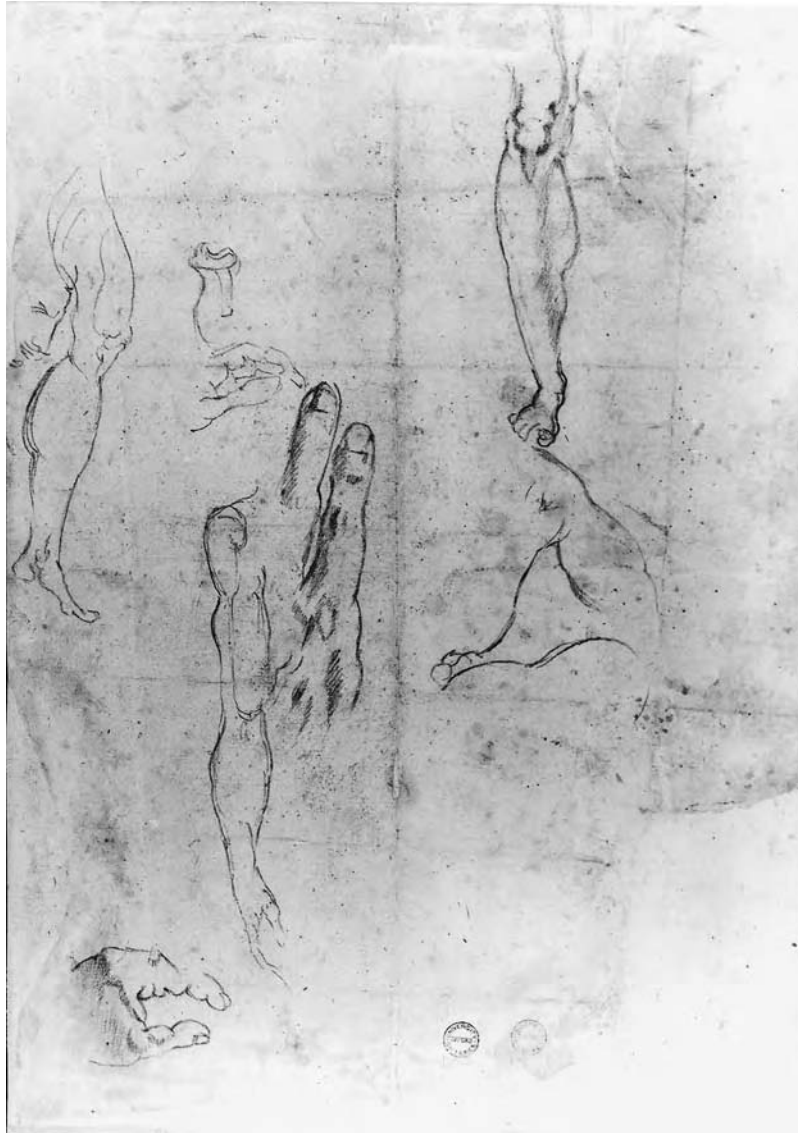
I. A left hand.

Discussion

It seems possible, though hardly provable, that there is a connection between the large figure on the recto, which seems to represent a drunken faun, and Michelangelo's

design for a *Bacchanal* for Alfonso d'Este, for which an autograph figure study survives in the Louvre (Inv. 697/J21/Corpus 69; red chalk, 275 × 173 mm). This is the only project by Michelangelo or a member of his studio dating from the 1520s likely to have included drunken fauns, although, of course, Michelangelo's artistic interest in the subject of inebriation goes back as far as the *Bacchus* of 1496.

There are pentiments in both legs; this suggests possible intervention by Michelangelo himself, improving upon the version of his pupil Antonio Mini; however, the line-work is not so emphatically superior to the rest for this to be certain.



The smaller figure, which overlaps the Faun slightly, is placed in a quite complex pose and must derive from an invention by Michelangelo, but it cannot be linked with any known project. One possible purpose, in the compiler's view, would be for a figure placed on a ladder, helping to support the body of Christ as it is lowered from the Cross: An example of such a scheme by Michelangelo dating from this time is the *Deposition* in the Teyler Museum, Haarlem (A25 recto/VT 60/Corpus 89; red chalk 331 × 229 mm). However, the present figure cannot be found in that drawing, and it might well have been drawn with some other subject in mind.

The hatching on the legs is relatively fluent and fast and, again, could represent re-touching by Michelangelo as could the contour of the figure's right calf. It is, of course, uncertain when this drawing was made, but, like

Cat. 73, it probably dates from a relatively developed stage in Mini's career in Michelangelo's workshop.

Verso

These drawings might well be copies after sketches by Michelangelo, either ones made with didactic purpose, or simply studies retained in the studio, in which case the models for these copies might well have antedated them by two decades or more. Studies by Michelangelo of legs seen from the front and of hands are sufficiently common not to require itemising. H, which might represent the shoulder and a neck of a turning figure, is loosely reminiscent of certain diagrammatic sketches by Michelangelo, such as CB15F/B179/Corpus 326; black chalk, 206 × 248 mm; probably of the later 1520s made in preparation for the *Victory*. If so, then the present sheet

would probably have been made – at least in part – towards the end of Mini's time with Michelangelo, which would help account for its somewhat higher quality than most of his drawings.

History

William Young Ottley; Sir Thomas Lawrence (no stamp); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Woodburn, 1842, no. 60 (“[A]pparently from antique bronzes, supposed to be drawn in the old age of M. Angelo.”). Robinson, 1870, no. 79 (Michelangelo in old age, but original inventions. Use of red chalk in this period rare. Shortcomings in regard to proportion are characteristic indications of senility.). Black, 1875, p. 215, no. 67. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 237. Berenson, 1903, I, p. 254, no. 1725 (Mini is “somewhat better than I should expect of him.”). Thode, 1913, no. 451 (Seated figure perhaps by Michelangelo himself.). Berenson, 1935, p. 270 (Would now hesitate to give to Mini.). Berenson, 1938, I, pp. 256, 364, no. 1725 (“Excellent copies after originals of about 1530. . . . [T]oo good for Mini, to whom I used to attribute them. . . . [Perhaps] Mini or someone else in the studio began this drawing then the torso and thighs of . . . [B recto] were finished by Michelangelo himself.”). Parker, 1956, no. 378 (“Connection with Mini. . . uncertain.” Both the faun and the seated figure “show a certain impressiveness.”). Dussler, 1959, no. 623 (Mini's authorship uncertain. No direct link with Michelangelo.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1725 (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1962, pp. 215–17, 225, 228 (This drawing supports Mini's authorship of CB37F/B170, CB34F/B171, CB53F/B174/Corpus 229bis, CB74F/B177, CB5F/B180/Corpus 137.). Perrig, 1999, p. 251 (Mini.).

CATALOGUE 75

ANTONIO MINI (1506–c. 1534)

Recto: A Pietà (fragmentary)

Verso: Part of a Letter

1846.125; R.48.1; P.II 378*

Dimensions: 83 × 72 mm, laid into a sheet 100 × 84 mm

Medium

Pen and ink.

Condition

The sheet is significantly fractured and disfigured from ink burn-through; it has been extensively restored with lining and crude infills on the major losses. There is further surface disruption from burn-through and general discolouration from haloing. A repair is discoloured and skinned. Repair patches seem to be adhered on what has been designated the recto. The edges have uneven surface residues and some small folds.

Numbering

In graphite: 7

Transcription

The verso, in Michelangelo's handwriting, is transcribed by Robinson and Wilde:

*(ci)nquãta? duchati
(v)e decto e facto dire . . . d
(c)homessione di darmela
ch(e) la decta provigione m . . .
papa ch(e) io nõ fa senza
mini, ch(e) sta mecho, voi mi
mi daresti cẽ to e aretelo? ecu . . .
(s)i nõ sapevi quãd(o) papa si
(com) ïciata o chomĩciassi, io vi
Schrivessi arroma e in
(fa) cessi . . .*

Discussion

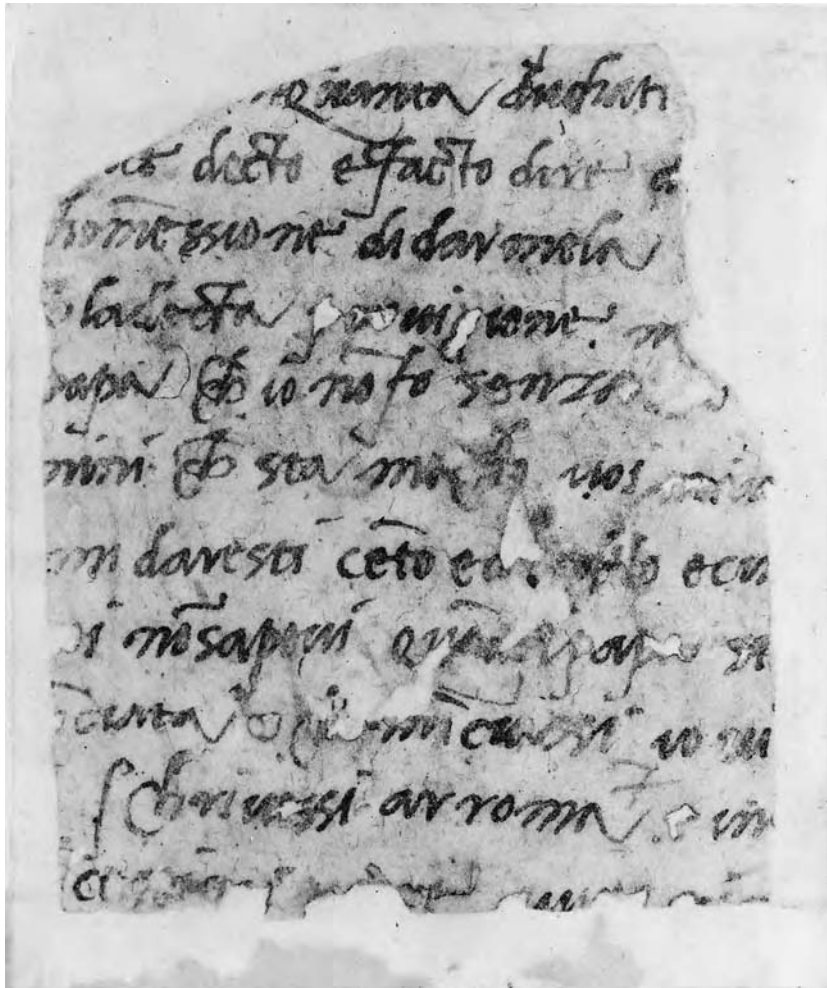
The present drawing is executed with wavering lines and is very probably by Antonio Mini, although some earlier writers gave it to Michelangelo himself. It is difficult to decipher, but it is clearly readable in Fisher's pen copy in his illustrated example of Robinson's catalogue – it was not included among his published etchings. It represents a particularly dramatic and tormented *Pietà* of a sort that might at first sight more readily be associated with a transalpine artist such as Grünewald, than with Michelangelo. But it was certainly copied – or more probably traced – from a pen drawing made by Michelangelo around 1505. The copies of this group (in London and Weimar), occur on sheets that include several other copies of Michelangelo sketches both lost and surviving; the originals of some seem to have been made for the *Battle of Cascina* and others, perhaps, for the *Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand*. The present drawing demonstrates that Michelangelo's pupils had access to, and copied, earlier works by the master as well as his immediately contemporary projects.

Robinson thought that the present fragment formed part of another fragmentary sheet in the British Museum



W34 (pen and ink, 162 × 145 mm), also with a provenance from the Lawrence Collection. Wilde noted, however, that although referring to the same matter, the letter on the verso of the sheet in London is actually slightly later than that on the verso of the present sheet. It is itself the autograph copy of an important letter sent by Michelangelo to Giovanni Spina on 18 October 1524. This probably provides a *terminus ante quem* for the drawings because the drawing on the present sheet and at least one of the two on that in the British Museum appear to be tracings of lost drawings by Michelangelo, and tracings would hardly be made on sheets that already bore dense lines of writing in ink. It is much more likely that Michelangelo took up sheets that his pupil had already used to work out or copy letters dealing with a matter that required clarity and precision. If this conclusion is correct, Mini's drawings would probably have been made around the middle of 1524. One of those on BM W34 is after a lost drawing by Michelangelo for the *Hercules and Antaeus*, developed from, but more resolved than, those on Cat. 30; the second drawing may – as Wilde suggested – have been “inspired by the Day” or by a model for it and was not necessarily traced





after a lost sketch by Michelangelo. But in their thin and wavering lines, the three drawings are to all intents and purposes identical in style.

Nevertheless, the fact that the two drawings on W34 were made after immediately contemporary work by Mini's master might encourage one to think that the original of the present drawing could also be dated to the 1520s. However, the character of the pen copy of the same lost drawing in the British Museum very much supports the view that the original was made around the middle of the first decade. Thus it would seem that the young Mini was set to – or permitted to – copy drawings from different periods of his master's work.

Drawn Copies

1. British Museum, 1946-7-13-635; pen and ink, 306 × 460 mm; attributed to – but in the compiler's view not by – Raffaello da Montelupo. A copy of this group, the same size as the present drawing and the presumed original; this page (published by Joannides, 2002b, tav. 11) contains several other copies of lost Michelangelo

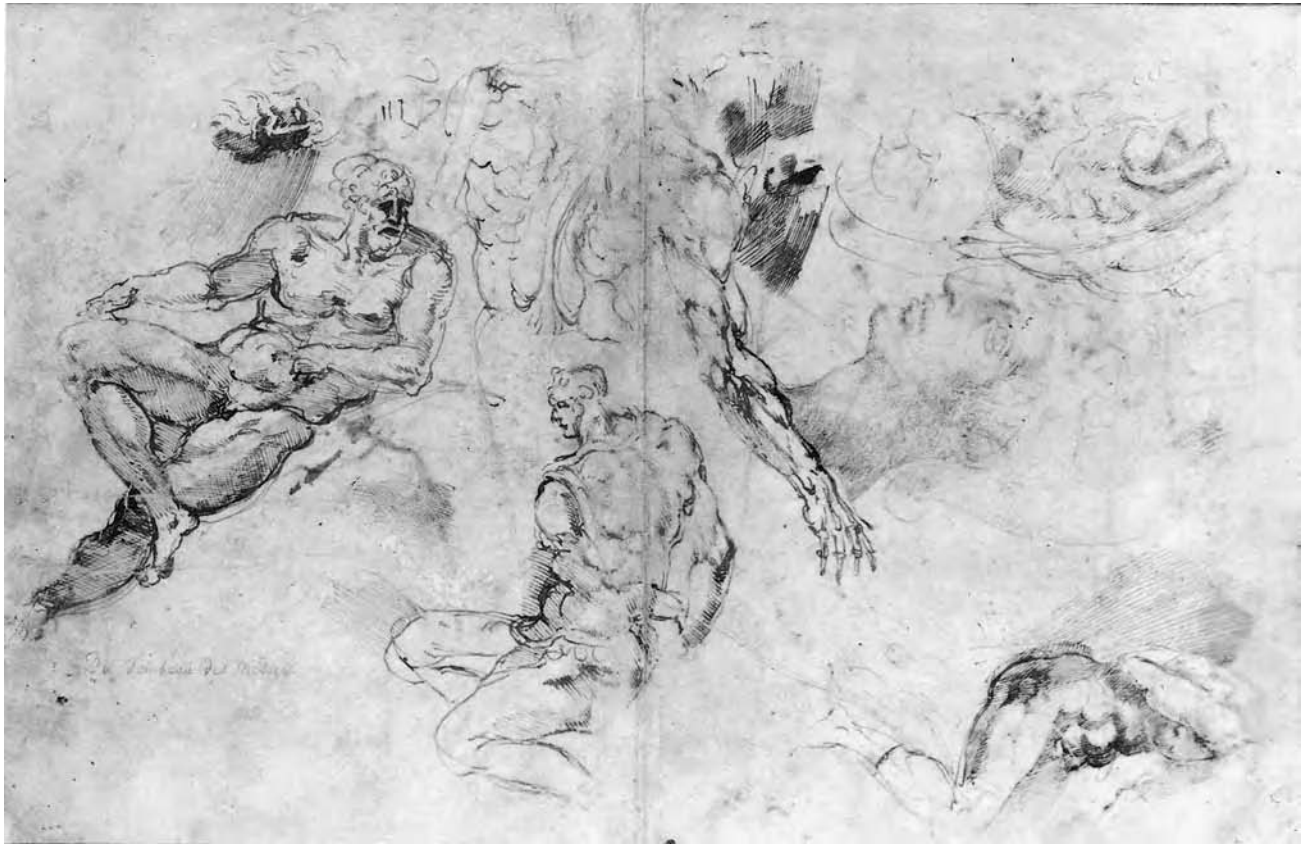
sketches probably made for the *Battle of Cascina* and a part copy of the autograph studies on Haarlem A28 verso /VT 51/Corpus 108; pen and ink over red chalk, 285 × 207 mm.

2. Weimar, Kunstsammlung, KK8797 verso; 390 × 239 mm, black chalk. A copy of this group, probably the same size as the present drawing and the presumed original; this page also contains copies, laid out differently from the original, of the autograph studies on Haarlem A28 verso /VT 51/Corpus 108; pen and ink over red chalk, 285 × 207 mm.

See Cat. 40 for a brief discussion of the recto of this sheet.

History

Casa Buonarroti; Jean-Baptiste Wicar?; William Young Ottley, his sale, 11 April 1804 and days following, part of lot 270? ("Five – various pen studies of figures and architecture – some of his writing on the back of three – from the Bonarroti collection."); his sale, 6 June 1814 and days following, lot 261ii ("Two – an architectural design



[no doubt Cat. 19] and a pieta, both pen. His writing on the back of one." £1.11.6); Sir Thomas Lawrence (L. 2445, not now visible); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Ottley sale?, 11 April 1804, part of lot 270 ("Five – various pen studies of figures and architecture – some of his writing on the back of three – from the Bonarroti collection."). Ottley sale, 6 June 1814, etc., lot 261 ("Two – an architectural design [no doubt Cat. 19] and a pieta, both pen. His writing on the back of one."). Lawrence Inventory?, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–103] ("Architectural and other studies – pen" [with Cats. 3 and 19]). Woodburn, 1842, no. 72 ("Three small studies – upon one mount . . . with the autograph of M. Angelo" with [Cats. 3 and 19]). Robinson, 1870, no. 48.1 (Michel Angelo. Probably part of BM W34 with dated letter of 18 October 1524 on verso, or dealing with same matter at the same time; the BM drawing is "precisely similar in style to the sketch in the present sheet."). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 43a. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 234. Berenson, 1903, no. 1567.1 (Dead Christ supported on the knees of a disciple, c. 1524.). K. Frey, 1909–11, no. 138a (Recto: *Pietà* sketch, similar to Michelangelo's St. Peter's group. Verso: not a fragment of BM sheet with a letter, but of the

same time and dealing with the same subject, Michelangelo's salary from the Pope.). Thode, 1913, no. 429 ("[S]o undeutlich, dass sie schwer zu beurtheilen ist"; verso letter of 1524.). Berenson, 1938, no. 1567.1 (As 1903.). Wilde, 1953a, p. 68 (Sketch similar in style to W34 recto, by Mini probably of October 1524. Fragment of a copy letter on verso of that drawing deals with the same matter as that on the verso of this drawing, at a slightly later stage.). Wilde, 1953 exh., no. 140a. Parker, 1956, no. 378* (Closely connected with BM W34. "[M]ight be due to the hand of Mini."). Dussler, 1959, no. 623 (Very probably by Mini.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1567.1 (As 1903/1938.). Berti, 1965, p. 458 (The Dead Christ resting on the knees of a disciple.). Hartt, 1971, p. 391 (Rejected.). De Tolnay, 1980, Corpus IV, p. 133 (Rejected.). Perrig, 1999, p. 247 (By a pupil of Michelangelo; from via Mozza studio.).

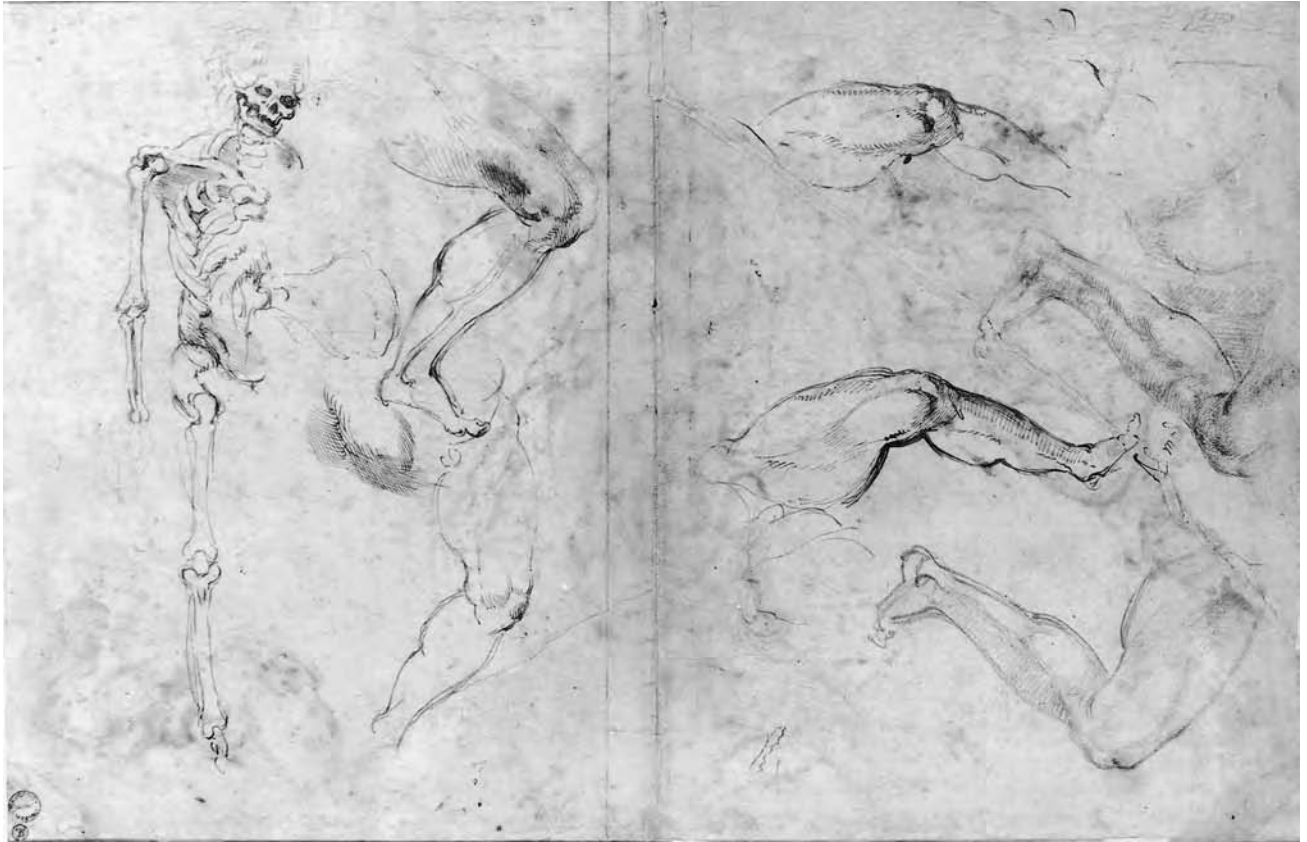
CATALOGUE 76

RAFFAELLO DA MONTELUPO (c. 1505–1566)

Recto: Michelangelo's *Evening* and Other Studies

Verso: Studies of a Man's Leg and a Skeleton

1846–27; R.43; P.II 406



Dimensions: 282 × 432 mm

Watermark: Crossed Arrows with crescent. Robinson Appendix no. 9.

Medium

Pen and ink, with black chalk and touches of red.

Condition

Recto: There are various creases, particularly near the top edge, and a diagonal crease near the bottom in the centre. There are old repairs on the tears along the central vertical fold line and a large diagonal tear at the top left corner. The losses at the bottom corners and the one at the top edge have been filled. There are various minor tears and patches of skinning at the edges. The figure left of centre has suffered both abrasion and skinning.

Verso: The repairs are more visible on this side. There is minor foxing and some show-through from the recto.

Inscriptions

Recto: Small black chalk inscription below A: *Michel angelo*; inscription in black chalk beside A: *Du Tombeau des Médicis*

Description

Recto

A. A copy after a model for or after the *Evening*.

B. A male torso with outstretched right arm, seen from the back.

C. Immediately below B. Copy after a model for a seated Duke?, nude, seen in left profile.

With the left edge as base

D. A torso seen in left profile slightly from below, probably after a reduction of the *Belvedere Torso* rather than the original. Some heavy hatching at the base of the figure.

E. A seated nude male seen in right profile. Perhaps after a lost drawing by Michelangelo for a Sistine *ignudo*.

F. A female head with a helmet in left profile, in black chalk.

G. A bearded head seen in three-quarter view.

Verso

The verso was evidently folded, probably by the artist, and used in different directions, with the left half probably used directly after the right half. This side of the sheet is here treated as two successive pages.

Left side

With the lower edge as base

- A. The thigh-bone of B.
- B. A skeleton, seen from the front.
- C. Immediately to the right of B. An indecipherable form.
- D. Immediately below C. An area of hatching, perhaps indicating a knee.
- E. Study of the bent left leg of a seated figure, seen in right profile.
- F. Immediately below D. Study of the bent left leg of a seated figure, seen from above.

Right Side

With the left edge as base

- G. Study of the bent left leg and part of the abdomen and upper right leg of a seated figure, seen from above.
- H. Study of the bent left leg of a seated figure, seen from above.
- I. Three wavy pen lines.

With the right edge as base

- J. Study of the bent left leg and part of the upper right knee of a seated figure, seen in right profile.
- K. Study of the bent left leg of a seated figure, seen in right profile.

Discussion

Recto

The handling of pen on the recto of this sheet is looser and wilder than is usual with Montelupo's drawings, and it was probably executed soon after he joined Michelangelo's team in 1533. It may have been made from memory or, perhaps, in the case of the seated figure on the recto, from a rough model for Duke Giuliano. It is likely that several models were made for the dukes as Michelangelo worked them out: There are, for example, a number of copies by Tintoretto or members of his studio of a model of the figure of Duke Giuliano in the nude.

As Berenson and Parker noted, the female head in black chalk [F] is very reminiscent in style of Antonio Mini (compare his profile drawing in Florence, CB40A verso/B98/Corpus 177; black chalk, 400 × 243 mm); Raffaello was certainly aware of some drawings by Mini and, indeed, sometimes drew on the other side of sheets previously employed by Mini: It seems likely that he was here copying a copy by Mini of a now-lost drawing by Michelangelo.

Sketch B was pursued further by Raffaello on a sheet of drawings in the British Museum, 1946-7-13-36; pen and ink, 204 × 256 mm. This sheet also bears drawings probably connected with the fireplace design on Cat. 79.

Verso

The skeleton on the verso is reminiscent of one found on a sheet of drawings in the Wellcome Library, London (Inv. 393461; pen and ink with brown wash over black chalk, 371 × 285 mm), unattributed, but probably also by Raffaello da Montelupo; this sheet, incidentally, contains on its verso a sketch copy of the slave second from the right in Michelangelo's *modelli* for the tomb of Julius II in Berlin (15305 recto/Corpus 55) and the Uffizi (608E recto/B244/Corpus 56). Montelupo was never to become an accomplished anatomist, but no doubt proximity to Michelangelo encouraged him to make the attempt.

The series of leg studies display an accomplishment in the rendering of form and an ease and fluency of execution uncommon in Raffaello's work. It seems likely that they were made after lost drawings by Michelangelo in either pen or black chalk or both for one of the seated dukes in the New Sacristy, but at a more advanced stage of development than the model copied on the recto. Relevant drawings by Michelangelo are found at Haarlem A33a recto/VT58/Corpus 218; black chalk, 202 × 247 mm, and in Casa Buonarroti, 10F/B71/Corpus 224; pen and ink, 226 × 258 mm. Another rather rougher copy by Raffaello da Montelupo (considered by some writers to be an original) of a further lost page of leg studies by Michelangelo is in the Uffizi, 622E/B205/Corpus 223; pen and ink, 210 × 268 mm. See also Cat. 78. Raffaello may have recalled these leg studies when he designed the urn-bearing *ignudi* seated at the sides of the monument of Baldassare Turini in the Turini Chapel in the Duomo at Pescia.

The present sheet is about the same size as that on which Raffaello copied Michelangelo's *Infant Bacchanal* (see Cat. 66) and the two may have been pages of the same sketchbook. The sketches on the present sheet are also closely related to those on the verso of a sheet in the Louvre (Inv. 715/J55; pen and ink, 367 × 250 mm), whose recto contains one of Raffaello's most finished and elegant drawings, a copy of Michelangelo's *Virgin and Child* in the New Sacristy, seen from the right side. The three sheets shared the same history until 1838, when King William II of Holland purchased from Woodburn that now in the Louvre.

History

Pierre Crozat; Pierre-Jean Mariette (L.1852); the Marquis de Lagoy (no stamp); Samuel Woodburn; Thomas Dimsdale; Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Details of the *Evening* and the figure resembling Giuliano etched by the Marquis de Lagoy at an uncertain date. Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonaroti Case 3, Drawer 3, no. 23 [1830–25] (“Another Magnificent Sheet with a pen on both sides the paper – one of the tombs of the Medici.”). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 41 (“A Magnificent Sheet of Studies – for the Tombs of the Medicis, admirably drawn . . . full of knowledge in the anatomy.”). The Athenaeum, 16 July 1836 (“[F]or the cognoscenti.”). Woodburn, 1842, nos. 14, 15 [The same drawing was listed by Woodburn twice, in error, perhaps because it is double-sided] (No. 14: “A magnificent study for one of the figures on the Tomb of the Medici . . . drawn with surprising energy in the grandest style of the master . . . with several fine studies on the reverse. . . . It is engraved.” No. 15: “A sheet of studies for the Tomb of the Medicis, admirably drawn with the pen and bistre showing the exactest knowledge of anatomy. On the same side is a study of J. de Medici, in a helmet, lightly drawn in black chalk; on the reverse are several studies. This magnificent sheet is in his best style.” The provenances given in both entries are identical.). Fisher, 1852, p. 5, pl. 23 (Recto: as Woodburn, 1842.). Woodburn, 1853, no. 28 (Recto: reproduced.). Fisher, 1865, p. 18, I, pl. 23 (As 1852.). Robinson, 1870, no. 43 (Michel Angelo. Recto: studies for the Medici tombs. Verso: Studies of the left leg of Lorenzo “drawn from a preparatory wax or clay model on a small scale.” “[T]he evidence of this sheet, and of others dating from the same period, goes to prove that his hand no longer obeyed his mind with the unerring certainty of earlier years. Masterly and beautiful as is the technical style of these studies, there is indicated in them the first appearance of that comparatively vague and tremulous touch, which became with advancing age more and more apparent. A certain tendency to mannerism, rather in the mechanical execution than in the design . . . may also be here perceived.”). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 16, pl. 23 (As 1852.). Ruskin, 1872, p. 78 (“[T]he lowest figure is, strictly speaking, neither a study nor a working drawing, but has either been scrawled in the feverish languour of exhaustion, which cannot escape its subject of thought; or, at best, an idly experimental addition of part to part, beginning with the head, and fitting muscle after muscle, and bone after bone, to it, thinking of their place only, not of their proportion, till the head is only about one-

twentieth part of the height of the body; finally, something between a face and a mask is blotted in the upper left-hand corner of the paper, indicative, in the weakness and frightfulness of it, simply of mental disorder from overwork.”). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 40. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 233. Fisher, 1879, XXXII/34 (Michelangelo.). Berenson, 1903, I, pp. 255, 257, no. 1710 (Montelupo.). Thode, 1913, p. 210 (Copy of the *Evening*.). Berenson, 1935, p. 275 (If the shading were not left-handed, the profile head, [F], might be attributable to “Andrea.”). Berenson, 1938, I, pp. 257, 259, 262, 365, no. 1710 (As 1903/1935.). Parker, 1956, no. 406 (Montelupo. “The shading is characteristically left-handed throughout, including the woman’s head, which might otherwise be mistaken for the work of Mini, and was evidently the first study to have been placed on the recto.”). Berenson, 1961, no. 1710 (“Tutti questi schizzi sono del Montelupo.”). Gatteschi, 1998, pp. 56–8 (Cites Berenson; by Raffaello.).

CATALOGUE 77

RAFFAELLO DA MONTELUPO (c. 1505–1566)

Recto: Horses and Other Studies

Verso: Figure Studies

1846.126; R.20; P.II 405

Dimensions: 190 × 281 mm (the corners chamfered).

Watermark: Six pointed star within a circle; Robinson Appendix no. 5. Not far from Briquet 6086.

Medium

Pen and ink over red chalk and red chalk used independently.

Condition

Bevel inlay adhered to verso.

The sheet has overall surface dirt and discolouration. There are a number of cleavages visible in transmitted light, and many losses due to the breakdown of the support by the medium. There are various historic filled losses that have been toned. Show-through is visible on both sides.

Description and Inscriptions

Recto

A. A figure on horseback striking down another rider, who has fallen forward over his horse’s neck.

B. A horse trophy.

C. A head of a young man in right profile.



D. Immediately below C. The top of a decorative console in red chalk, pitched at an angle, superimposed over a group of three groups of parallel curving lines, in pen.

With the left edge as base

- E. Inscription: . . . ? . . . vico.
- F. A series of loops and decorative lines.
- G. At upper right corner. A console, in red chalk.
- H. Inscription: *Daparto . . . ?*
- I. Immediately below H. *Caro*.
- J. To the right of H and I. *Vico mio caro / io t' aviso come*.

Verso

- A. A profile of a console?, in loose pen, perhaps carried on a baluster.
- B. Immediately below A. A small female figure in right profile, reaching upwards, perhaps supporting a vase on her head.
- C. A faint study in red chalk of a nude young man facing forward, his head turned down to his right, within a rectangular frame, with central vertical axis and indications of measurement along the lower horizontal. The compiler is uncertain whether Parker is correct to see a cross.

With the right side as base

- D. A profile of a console?, in red chalk.
- E. A profile of a console?, in red chalk.

With the top edge as base

- F. A profile of a console?, in red chalk.

Discussion

Recto

The main drawing A does not seem to be linked with representations of the *Fall of Phaeton* as has sometimes been suggested: Phaeton should be shown driving Apollo's chariot and Jupiter fells him with a thunderbolt, not by striking him directly. The drawing seems rather to be preparatory for a scene of a cavalry battle. It may be that there is some relation to *terra cruda* battle groups of a type that seems to have circulated quite widely. These are generally linked with Leonardo's preparations for his *Battle of Anghiari* and some of them have been attributed to his friend Gianfrancesco Rustici, but it is likely that treatments of such groups were also produced by Tribolo, with whom Raffaello da Montelupo was associated for a while in work in the New Sacristy. However, it is clear that Michelangelo also planned to include episodes



of combat between cavalymen and between cavalymen and pikemen, as demonstrated in Cats. 4, 5, and 6; furthermore, several copies after lost sketches of cavalry combats by Michelangelo dating from the period of *Cascina* are found on a sheet in the British Museum (1946-7-13-635; pen and ink, 306 × 460 mm; attributed to Raffaello da Montelupo but in the compiler's opinion not by him; see Joannides, 2002b, tav. 11), and it may be that A here also records a group planned for that project.

Berenson suggested that the main drawing was for a decoration in relief – perhaps for the frieze of a fireplace – which is quite possible; but it could as well be for a painting as a sculpture. The compiler would raise

the possibility that it could have been made for one of the temporary projects on which Raffaello was heavily engaged in the mid-1530s, perhaps for a simulated relief in grisaille on a triumphal arch constructed for some formal entry. Supporting the view that something of this nature was intended is the equine trophy, which would obviously be suitable for execution on the attic of a temporary arch.

Verso

The largest study on the verso, C, probably the first to be drawn on this side of the sheet, would appear to be for a statue standing in a niche. The scale indicated along

the lower horizontal covers half of the space to the left of the axial line which divides the niche. It contains five intervals. If the width of the niche up to the axial line is interpreted as nine intervals, this means that the base of the niche as a whole must be eighteen intervals wide. If the intervals indicate *palmi – braccia* are hardly a possibility – this establishes a base of nearly four metres, and a height for the statue of some twelve metres, a truly colossal project. The only possibility for such a project that the compiler can envisage, if this calculation is correct, is that the figure was to decorate a huge temporary triumphal arch. If the intervals are *oncie*, then the figure would be around a metre high, probably the more likely dimension. This figure is reflected in a drawing by Battista Franco in the Albertina, BK125; pen over red chalk, 210 × 90 mm, bearing the old inscription *M. Angelo*.

The small female figure, reaching upward, may be related to one in an early and unexecuted project by Michelangelo for the Magnifici Tomb, which was to contain reliefs of the *Lamenting Orpheus* and the *Garden of the Hesperides*. The latter scene included figures of nymphs stretching on tiptoe to gather fruit: An original sketch for one of these figures by Michelangelo is at the upper left on the recto of a sheet of sketches in the Fogg Art Museum, Inv. 1932–152/Corpus 438; black chalk, 157 × 157 mm.

The studies of a decorative architectural feature, interpreted here as a console, may in fact represent a detail of some larger decorative feature.

History

Jonathan Richardson Senior (no stamp); William Young Ottley, his sale, 1814, lot 1680 as Michelangelo (“One – a design of horses etc. – free pen – a first thought on the back for the statue of Christ in the Minerva – red chalk – very fine.” £5 15.6); William Roscoe, his sale, September 1816, lot 60. “One, a study of Horses & c. free pen. A Sketch on the back for the Statue of Christ in the Minerva. Red chalk, very Fine. Size 11 h. 7 1/2 w. From the same Collection [i.e., Mr. Ottley’s].” Bought by Walker 178; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2495); Samuel Woodburn.

References

William Young Ottley, sale, 1814, lot 1680 (Michelangelo, “One – a design of horses etc. – free pen – a first thought on the back for the statue of Christ in the Minerva – red chalk – very fine.”). William Roscoe, his sale, September 1816, lot 60 (“One, a study of Horses & c. free pen. A Sketch on the back for the Statue of Christ in the Minerva. Red chalk, very Fine. Size 11 h. 7 1/2 w. From the same Collection [i.e., Mr. Ottley’s].”). Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–78] (“Various pen sketches among others a Horse, and

some slight sketches on the back.”). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 47 (“Admirably drawn.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 46 (As 1836.). Robinson, 1870, no. 20 (Michel Angelo. “The equestrian group so much resembles other sketches for the Cartoon of Pisa, as to leave little doubt that it was a first thought for one of the groups of small figures in the background of that composition.”). Black, 1875, p. 213, no. 20. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 239. Berenson, 1903, I, pp. 254–6, 260, no. 1701 (Montelupo. Sketch for horse after bronze original; “motive of charioteer and his mad horses . . . [may be] after a sketch by Michelangelo for an otherwise unknown version of the Phaeton.” [A] occurs in two versions of a *Conversion of Saint Paul* ascribed to Pordenone, but in reality by Bonifazio de’ Pitati.). Thode, 1913, no. 404 (Phaeton scene?. Probably, but not certainly by Raffaello da Montelupo.). Berenson, 1938, I, pp. 257–8, no. 1701 (As 1903.). Wilde, 1949, p. 308 (Head of a youth occurs in almost identical form on Windsor PW786 recto.). Parker, 1956, no. 405 (Montelupo’s “left handedness is much in evidence.” The writing agrees with his. Verso study probably for a *Saint John the Baptist Preaching*.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1701 (As 1903/1938.).

CATALOGUE 78

RAFFAELLO DA MONTELUPO (c. 1505–1566)

Recto: Anatomical and Other Studies

Verso: Anatomical Studies; Groups of Prostrate Figures

1846.129; R.44; P. II 408

Dimensions: 198 × 293 mm

Medium

Recto: Black and red chalk.

Verso: Black chalk and pen and ink over black chalk.

Condition

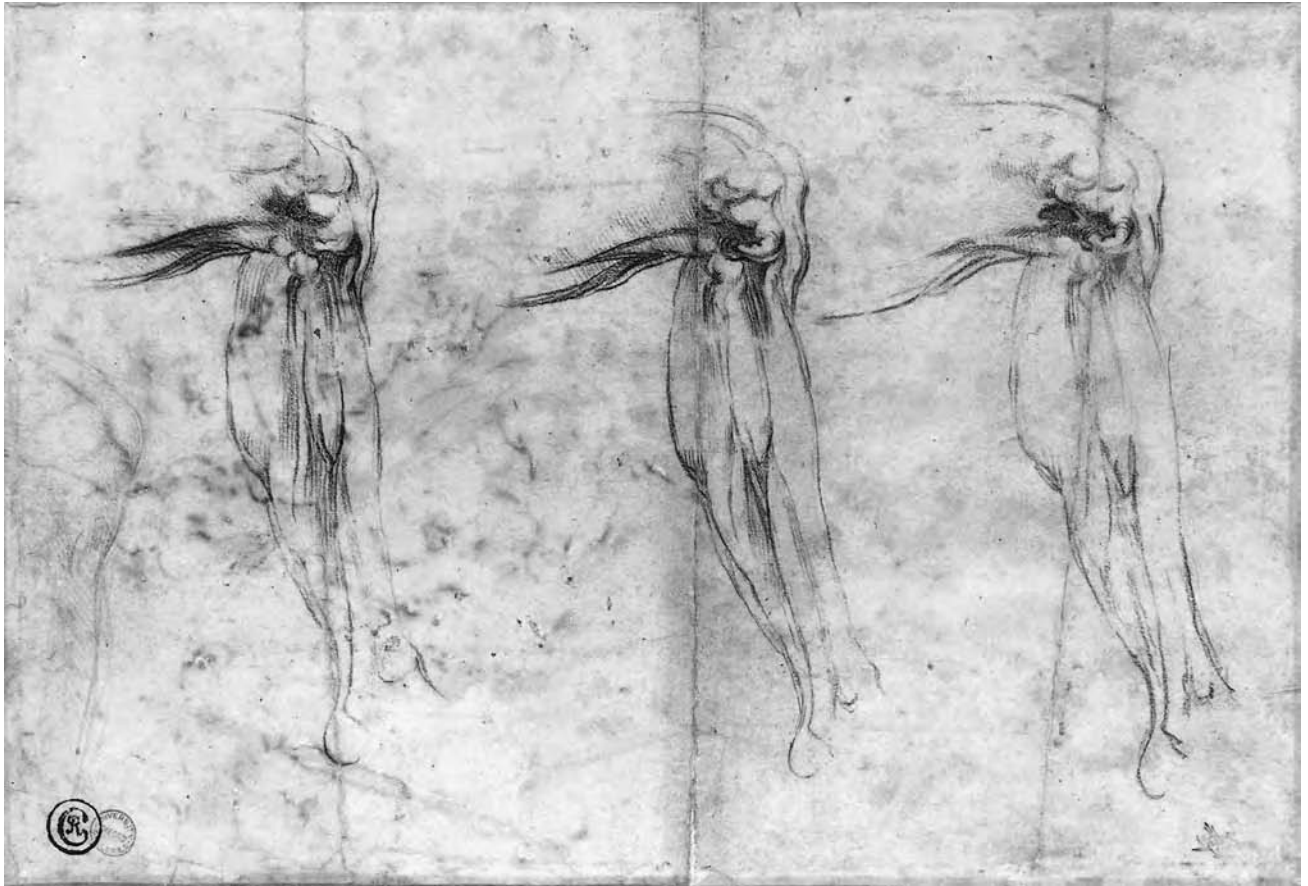
Double-sided window mount; bevelled inlay adhered to verso.

Recto: There is overall ingrained surface dirt and patchy discolouration. The sheet has three vertical fold lines, with tears in all the major folds, particularly at the edges. Various repairs are visible. There is show-through from verso. There seems to be some colour change in the pen lines.

Verso: Repair patches are still more clearly visible. There is some colour change in the ink lines, and the red chalk is smudged at the right edge.

Accounts

Verso: series of numbers and sums by the artist.



Description

Recto

Three studies of a left leg in black chalk and one in red chalk.

Verso

- A. A right knee and lower leg, in right profile, in black chalk, in sequence with the four on the recto.
- B. A right shoulder and upper arm, in right profile, in black chalk; perhaps for a figure with one arm raised.
- C. Two groups of prostrate figures, five at the top, three at the bottom, presumably from a single composition. Partly truncated.

With the left edge as base

- D. An outline sketch of a schematic head, in black chalk, seen frontally.

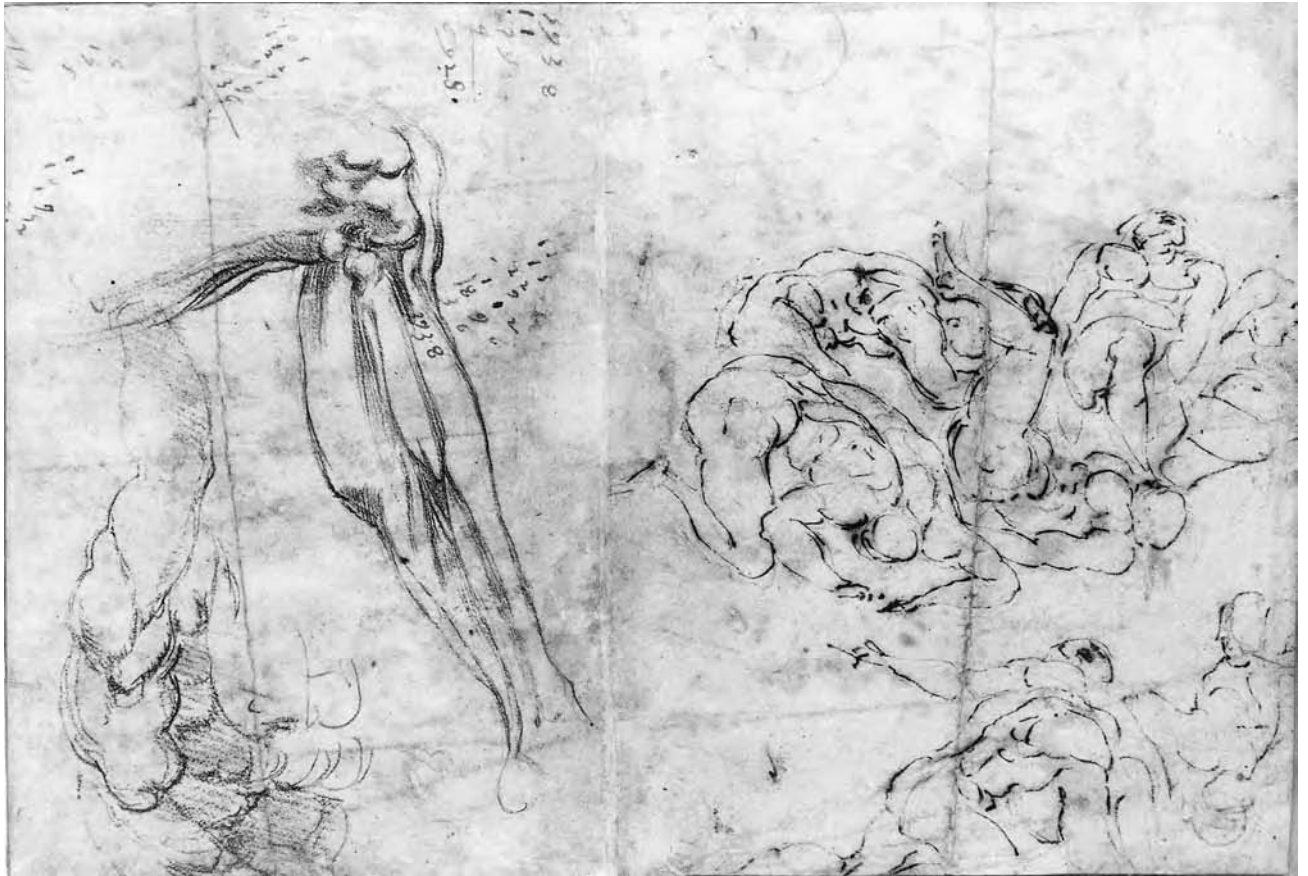
Discussion

Recto

The three black chalk drawings – together with A on the verso – are probably copied from lost anatomi-

cal sketches by Michelangelo, made in preparation for the seated dukes. Another page, in the Uffizi (Inv. 622E/B205/Corpus 223; pen and ink, 210 × 268 mm), is largely drawn with left-handed strokes and is probably also by Montelupo. The study of a leg at the left of the Uffizi page is very close indeed to those repeated here, and the most reasonable explanation is that Montelupo was trying his hand at copying a model by Michelangelo in two different media, in pen on the Uffizi page and in black and red chalk on the present sheet. Michelangelo's original might have been made in any of the three media, but pen or black chalk would be more likely for this series of studies than red. It should be noted, however, that some students of Michelangelo give Uffizi 622E to the master himself, an opinion that finds support in the fact that it is drawn on the coarse paper that Michelangelo sometimes favoured in the mid-1520s. The compiler does not agree with this attribution, but were it to prove correct, it would probably entail accepting that the present studies were made after that on the left of the Florentine sheet.

In the compiler's view, therefore, the present drawings and those in the Uffizi are all by Montelupo and are near facsimiles of lost drawings by Michelangelo. Although



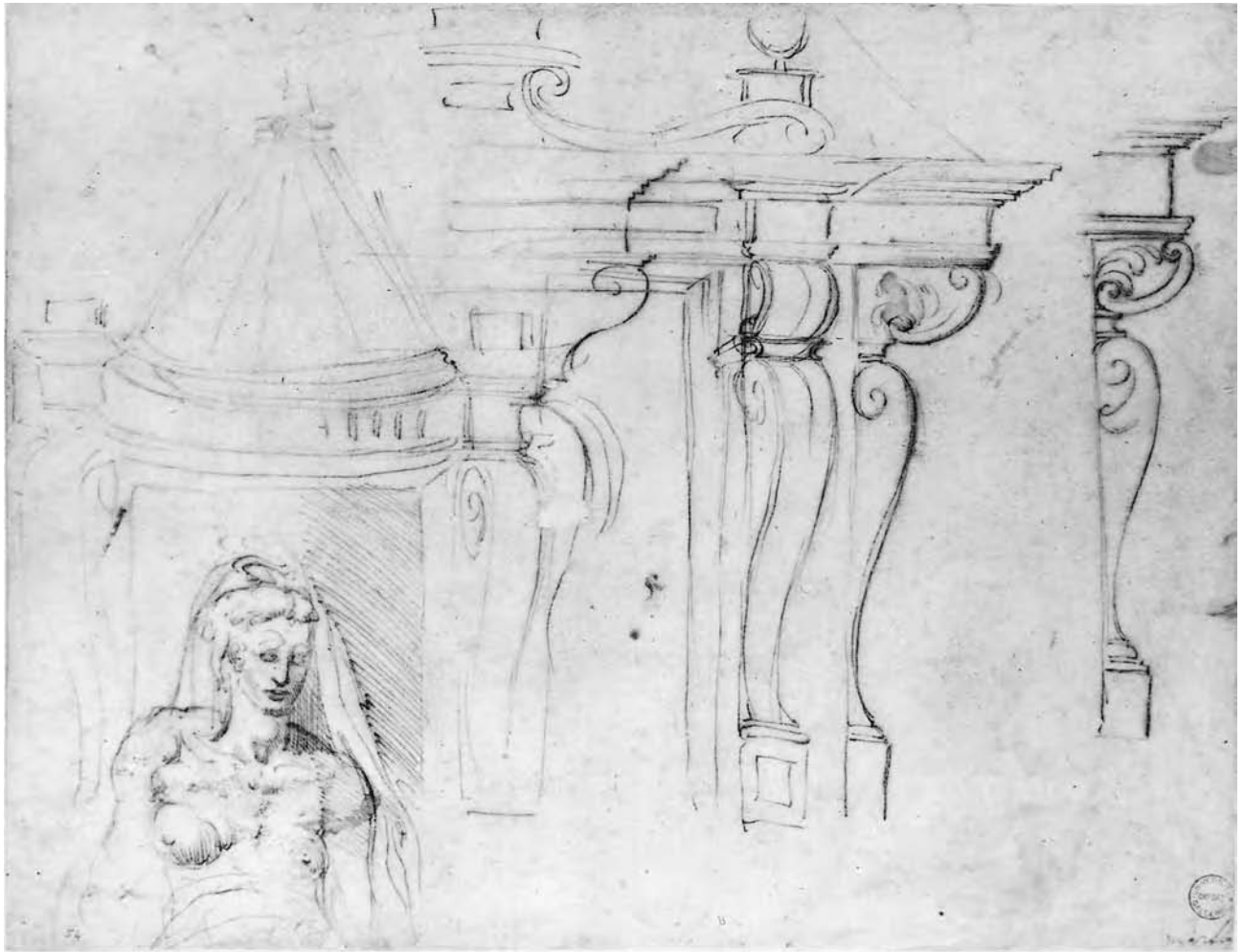
Raffaello's control of his medium is less secure than Michelangelo's, he has succeeded in the present drawings in reproducing something of the shell-like whorls of his master's modelling of knees.

Verso

Although the sprawling figures might have been intended to form part of a battle scene, of which another part is to be found on Cat. 77, they are more probably related to a project for a composition of the *Brazen Serpent*; there may be a connection with two drawings that seem to represent this subject by Antonio Mini, developing a theme from Michelangelo, in Casa Buonarroti (37F/B170; red chalk, 203 × 248 mm, and 27A verso/B182/Corpus 567; black and red chalk, 407 × 562 mm). Superimposed on the second of these Michelangelo has begun drawing a plan of a fortification, one of several on which he was engaged in 1529, which therefore provides a *terminus ante quem* for this design. Very similar figures also occur on the verso of a famous drawing in the British Museum (W57/Corpus 220; black chalk, 388 × 247 mm) the recto of which is the *Bearded Head* in soft black chalk traditionally thought

to be a study for the head of Saint Bartholomew in the *Last Judgement*, but convincingly reidentified by Wilde as a study for the head of one of the two statues, of Saints Cosmas and Damian, who flank the Madonna on the Magnifici Tomb, executed by, respectively, Giovanni Montorsoli and Raffaello da Montelupo. The verso of the British Museum sheet contains two studies of sprawling figures in black chalk, which are probably by Antonio Mini, and which are very similar to, if not identical with, those on the present verso. Superimposed upon these are four studies that Wilde tentatively attributes to Michelangelo. The first of these, in black chalk, depicts a standing figure from the front; two of the other three, all of which are in red chalk, show a part of a torso and a raised right arm. These last are reproduced, as Wilde again noted, in B on the verso of the present sheet. This web of connections evokes once more the close relations that existed among sheets used by Michelangelo, Antonio Mini, and Raffaello da Montelupo in the late 1520s and early 1530s. D, indeed, might be after a diagrammatic sketch by Mini.

The chalk drawing at the lower left, B, shows the torso and raised right arm of a man who seems about



to strike downwards with his right arm. Even though Michelangelo's originals and other similar drawings now lost might in principle have been made for the *Last Judgment* – he would certainly have been thinking about the fresco during his final period in Florence, and Raffaello could well have known drawings made in preparation for it – it seems on balance more likely that they were made for the *Samson and the Two Philistines*, on which Michelangelo was working in 1528, a sculptural project of unparalleled dynamism that would have fascinated Raffaello.

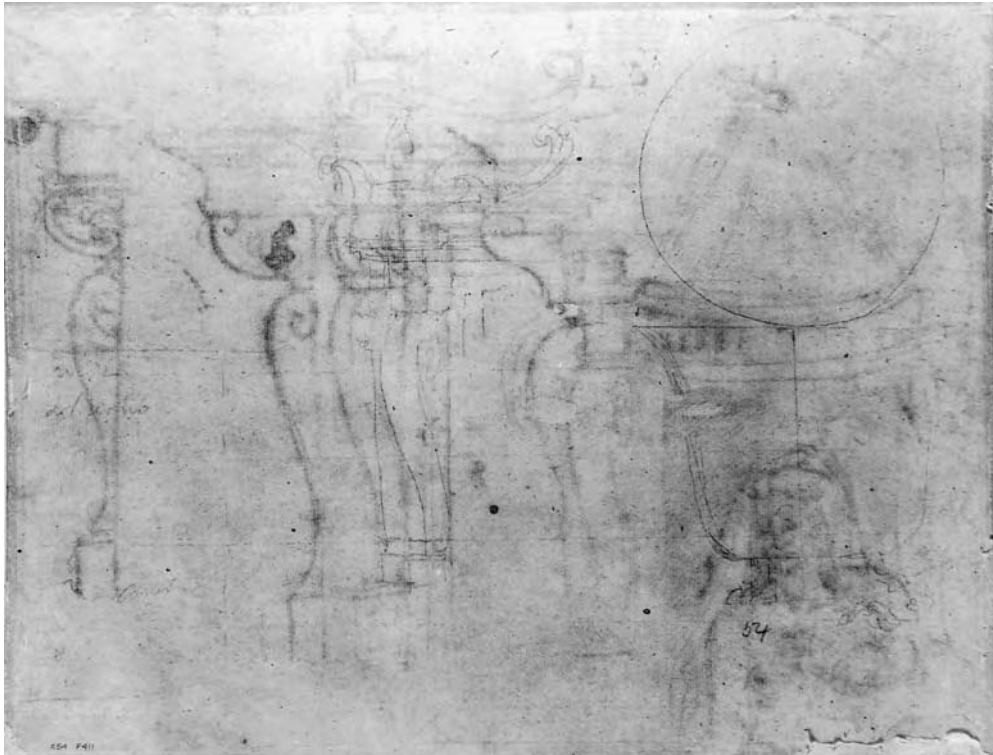
History

Jonathan Richardson Senior (L.2184); Richard Cosway (L.628); Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Lawrence Inventory?, 1830, Case 3, Drawer 3 (Anatomical Studies of Arms, Legs. etc.). Woodburn, 1842, no. 53

(“A Pentimento of three legs–shewing the knee joints; black chalk [sic].”). Robinson, 1870, no. 44 (Michelangelo: probably for one of the Medici Dukes; “it does not seem quite clear whether these studies were drawn from actual dissection or from the living model.”). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 41. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 233. Berenson, 1903, I, pp. 255, 257, no. 1711 (Montelupo.). Thode, 1913, no. 427 (Not Michelangelo; agrees with Berenson.). Berenson, 1938, I, pp. 257, 259, no. 1711 (As 1903. Verso: “The prostrate figures may be copied from a sketch for the Brazen Serpent by Michelangelo.”). Wilde, 1953a, p. 94 (The torso and arm found in Montelupo's drawing, made at the beginning of his association with Michelangelo in 1533, follow two sketches by Michelangelo superimposed on pupil sketches, on BM W57 verso/Corpus 220.). Parker, 1956, no. 408, (“The shading is left-handed and the attribution to Montelupo beyond question. . . . Similar studies of a leg bent at the knee occur on. . . . Uffizi Inv. 622E/Corpus 223.”). Berenson, 1961, no. 1711 (As 1903/1938.). Barocchi, 1962, p. 257 (Montelupo.).



CATALOGUE 79

RAFFAELLO DA MONTELUPO (C. 1505–1566)

Recto: Designs for a Chimney-Piece and Other Studies

Verso (now laid down): Figure Studies?

1846.132; R. 54; P.II 411

Dimensions: 221 × 284 mm

Medium

Recto: Pen and ink.

Verso (laid down and not now visible): Black chalk.

Condition

Single-sided solid museum mount.

There is overall undulation, surface dirt, and discolouration, with handling dirt visible at the edges and there are various stains. There is an infilled loss in the centre. Some areas of the medium show signs of fading, and there is darkening of some lines.

Inscriptions

Recto: lower left, Robinson's numbering in graphite: 54.

Lower right, in pen and ink: *Miche*.

Description

Recto

A. The torso of a standing? woman, largely nude, seen frontally.

B. A fireplace, seen in elevation, with a concave central section, surmounted by a cone?. Two large pedestal scrolls support an entablature at either side, above which, at the corners, are plinths for statuettes.

C. Drawn over D. A revised version of D, with a double curved scroll replacing the pincer scroll of D, and the cornice shown in profile with a complex series of mouldings, akin to those seen in E.

D. The right side of a fireplace, seen in elevation with a straight entablature, supported by a large pedestal scroll surmounted by a small pincer scroll. The entablature carries a double curved S-shaped scroll that runs between a plinth placed centrally and a smaller rectangular plinth carrying a sphere on a rod.

E. The arrangement of pedestal and pincer scrolls and the entablature of D, seen in profile, with the pincer scroll decorated by leaf forms running left to right. A line rises diagonally left from the entablature, presumably indicating a surmounting cone in profile.

F. The arrangement of pedestal and pincer scrolls and the entablature of D, seen in profile. The leaf forms of the pincer scroll now run left to right and additional curved channelling is added to the upper part of the pedestal scroll.

G. The arrangement of scrolls and consoles seen in profile, on a slightly smaller scale and with modifications.

Verso

Parker refers to slight black chalk studies on the verso, faint traces of which are visible on the old photograph taken of this side before it was laid down.

Discussion

Even though these drawings are probably not derived from specific projects by Michelangelo, they strongly reflect his influence both in the architectural and the figure design. The female torso shows awareness of the New Sacristy *Dawn*, and the studies for a fireplace obviously employ motifs familiar from Michelangelo's architectural and decorative work of the 1520s.

Berenson suggested that the fireplace might be connected with designs by Raffaello da Montelupo for the Castel Sant'Angelo, in which, according to Vasari, "seguitò assai la maniera di Michelagnolo, come ne fanno fede i camini, le porte e le finestre che egli fece in detto Castello."

Two other sheets of drawings by Raffaello da Montelupo contain studies that are probably connected with this fireplace:

1. London, British Museum, 1946-7-13-36; pen and ink, 204 × 256 mm. (This sheet also contains a figure study *en suite* with one on the recto of Cat. 76.)
2. Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet B15252; pen and ink, 231 × 207 mm.

History

Jean-Baptiste Wicar; Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Woodburn, 1842, no. 76 ("Study architectural with female head."). Woodburn, 1846, no. 10 (As 1842.). Robinson, 1870, no. 54 (Michel Angelo; probably contemporary with work on the Medici Tombs.). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 49. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 232. Berenson, 1903, I, pp. 255, 257, no. 1717 (Montelupo, perhaps for a chimney-piece in Castel Sant'Angelo of which Vasari makes special mention. B a sister to female figure on Uffizi 1231E.). Berenson, 1938, I, p. 257, no. 1717 (As 1903.) Parker, 1956, no. 411 (Montelupo.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1717 (As 1903, 1938.).

CATALOGUE 80

RAFFAELLO DA MONTELUPO (c. 1505–1566)

Recto: The Infant Hercules Strangling Serpents in His Cradle

Verso: Various Calculations (on the secondary support)
1953.138; P.II 413

Dimensions: 192 × 225 mm

Watermark: Indecipherable.

Medium

Recto: Black chalk.

Verso: Pen and ink.

Condition

Single-sided solid museum mount with small cut-out on verso to expose calculations on the secondary support.

There is overall patchy discolouration and a horizontal stain across the centre of the sheet.

Numbering

In an old hand, in chalk, at lower right: *No 2*.

Discussion

Raffaello shows the infant Hercules in his cradle, strangling the two serpents sent by Juno to kill him. His nurse lies sleeping immediately to the right of the cradle, and a startled female servant witnesses the scene from the right edge.

The compiler can see no immediate relation to Michelangelo, but that the subject was current in his circle in this period is indicated by a drawing in the Louvre, which seems to be a work of c. 1530s by Antonio Mini (Inv. 35296/J53; red chalk, 285 × 172 mm). The subject was also treated in an engraving dated 1533 by Agostino Veneziano (see *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 26, no. 315).

This drawing may well have been made to prepare a composition in *rilievo schiacciato*. There is some influence from Rosso in the angularity of the forms and the flattened planes, and the handling of chalk is loosely reminiscent of some of Bandinelli's drawings.

The provenance post-Daulby is that given by Parker. The compiler has been unable to trace a Vernon sale in 1799.

History

Giorgio Vasari (traces of his mount); Jonathan Richardson Senior (L.2184; his mount with his inscription, Pellegrino



Tibaldi; various shelf marks on verso); C. M. Cracherode by 1763; John Barnard (J. B. 1786–N° 1057); Daulby (inscription on recto of mount: Daulby's sale 47.3 and, on verso 47/3); Vernon Sale, 16 August 1799, lot 47 (according to Parker); Peart; Mrs. R. A. Ryall (Knight, Frank, and Rutley, 2 October 1953, lot 5).

References

Jonathan Richardson Senior (Pellegrino Tibaldi, inscription on mount.). Parker, 1956, no. 413 (Raffaello da Montelupo.).

CATALOGUE 81

Recto: Hercules; A Candelabrum
Verso: The *Gnudo della Paura* and Other Studies

1846.259; R. Raphael, no. 151; PII 624

Dimensions: 318 × 235 mm

Watermark: Briquet 5920 (Vienna? 1491/Florence 1494) or 5922 (Augsburg 1506–10; Siena 1495–1520).

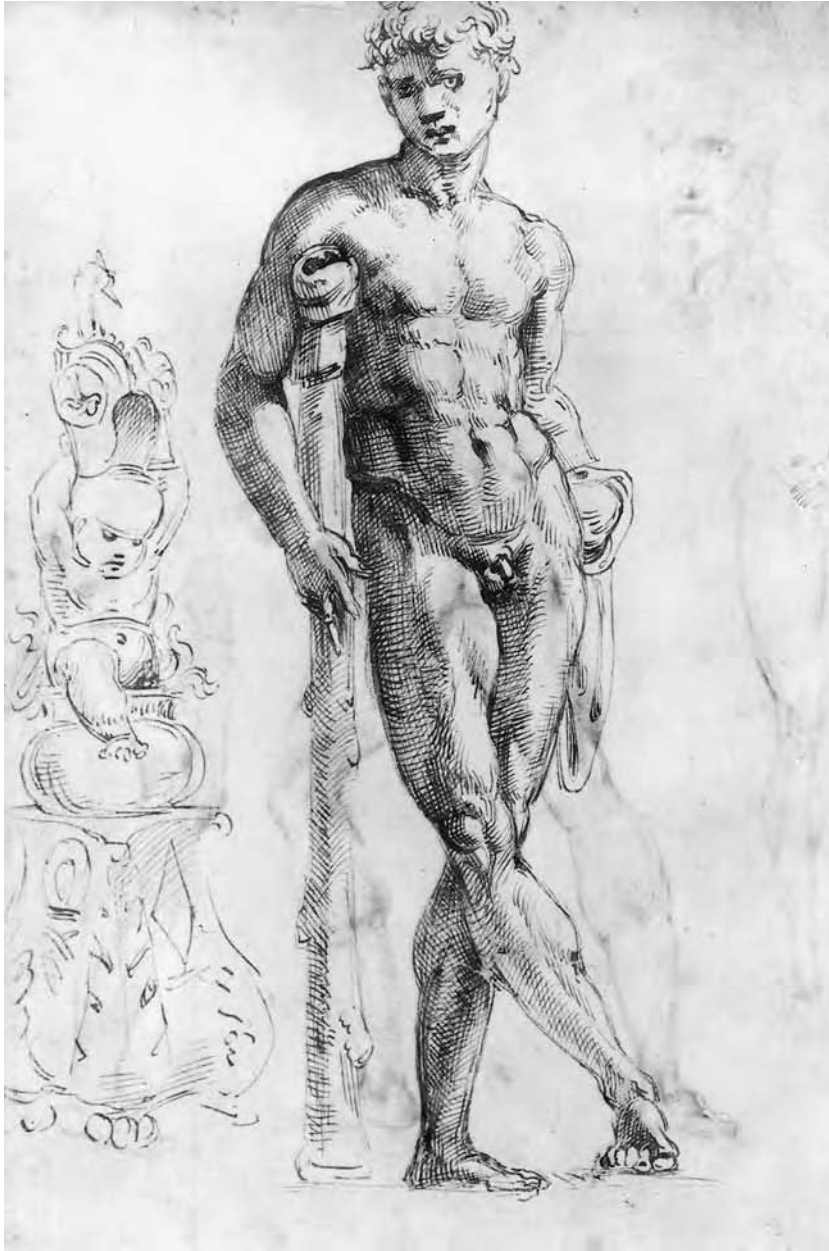
Medium

Pen and ink.

Condition

On a double-sided solid museum mount.

Recto: There is light overall surface dirt and staining with a large stain to the left of the figure and handling dirt in top right corner. There is a vertical tear at the top edge near the left corner and an old repair in the bottom left corner. There is a visible flaw in the sheet, near the right edge. There is show-through occurring on both recto and verso.



Verso: There are abrasions that have resulted in losses to the medium.

Description

Recto

The young Hercules, standing with his right leg crossed over his left, supported under his right armpit by his club. At the left, an elaborate ornament or trophy comprising a triangular lion-footed base, with acanthus scrolls, surmounted by a cushion on which is seated a *putto* holding aloft a helmet.

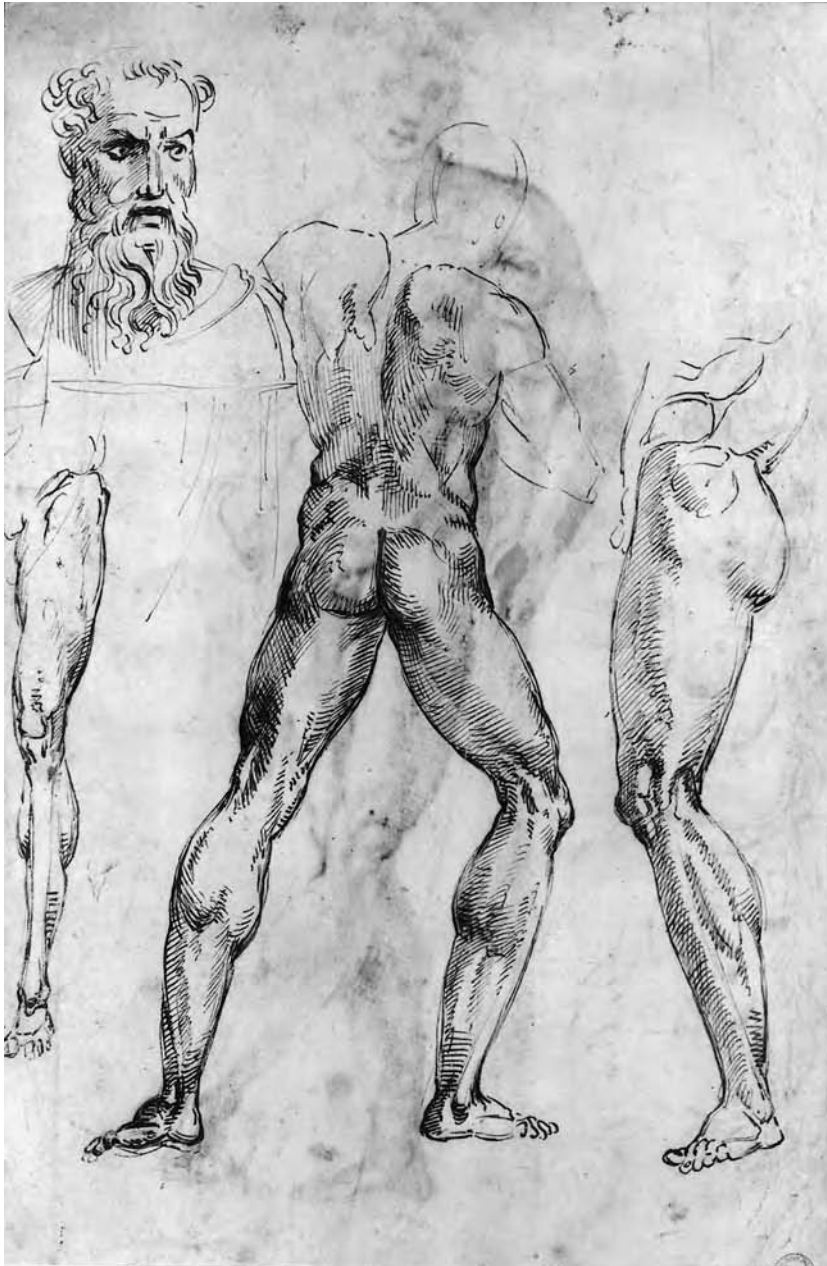
Verso

Top line: a bearded male head, similar to that of Michelangelo's *Moses*.

Second line: a left leg seen from the front; the so-called *Gnudo della Paura* seen from the rear; a left leg, slightly bent, with the left hip and the lower section of the torso more sketchily drawn, in left profile.

Discussion

The main recto drawing reproduces a figure identified by the compiler in 1977 as the *Hercules* carved by the young Michelangelo, probably in 1493, following his recovery



from a depression caused by the death of his first major patron Lorenzo the Magnificent in 1492. According to Vasari and Condivi, this statue was not a commission but was initiated by Michelangelo, although he may have carved it intending to present or sell it to Piero de' Medici, Lorenzo's son. It was reclaimed by Michelangelo from the Republican Government in 1495, which implies that even though it may have been housed by the Medici, it had not been purchased by the family (Cagliotti, 2000, pp. 262–3). The statue was subsequently acquired by the Strozzi and seems to have been in their possession by 1506 (see the comments by M. Hirst in Barocchi, Bramanti, and Ristori, 1995, pp. 323–4). Exported to France in 1530, it

was sited at Fontainebleau. During the reign of Henri IV, c. 1600, it was placed on a high pedestal in the Jardin de l'Etang. It was shown in this position, with protective bronze drapery added to its evidently vulnerable lower half, by Israel Silvestre in 1649. The *Hercules* was lost to sight after the demolition of the Jardin de l'Etang in the early eighteenth century.

Various proposals for the appearance of Michelangelo's statue have been put forward, but that by the compiler is alone compatible with the figure represented by Silvestre, whose etching is the single piece of visual evidence indisputably connected with the known history of the statue. If the compiler's opinion is correct, then it is clear that the

statue was replicated at least ten times in bronze reductions and was copied, directly and indirectly, in numerous drawings well before 1530. The first precisely datable visual reference to it is found in the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, the predella of the altarpiece of Saints Cosmas and Damian, executed by Fernando Llanos and Fernando Yañez between July and December 1506 for the Cathedral of Valencia. In this panel, Michelangelo's figure, seen from the back, stands at the left edge. Llanos depicted the figure again c. 1520, this time in frontal view, in his *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Museo Diocesano, Murcia. The recto drawing was inventoried in 1830 as after Michelangelo's statue, perhaps on the basis of an annotation on a now-lost mount, and this reference, first published only in 1997, provides further – and independent – support for the compiler's hypothesis. It also raises the possibility that Ottley, the earliest recorded owner, acquired the sheet, directly or indirectly, from a French source because only a French owner is likely to have been able to make such a linking with any confidence.

It is unclear how the present sheet acquired the attribution to Raphael that it already held in Lawrence's collection, and with whose name it has subsequently been associated. Although it is not at all unlikely that Raphael copied Michelangelo's figure during his Florentine sojourn, the drawings on this sheet bear little relation to his pen style. The watermark suggests a date early in the cinquecento, and the style seems plausibly Florentine of the second or third decade. There are links with the pen-work of Bandinelli – who also knew this figure and employed it seen from a different angle in a drawing in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle (PW75; pen and ink, 272 × 200 mm) – but the draughtsmanship of the present drawing seems livelier than Bandinelli's in contour and less formulaic in hatching. Some similarity may also be seen with Michelangelo's own more energetic broad pen style as practised in the period around 1520 – witness the doubled contours – but the work of the present draughtsman is much less dynamic than that of Michelangelo in modelling and line-work.

There is, of course, no good reason why a copy of Michelangelo's statue, or of one of the reductions of it, should have been made by an artist in Michelangelo's orbit, but the motifs of some of the other drawings on this sheet do suggest that the draughtsman had a close relation to the master. The ornament or trophy on the recto, perhaps a fire dog that incorporates a *putto* playing with a helmet, is consonant with Michelangelo's deployment of *putti*, as in his so-called *Allegory of Prudence*, a drawing now known only in copies (such as that by Raffaello da Montelupo in the British Museum, W89; pen and ink, 261 × 359 mm) and with his decorative vocabulary, such

as the heavy candelabra sculpted for the altar and planned for the attics of the ducal tombs in the New Sacristy.

The drawings on the verso suggest even more strongly a close relation with Michelangelo. The left leg placed on the left of the page, seen frontally, could well be copied from a lost Michelangelo drawing; although no precise model is known, it is obviously closely comparable to, indeed might be thought to stand between, the sketchy pen drawing of a left leg on BM W5 verso/Corpus 46 (pen and ink over black chalk, 315 × 278 mm), and the more elaborate pen drawing of a left leg on the verso of Berlin Inv. 15305/Corpus 55 (pen and ink, 343 × 525 mm). This leg is probably not another view of the form studied on the right side of the sheet, the lower part of a torso and left leg seen in left profile. Similarly, this study, although it might at first sight be interpreted as a profile view, on a slightly larger scale, of the main figure on this face of the sheet, seems to show the leg at a different angle and with a different relation to the torso. It, too, could well derive from a lost drawing by Michelangelo: It is immediately reminiscent of a study such as that on the left of the sheet of drawings for the *Battle of Cascina* in the Albertina (BK123 recto/Corpus 53; pen and ink corrected in black chalk, 266 × 194 mm).

At the upper left, the sketch of a bearded head is very similar to that of *Moses* in Michelangelo's famous statue, underway from c. 1513: it may, indeed, be after a graphic or plastic model for it. The *Moses* was not publicly displayed until the mid-1540s, and until then it was known only to a limited number of Michelangelo's associates.

The main drawing on the verso, and the first to be executed, is a rear view of the so-called *Gnudo della Paura*, among the most famous figures surviving from classical antiquity, and one which, from the early quattrocento, was frequently copied and alluded to both by painters and sculptors, especially in Florence. It would come as no surprise could it be shown that Michelangelo owned a plaster cast of this figure.

On the basis of the fact that the Este collection in Ferrara contained small bronzes of both the *Hercules* and the *Gnudo*, Radcliffe suggested (in 1979–80) that the drawing was made in that collection, but nothing about the drawing style indicates Ferrara, and this hypothesis, which Radcliffe subsequently withdrew, also leaves unexplained the other drawings on the sheet.

If the drawings were made by a Florentine artist close to Michelangelo in the period c. 1515–25, who was he? The most obvious candidate would be Michelangelo's pupil and assistant, Pietro Urbano, whom Vasari describes as talented. While the present sheet does not bear any close relation to drawings that might possibly be given to him, such as two in Paris (Louvre, Inv. 694/J49 and

702/J47; both in pen and ink, respectively 329×166 mm, 401×157 mm), these themselves are no more than conjectural attributions, and the differences do not absolutely rule out the possibility of Pietro's authorship of the present sheet. Alternatively, several of the sculptors who worked with Michelangelo in the New Sacristy, such as Silvio Cosini, are entirely unknown as pen draughtsmen. A candidate who occurs to the compiler as a possibility is Giovanni Montorsoli, in that there is a certain resemblance between the face of the Hercules and that of the seated Apollo in his tomb of Jacopo Sannazaro, in Naples, Santa Maria del Parto, carved in the mid-1530s. But only the reappearance of further drawings by the same hand is likely to throw light on this sheet's authorship.

History

William Young Ottley; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Lawrence Inventory, 1830, Varia, Case 6, Drawer 1 [1830–136] (“Four: . . . entombment by Raffaello; the Statute [sic] of Hercules at Fontainebleau.”). Woodburn, 1842, Raphael, no. 39 (“Study of Hercules with His club – Pen drawing with figures on the back. Size, $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches. From the Collection of W. Y. Ottley, Esq.”). Robinson, 1870, Raphael, no. 151 (Ascribed to Raffaello. “These studies are not by Raffaello nor do they seem to have relation to any of his works.”). Parker, 1956, no. 624 (Hercules corresponds closely with a bronze statuette in the Museo Estense, Modena; the verso figure from a *Marsyas Playing the Double Flute*). Radcliffe, 1979–80, pp. 12–13 (Because statuettes of the *Hercules* and the *Gnudo della Paura* are recorded in the Este Collection at Modena, it is likely that the drawing was made there.). Radcliffe, 1994, p. 18 (“[T]he drawing is distinctly Florentine in style and is more likely to have been made in Florence [than Ferrara] where a version of the *Gnudo della Paura* was in existence in the fifteenth century.”). Joannides, 1996a, pp. 31–2 (The drawing is Florentine in style, and all its elements are Michelangelesque; the watermark suggests a date c. 1520.). Joannides, 1997, p. 20 (Lawrence inventory reference noted.).

CATALOGUE 82

Copy of the Julius Tomb
1963.22; Macandrew 355A

Dimensions: 487×388 mm

Watermark: Briquet no. 7111, Perugia 1544.

Medium

Pen, ink, and brown wash over some establishing ruled lines in black chalk.

Condition

The sheet is undulating and generally uncomfortable. There is a pressed-out central horizontal crease, other minor corner creases, repaired holes, tears, and an infill with ingrained edge dirt. A worn pin hole with tear and edge stains is visible, also some abrasion, accretions, local stains, some with tide-marked edges, foxing, surface dirt, and discolouration. The secondary support has some abrasion and fading, with its verso discoloured. The primary support is hinged to the secondary support, which is drummed by its four edges to the backboard. It is lifting in the lower right corner.

Discussion

This drawing depicts the tomb of Julius II as it was set up in San Pietro in Vincoli with its complement of statues in 1545 and as it remains. Its quality is not high: The figures on the upper level are awkwardly drawn, although the architecture, including the variety of grotesque carving, is more sharply rendered. The accuracy with which the architecture is depicted would suggest that the drawing was made on site; the relative carelessness with which the statues are drawn, especially those of the upper storey (the heads that crown the herm-pilasters, for example, are much prettified), would suggest the contrary, as would the lack of underlying compass or stylus work. The copyist, who may have been an architect rather than a sculptor, was much concerned, like Michelangelo himself in his *modelli*, to establish the structure's varying depths of relief.

The watermark would suggest that the drawing was made quite early, when there would have been widespread interest in distributing knowledge of Michelangelo's latest and, as it transpired, final public sculptural work.

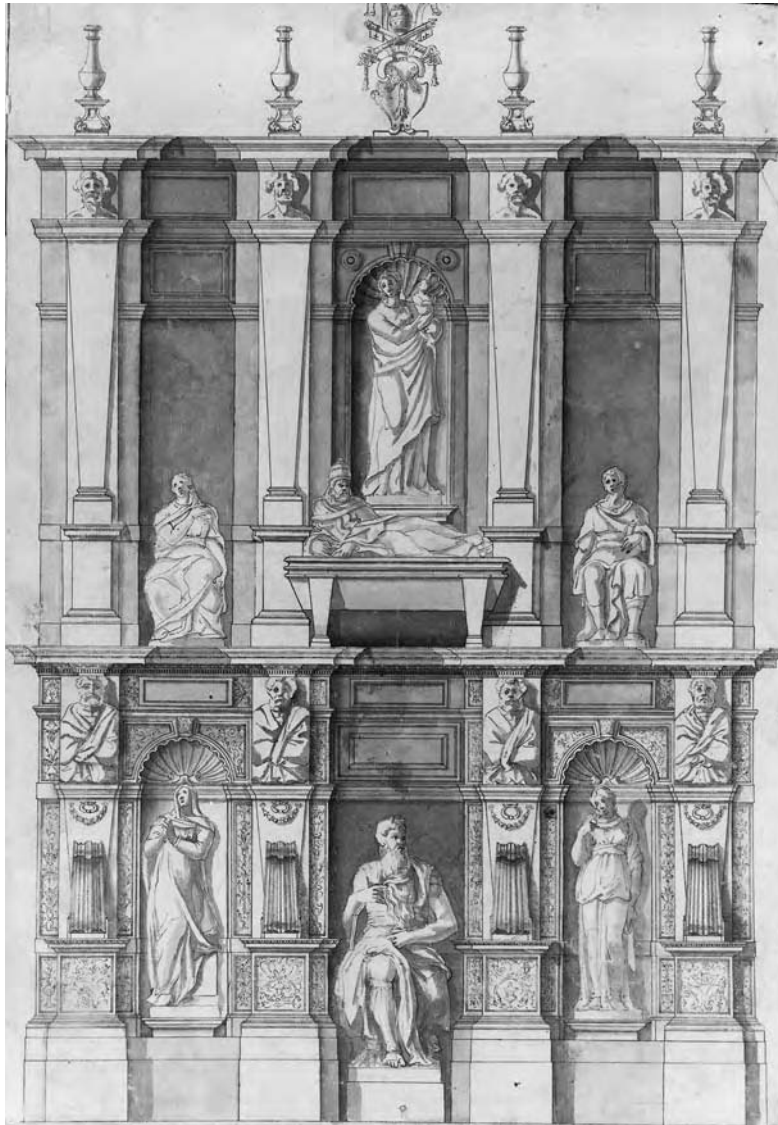
The attribution to Antonio da Ponteassieve, the sculptor subcontracted to carve the front face lower storey of the tomb in July 1513, is without basis.

History

R. Bernal collection (inscription on mount); purchased Eldon Fund, 1963.

References

Robertson, 1963, p. 43 (Cannot be assigned to a specific hand; once attributed to Antonio da Ponteassieve, but no evidence to support this. The watermark suggests that it was drawn at the time of the tomb's completion in 1545. The draughtsmanship is of a higher standard than that seen in the engraving published by Antonio



Salamanca.). De Tolnay, 1975, Corpus I, p. 65 (Antonio da Ponteassieve?). Macandrew, 1980, no. 355a (“[O]n the evidence of the watermark, drawn at the time of the tomb’s unveiling in 1545. . . . According to Tolnay. . . [the copyist] was not Antonio da Ponteassieve.”). Rosenberg, 2000, NZ19 (Italian mid-sixteenth century).

CATALOGUE 83

Recto: *Night*

Verso: Grotesque Decorations from Room 36 in the Golden House of Nero

WA.OA977; Blayney Brown, no. 1814

Dimensions: 170 × 262 mm, irregular

Medium

Recto: Black chalk, and brownish-yellow wash over black chalk.

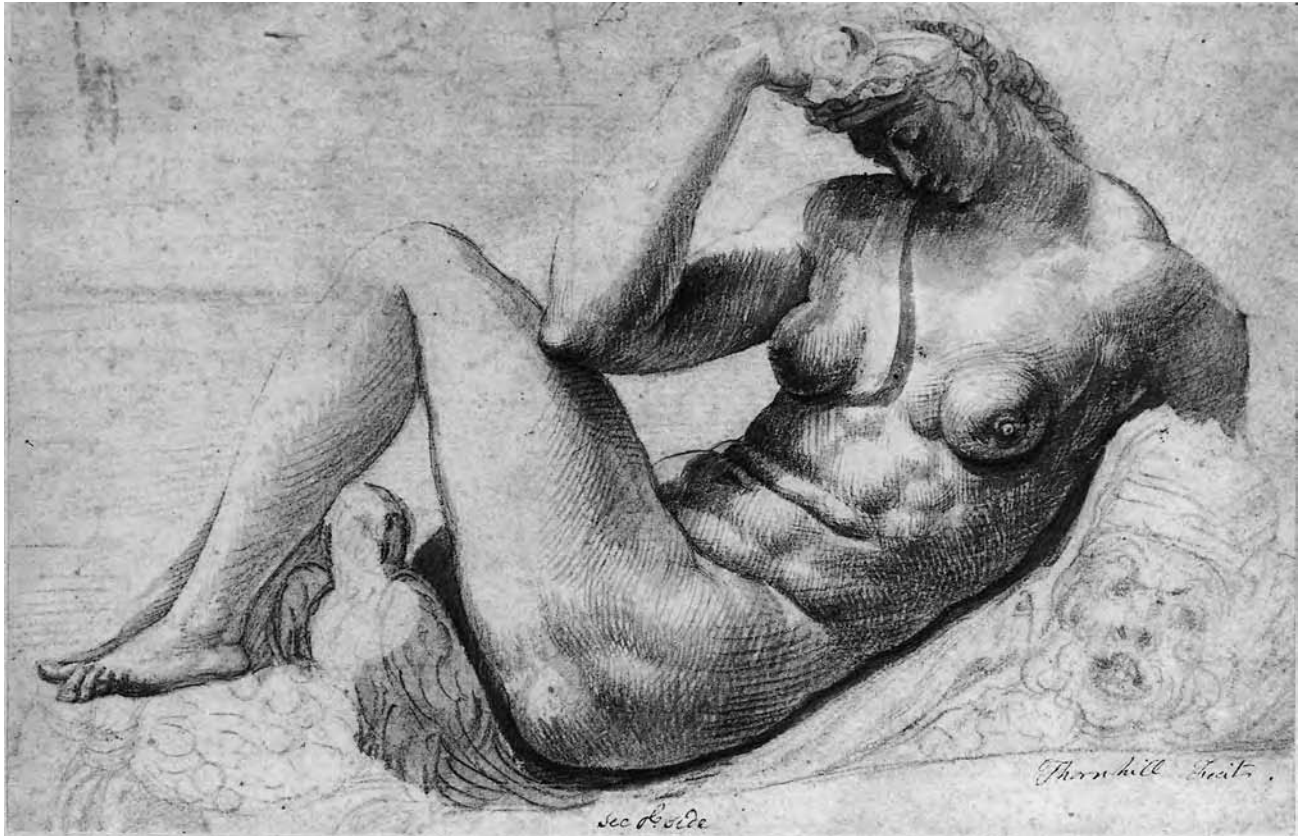
Verso: Pen and ink.

Condition

On a double-sided solid museum mount with bevel inlay attached at verso.

Recto: There is overall surface dirt and various stains. There is minor surface abrasion overall. There are various black and brown accretions in the area between the figure’s breasts. The sheet has a light vertical fold line left of centre.

Verso: There is light overall discolouration and various local stains and shiny accretions in the top left corner and top centre. Also visible is an old tear repair at the top of the fold.



Inscriptions

Recto: In pencil? upper centre: 23. In pen and ink at right lower corner: *Thornhill fecit* and, at lower centre: *sec d side*.

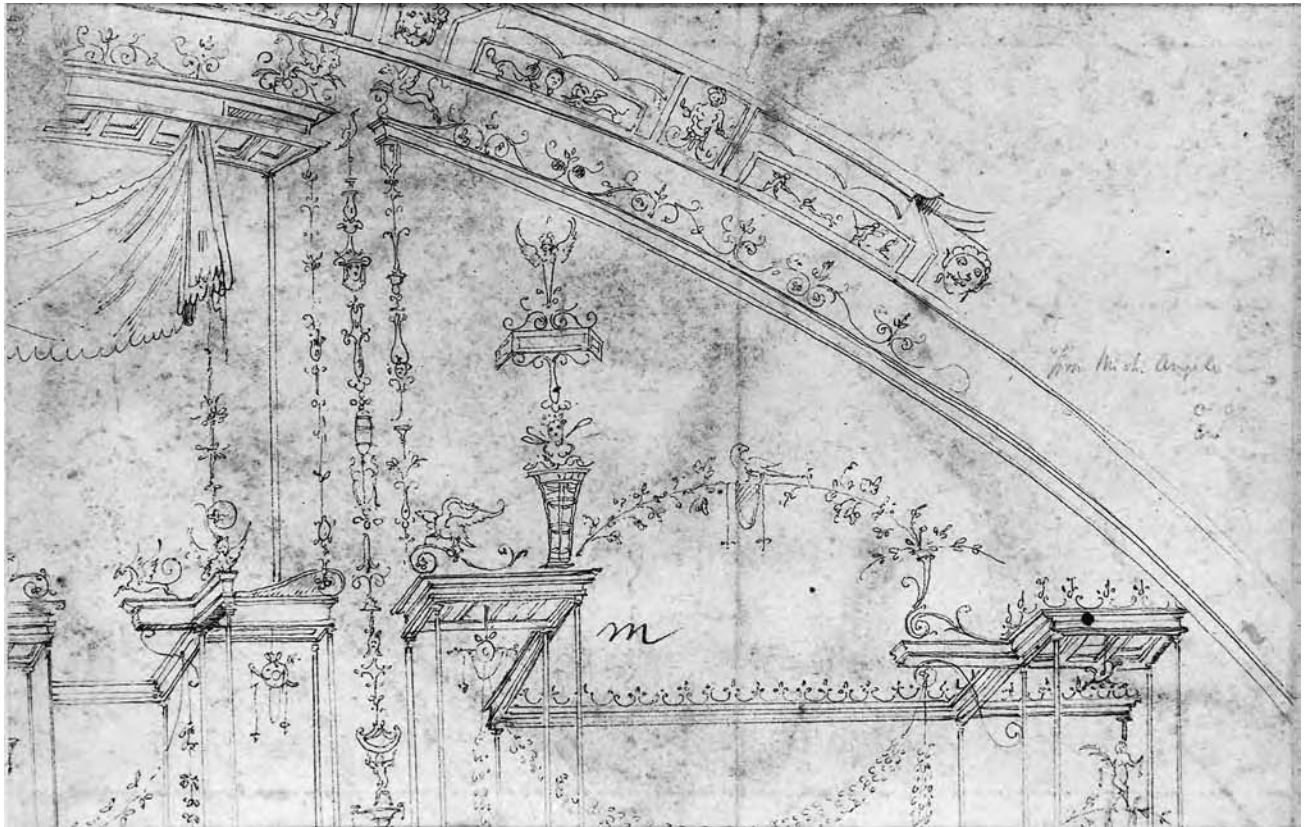
Verso: In pencil (in the same hand?); *From Mich Angelo* and, in pen and ink: *M*.

Discussion

Blayney Brown, cataloguing this sheet as by Sir James Thornhill?, wrote that it “presents intriguing problems of authorship, both because Thornhill himself was never in Italy and because recto and verso seem neither to have been drawn by the same hand nor at the same date; nor is it at all certain that the inscription: *Thornhill fecit* is by the artist himself. Nevertheless the old ascription of the recto to Thornhill may be at least partly correct. Thornhill could have studied the *Night* from one of the small *modelli* in circulation in his day, or retouched another artist’s sketch in emulation of the practice of Rubens whose work he collected. . . . A third possibility is that he worked from a complete drawing of the *Night* such as the old and fine copy in the Ashmolean in which the right leg is also omitted (Cat. 84). Rubens’ study of *Night* (Frits Lugt Collection in the Fondation Custodia, Paris Inv. 5251; black chalk, pen and ink with body colour,

360 × 495 mm) was in England in Thornhill’s day and provides tempting parallels in its use of yellowish wash in the figure, but as it includes significant variations from the Michelangelo type, could not have served directly as a model for Thornhill. . . . The study on the *verso* . . . is surely not by Thornhill, but by a somewhat earlier hand, probably Italian.”

The contrast between the two sides of the sheet is such that it was reasonable for Blayney Brown to consider recto and verso to be by different hands, but to the compiler between drawings so diverse in type and technique no legitimate comparison appears possible and he would be inclined to think that both were made by the same draughtsman, employing very different styles for very different purposes. It seems to the compiler improbable that the recto – the only side for which Blayney Brown tentatively retains Thornhill’s name – is by him, and it is improbable that Thornhill would ever have been connected with it, in the absence of the inscription. It compares in no particular with any other drawing by or ascribed to Thornhill known to the compiler, and he would explain the inscription as a misattribution by some later owner, perhaps mistaking a sheet with a provenance from Thornhill’s estate for one by him.

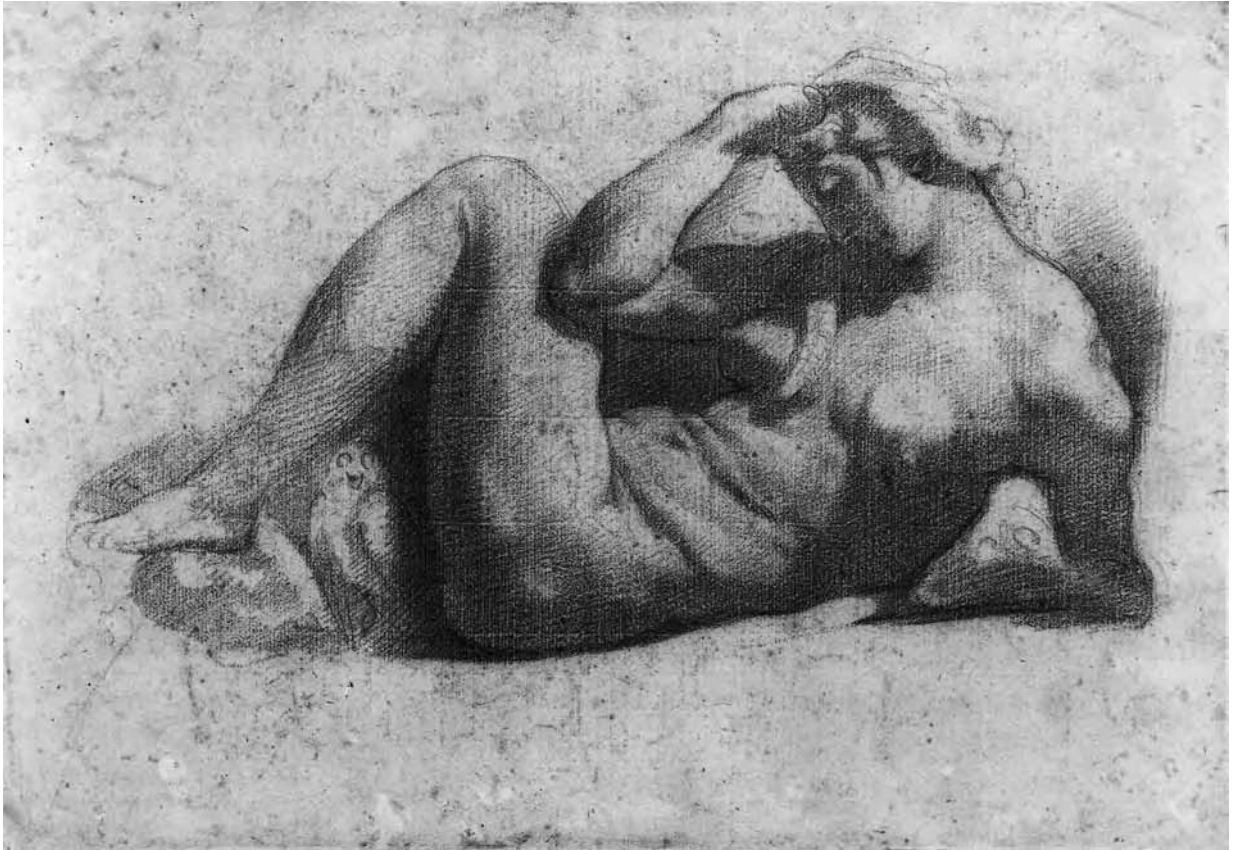


The technique of the recto copy is certainly reminiscent of Rubens' work, and it may well have been made by one of the native draughtsmen studied by Rubens when he was in Italy. To the compiler, it seems to be by an Italian artist of the mid- to later sixteenth century. The working up of the underlying black chalk drawing both with fine brushstrokes and broader washes is, in the compiler's view, unlikely to be by a different hand: The absence of modelling in chalk on the body suggests that the artist always intended to complete the figure in another medium. Where the chalk is left uncovered, at the lower right, it describes the form more fully than elsewhere, and seems to have been planned to offset the central part of the figure.

Blayney Brown notes that it could have been made not from Michelangelo's marble in the New Sacristy, but from a reduction. Because accurate reductions of the *Times of Day* from the New Sacristy were in circulation from as early as the mid-1530s, it is generally difficult and often impossible to be sure whether a copy is direct or indirect. The present sheet offers contrary indications. On the recto, the sharp fall of light from the left that brings out the statue's volumes, suggests that the copy was made in situ in the New Sacristy, from an elevated position. On the other hand, the previously unidentified verso is

a copy of a detail from a now largely destroyed lunette in room 36 of the Golden House of Nero. This does not seem to have been engraved nor widely copied – the single example reproduced by Dacos (1969, fig. 58) is a mid-sixteenth century drawing at Windsor (no. 9567) – so although the present drawing could have been copied from another drawing, it may well have been made in situ. If so, then, rather than conclude that the artist made studies in Florence and in Rome on the same sheet – probably a sketchbook page – it would be more economical to propose that the recto was made after one of the many reductions of the *Night* to be found in Rome or that the verso was made after a drawing to be found in Florence. Nevertheless, the possibility that the sheet travelled between the two cities should not be ruled out: Many artists spent long periods in both Florence and Rome.

The style of the verso drawing is one associated with Perino del Vaga and his immediate followers: Perino's shop in the 1540s was the leading producer of grotesque frescoes. If the similarity is more than generic, it suggests that the draughtsman moved in Perino's orbit. A drawing in the British Museum, catalogued by Pouncey and Gere as by Perino del Vaga? (1962, no. 182; pen and ink, brush and wash, 145 × 177 mm) but subsequently



transferred by them to his associate Luzio Romano, is very similar in layout and is probably also after a lunette in the Golden House. But the pen-line of that drawing is lighter and more flexible than that of the present verso, which is heavier and more even, and is brought to life by delicately applied wash, absent here. The verso of Cat. 83 suggests a coarser but more forceful artist, an impression borne out by the recto. This would link well with a suggestion made by Nicholas Turner, that the draughtsman might be one of the Bolognese artists active in Rome (and perhaps Florence) around the mid-century, among whom Tibaldi and Passerotti are the obvious candidates. The chalk work of the recto is indeed reminiscent of some of the more delicate drawings of the former, and the brushwork has links with the vigorous pen style of the latter. In the present state of knowledge, it seems to the compiler that the answer probably lies in this area.

The layout of the verso suggests that the sheet has been trimmed, but not by much.

History

Unrecorded.

References

Blayney Brown, 1982, no. 1814 (Sir James Thornhill?).

CATALOGUE 84

LUDOVICO CIARDI, CALLED IL CIGOLI (1569–1613)?

Night

1846.99; R.47; P.II 354

Dimensions: 258 × 373 mm

Watermark: A Cardinal's hat, very close to Briquet 3370, Venice, Florence, 1560. Robinson Appendix no. 12.

Medium

Red chalk.

Condition

The sheet is lined; it is severely skinned, with minor repaired tears, abrasion and ingrained dirt at the edges. There are linear marks, possible flattened creases, and some foxing, local staining, and general discolouration. The primary support is drummed by the four edges to the backboard of the mount, so the verso is not visible.

Discussion

This accomplished and attractive drawing was made after a modified and simplified reduction of Michelangelo's

figure, not the original. It treats the figure as a relief. It seems to be by a Florentine artist of the later cinquecento, perhaps, as the watermark would permit, working in the decade 1580–90. It was drawn broadly, with the sharp lines that define the contours of the owl set below the left knee and of the crescent moon in *Night's* head added after the main forms had been established. There are some similarities with the simplified and dramatic chalk style of Boscoli, much influenced by Rosso with its abruptly juxtaposed planes of light and shade, but it lacks the airy openness that characterises Boscoli's drawings, and Dr. Julian Brooks (personal communication) does not believe it to be his.

To the compiler, a more likely candidate is Ludovico Cardi, il Cigoli (1569–1613). A red chalk study (California, C. Wright Collection in 1999) for, probably, the figure of Christ in his *Wedding Feast at Cana* in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna, published by M. Chappell in Wright, 1999, no. 4, is very similar in handling to the present drawing and shares with it applied outlining, employed to bring the contours into sharper focus. Cigoli was certainly deeply interested in Michelangelo's work, even though his paintings and drawings rarely display its influence. Cigoli demonstrated his thoughts about Michelangelo's architecture, at least, in a drawing for the façade of St. Peter's in the Uffizi 2636A, alongside which he commented upon the purpose of the bell-towers. Cigoli was a close friend of Galileo, himself an unconditional admirer of Michelangelo, and also became a friend of Michelangelo the Younger.

It is tempting to hypothesise that this drawing is that described by Woodburn in his letter to Lawrence of 1 February 1823 as a study for the *Leda*.

History

Parker gives the provenance as Casa Buonarroti?, but this was no doubt caused by a confusion with no. 35 in Woodburn's exhibition of 1836 – a drawing in red chalk with similar dimensions – which could not have been included in the 1842 prospectus because it had been sold to William II of Holland in 1839.

A possible candidate – but not a certain one – for 1836–35 is a drawing that entered the British Museum with the Collection of Henry Vaughan in 1900 (W102; red chalk, 340 × 262 mm) with a provenance recorded as from Casa Buonarroti and Jean-Baptiste Wicar, although this was doubted by Wilde. The dimensions are a little smaller than those given by Woodburn, but the sheet might have been trimmed between 1836 and 1900, which would also explain the absence of Lawrence's stamp. If this drawing, first attributed to Francesco Salviati by Professor Michael

Hirst and now generally accepted as his, was that sold to William in 1839, then it would have been lot 120 in William's posthumous sale, at which it was purchased by Brondgeest. It would presumably have been passed by him to Woodburn and would have re-appeared in the latter's posthumous sale of 1860 as lot 142, acquired by Enson.

That the present drawing has no direct relation with Michelangelo and was certainly made after his death suggests either that the provenance did not include Casa Buonarroti or, if it did, that it was one of those drawings that entered the Buonarroti collection in the early seventeenth century; the fact that Cigoli was a friend of Michelangelo the Younger might well be significant.

Casa Buonarroti?; Jean-Baptiste Wicar; Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Woodburn, 1842, no. 12 ('An elegant drawing...red chalk... Size 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 10 $\frac{1}{3}$ inches. From the Collection of the Chev. Wicar.'). Robinson, 1870, no. 47 (Copy from Michel Angelo. "This masterly shaded drawing was evidently made from the finished statue...not long after the execution of the marble.'). Thode, 1913, p. 210 (Copy). Parker, 1956, no. 354 (Handling reminiscent of Rosso; of the first half of the sixteenth century. "Whether the differences in the left arm are merely due to license on the part of the copyist or whether they have some further significance is a moot point.'). Rosenberg, 2000, NZ15 (Italian, first half of the sixteenth century, probably after a reduction.).

CATALOGUE 85

LUDOVICO CARBACCI (1555–1619)?

Evening

1846.100; R.46; P.II 355

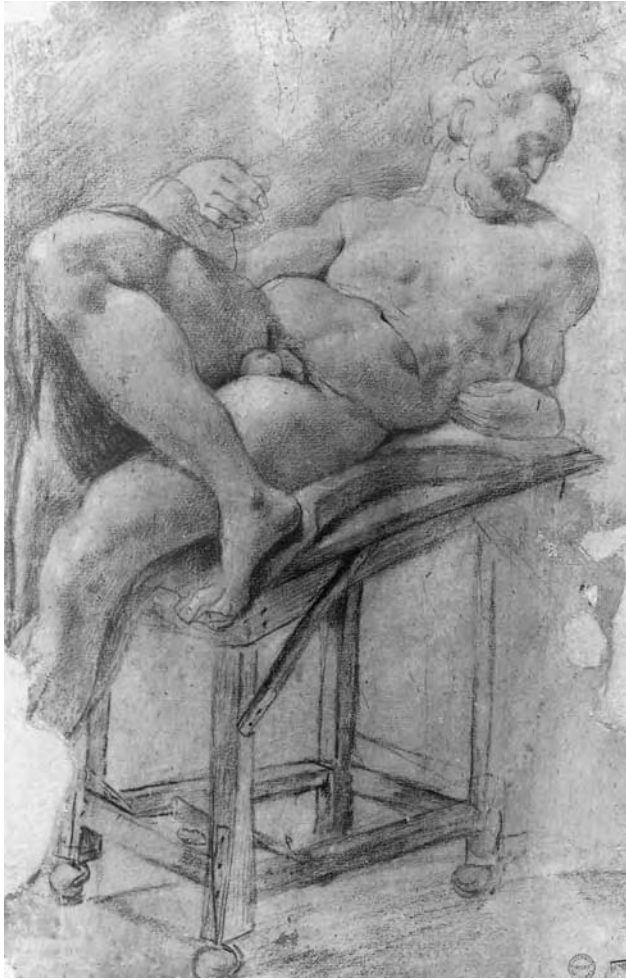
Dimensions: 386 × 248 mm, areas of loss, made up

Medium

Red and black chalk.

Condition

The support is lined. There is uneven pulp. The sheet has major toned infills (particularly at the lower left edge and just below the half-way line at the right edge), major tear repairs, a minor surface scratch, a small hole, abrasions,



general uneven discolouration, and local staining in the image area. The primary support is drummed by the four edges to the backboard of the mount, so the verso is not visible.

Discussion

This drawing was clearly made from a reduction of Michelangelo's figure, although it is equally clear that it was a fairly large one, perhaps half the size of the original. As all commentators have observed, the figure is borne on a mobile chariot constructed of thin wooden struts, too flimsy to support anything heavier than a plaster.

The drawing provides valuable insight into the employment of reductions of Michelangelo's figures as studio props. There is much evidence for this practise in the workshop of Tintoretto, although none of his or his pupils' surviving drawings after Michelangelo indicates how the plaster figures that they copied were supported; the present drawing makes it easy to understand how a

copyist could obtain many different views of the *Evening* with minimal effort.

In the compiler's view, the drawing has close links with the Carracci circle, more especially the work of Ludovico than either of his cousins. The form of the left hand and the simplification of the fingers is characteristic. As established by Loisel, 2000, Ludovico seems to have exploited the combination of black and red chalk extensively in the early 1580s, following a stay in Florence working in the circle of Federico Zuccaro – to whose circle, incidentally, Cat. 85 is attributed by Rosenberg – and the drawing might have been made by him around that time. The Carracci were, of course, deeply interested in Venetian art and would have been well aware of the Venetian route to Michelangelo through Tintoretto's obsessive copying of reductions of the New Sacristy figures.

Ludovico Carracci, like his cousins, rejected the forced Michelangelism prevalent in Bologna in the circle of Passerotti, but, although critical of Michelangelo's work, the Carracci certainly were well aware of it and made selective use of aspects of it, even during the 1580s, notably in their fresco schemes in Palazzo Poggi and Palazzo Magnani.

History

Sir Joshua Reynolds (L.2364); Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Woodburn, 1842, no. 87 ("Figure of a man-study from life [sic] . . . sitting on a trestle."). Woodburn, 1846, no. 6 (As 1842.). Robinson, 1870, no. 46 (Copy from Michelangelo, "most likely made from a plaster cast."). Thode, 1913, p. 210 (Copy.). Parker, 1956, no. 355 (Latter part of sixteenth century, copied from a plaster cast, a studio property placed on a wheeled support.). Joannides, 1996–8, p. 24 (Carracci school.). Rosenberg, 2000, NZ21 (Italian, second half of the sixteenth century "aus dem Umkreis Federico Zuccaros stammen dürfte.").

CATALOGUE 86

The Whole Ceiling

1846.101; R.36; P.II 356

Watermark: an indecipherable watermark under the *Flood*.

Dimensions: 536 × 265 mm



Medium

Pen and ink with wash and oxidised white body colour over compass and stylus work.

Condition

The sheet is lined; it is uncomfortably undulating. All corners have small toned infilled and/or in-drawn diagonal losses. There are some repaired edge losses and tears, abrasions, some fibrous accretions, a shiny flat pressed “waxy” accretion, and widespread local staining and uneven discolouration. The primary support is drummed by the four edges to the backboard of the mount, so the verso is not visible.

Discussion

This incomplete copy after Michelangelo’s vault fresco in the Sistine Chapel, like a very similar if much larger one executed on four separate sheets at Windsor Castle (Royal Collection, PW 465–468; pen and ink and brush and wash, respectively, 410 × 563 mm, 420 × 556 mm, 263 × 372 mm, 268 × 372 mm), includes all the main individual figures (the Windsor drawing omits *Ezechiel*) but only three of the histories (*The Flood*, *The Creation of Eve*, and *The Spirit Moving Across the Waters*). These copies were not made directly after the frescoes. All the Prophets and Sibyls seem to derive from the engravings first issued c. 1550, by Adamo Scultori or, in some cases, from the drawings that presumably prepared them. To the Prophets and Sibyls have been added the figures of ancestors from the same series of engravings. There are frequent errors in the subsidiary figures, in particular the telamon *putti*, which suggests that they were added from memory or were merely invented. The settings of the figures are also greatly simplified. In the present drawing, the *Delphica* is erroneously labelled *Tiburtina*, as in Adamo’s engraving.

These two survey drawings are, in turn, closely related to four series of copies after the separate figures, or, in some cases, sections extracted from the narrative frescoes, of Michelangelo’s ceiling. One, comprising fourteen drawings, is also in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle; the second and third series are in the Louvre, comprising, respectively, nine drawings (Inv. 754–762/J231 etc.; pen and ink and brown wash on yellow washed paper, 278–280 × 203–205 mm), and thirty-six of the thirty-eight drawings in an album once owned by Anne-Marie de Bruyn (RF 6917/J191 etc.; pen and ink and brown wash on brown washed paper, page size generally 420 × 275 mm, with varying image sizes), while a fourth, comprising sixty-eight items, is in the Teyler Museum, Haarlem (Inv. N1*–N68*/VT71). The

Windsor series includes twelve of the *ignudi* (it may originally have included the full twenty; PW 469–480; pen and ink and brown wash partly over black chalk, the dimensions varying between 241–253 × 162–170 mm) and two copies on a slightly larger scale after parts of the *Flood* (PW 481–482; pen and ink and brown wash partly over black chalk, respectively, 257 × 197 mm and 252 × 182 mm). These drawings show some signs of preparatory work, and all the *ignudi* are squared. The Windsor *ignudi* were taken by Wilde to be preparations for the series of engravings after the ceiling issued by Adamo Ghisi (Adamo Scultori), and he adduced in support of this view the fact that one of them (PW 474) was drawn over a figure of *Hercules*, which corresponds with the engraving after a design by Giulio Romano also generally attributed to Adamo (*The Illustrated Bartsch* 31, no. 15(167) [XV, 422]). However, it seems to the compiler that the Windsor *ignudi* were made after the engravings, or – in the case of the two sections of the *Flood*, not known in engraved form – after drawings made in the same atelier, and it may be that they and the first Louvre series (Inv. 754–762/J231 etc.), which includes solely Prophets and Sibyls originally formed a single sequence. Such a view would be reinforced by the de Bruyn Album (RF 6917/J191, etc.), which seems to depend on both the Louvre and the Windsor drawings. It is worth remarking that the only two drawings in this album not after Michelangelo are copies of engravings by Adamo Ghisi after compositions by Giulio Romano.

In any case it seems quite clear that the present general copy, and that in Windsor, plus the various sets of details, were produced in close proximity, perhaps by the same hand, in a mid-sixteenth-century Italian workshop, which was probably that of Adamo himself. That these drawings could be those by Leonardo Cungi referred to by Vasari, which were apparently owned by Perino del Vaga and were sold by his heirs after his death in 1547, can be ruled out. Cungi’s graphic manner is completely different; such close stylistic links with Giulio Romano would be inappropriate for a Tuscan artist, and the watermarks found in the de Bruyn album suggest a date after 1550.

D. Cordellier (personal communication) has suggested that the draughtsman responsible for these drawings might be French. Giorgio Ghisi worked in France and might well have brought French assistants with him when he returned to Italy; but if the draughtsman were French, he was certainly working in Italy since the tight web of connections with the work of Adamo Scultori would be improbable for an artist outside Adamo’s studio.

The third (or fourth) set, the sixty-eight copies after individual figures from the Sistine ceiling in the Teyler

Museum, Haarlem (Inv. N1*-N68*/VT 71), was also once more extensive; some of the mounts carry a second sequence of numbers, of which the highest is 73. This set, which contains no copies after the histories, comprises eighteen *ignudi*, nine Prophets and Sibyls, twenty-three Ancestors from the spandrels (including one in duplicate), six Ancestors from the triangles, and twelve of the bronze nudes (including one in duplicate). The Haarlem drawings are similar in technique to those in the other sets, but come closest to the relatively less dense renderings in the de Bruyn Album. Several of them are unfinished and many display a black chalk underdrawing that differs distinctly from the final image. They are undoubtedly from the same workshop if not from the same hand as the other sets, but they are on a smaller scale than those – measuring between 110 and 115 mm in height and between 90 and 116 mm in width – and the figures are all rendered at a more or less constant size. The workshop responsible for these sets evidently produced series in different categories, on different scales, and subdivided differently, presumably in response to the demands of individual clients.

These sets of drawings provide an interesting commentary on the difficulties – both of access to the chapel and of the fresco's position – that copying in the Sistine posed to artists and of the importance of engravings in disseminating knowledge of Michelangelo's figures. Drawings of this type, insouciant in their disregard of accuracy, may have been intended for sale to tourists, offering an apparently – but deceptively – more immediate impression of the Sistine vault than the engravings from which they derive.

In all the instances in which she is represented in these sets of drawings, *Delphica* is identified as *Tiburtina*.

History

Jonathan Richardson Senior (L.2184); William Young Ottley; Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (no stamp); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Lawrence Inventory, 1830, Case 12, Drawer 4, Portfolio H [1830–147] (“One an Elaborate Drawing of the whole of the Ceiling of the Sistine Chapel from M. Angelo.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 52 (“By Julio Clovio.”). Woodburn, 1846, no. 3 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1862, p. 3, pl. 5 (By Giulio Clovio.). Fisher, 1865, p. 22, II, pl. 5 (As 1862.). Robinson, 1870, no. 36 (Copy from Michel Angelo. Nothing “to render the attribution to Clovio other than conjectural. It may with more likelihood be supposed to be the work of some eminent engraver of the first half of the sixteenth century.” Includes lunette

compositions later destroyed by the *Last Judgement*.). Fisher, 1872, II, p. 20, pl. 5 (As 1862.). Springer, 1878, p. 115 (Copy made before the *Last Judgement* was painted.). Fisher, 1879, XXVII/ 29 (“Probably the work of a contemporary student.”). Springer, 1883, I, 159 (As 1878.). Justi, 1900, p. 168 (Ascribed to Clovio; shows destroyed lunettes.). Steinmann, II, 1905, p. 245 (Copy.). Thode, 1913, p. 210 (Copy.). Parker, 1956, no. 356 (Presumably early, since it shows the lunettes destroyed to make place for the *Last Judgement*.). Nesselrath, 1990, no. 31 (Must antedate beginning of *Last Judgement*; numerous differences between drawing and fresco: The small *putto* seen from the rear between the end lunettes is unlike Ottley's engraving that shows the *stemma* of Sixtus IV; position of *Judith and Holofernes* and *David and Goliath* inverted. A nonexistent *putto* included under *Zaccarias*; *Delphica* labelled *Tiburtina*.).

CATALOGUE 87

Recto: The Head of the *Libica* and a Study of a Right Leg

Verso: Nude Torso of a *Putto*
1846.102; R.68; P.II 357

Dimensions: 219 × 150 mm

Medium

Black chalk.

Condition

There is a pressed-out vertical central fold and numerous smaller creases and possible fractures. The sheet has a narrow margin of uneven skinning around all edges, major abrasions in the image, local staining, and uneven discolouration.

Inscription

Recto: In ink at the lower right edge: *KM?*.

Discussion

Although obviously derived from the bust of *Libica*, the drawing on the recto of the present sheet does not show her head covering and is not a direct copy of Michelangelo's figure. It might, in principle, have been made from a preparatory drawing by Michelangelo, but it is more likely that it is an adaptation by an independent artist.

The leg study seems, in the bulk and massiveness of the forms, to reflect experience of the *Last Judgement*

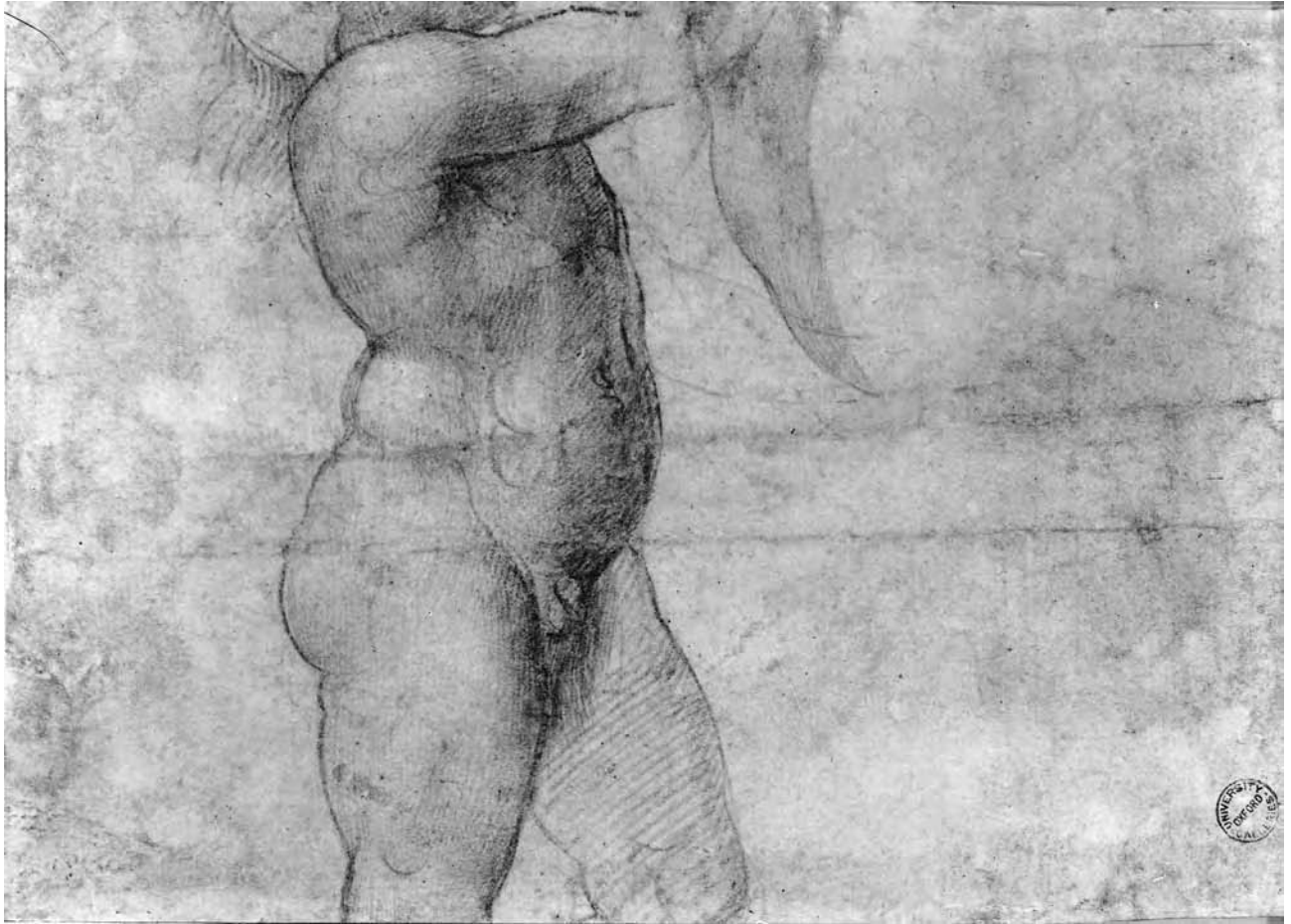


or, more probably, the Pauline Chapel frescoes, but any connection is one of style rather than motif: The compiler cannot find these forms in any of the three frescoes in question or among the surviving preparatory drawings for them. Nevertheless, such links, if this observation is correct, would suggest a dating within the period 1550–60. The hatching at the rear of the thigh is coarse in its application, and falls below the standard of draughtsmanship seen elsewhere in this drawing.

The verso drawing, made with the sheet orientated horizontally, has been drastically trimmed at top and bottom to frame the recto image, losing both the head and the feet of this figure. It depicts a lightly winged nude infant,

holding out a shield with his right arm in an attitude of defence. The figure may have found a place within some allegorical representation of a conflict between chaste and sensual love.

The drawings on this sheet are of quite high quality, densely and solidly modelled. They are probably by a Florentine artist in the circle of Bronzino, whose work after 1550 was heavily influenced by Michelangelo's Pauline Chapel phase. The compiler is unable to propose a specific name with any confidence, although he would reject that of Alessandro Allori, in many ways the most obvious candidate; he is, however, attracted by Dr. Julian Brooks' suggestion (personal communication) of Maso da San Friano.



History

Sir Peter Lely (L.2092); Jonathan Richardson Senior (L.2184); Richard Houlditch (L.2214); Sir Joshua Reynolds (L.2364) (the stamps both of Lely and Reynolds are now partially lost; it would seem that both were originally applied overlapping a mount, now removed); Sir Thomas Lawrence (no stamp); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonaroti Case 3, Drawer 3, [1830–59] (“A Female Head in profile and an Anatomical.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 68 (“Study of a female head – and an anatomical study of a leg.”). Fisher, 1862, p. 4, pl. 17 (Recto and verso: as Woodburn, 1842.). Fisher, 1865, II, p. 24; II, pl. 18 (As 1862.). Robinson, 1870, no. 68 (Both sides doubtful as Michelangelo. Recto head reminiscent of the woman in the foreground of Raphael’s *Transfiguration*.). Fisher, 1872, II, p. 22, pl. 18 (As 1862.). Black, 1875, p. 215, no. 58 (Ascribed to Michelangelo.). Gotti, 1875, II, p. 239. Fisher, 1879, XLIV/46 (Recto and verso: cites Robinson of resemblance to Raphael.). Panofsky, 1927a, p. 57 (Not Michelangelo.). Parker, 1956, no. 357 (“Robinson is

mistaken in connecting the head with that of the kneeling woman in Raphael’s *Transfiguration*. In fact it follows the Libyan Sibyl closely, though it does not include the frontlet covering the forehead. . . . The hand seems to be that of some fairly proficient mid-sixteenth century artist.”).

CATALOGUE 88

Adam from the *Creation of Eve*
1846.103; R.34; P. II 358

Dimensions: 134 × 236 mm, the lower right corner made up.

Medium

Black chalk.

Condition

The sheet is undulating severely. There is a major corner infill/repair, other minor repairs, minor but extensive abrasion, widespread foxing, and general uneven discolouration. The primary support is drummed by the



four edges to the backboard of the mount, so the verso is not visible.

Numbering

In pen and ink at the lower left corner, an old number 48.

Discussion

A copy of good quality, despite the slight awkwardness of the foreshortening, datable around the middle of the sixteenth century, but probably not made directly from the fresco. No author has been suggested, and the drawing does not seem to be by any of the identified copyists of Michelangelo. However, Francesco Salviati made a number of precise red chalk copies after individual figures and details from Michelangelo's ceiling during the 1530s (and later), some of which were themselves copied by other artists, and the present drawing might prove to have been copied from a lost drawing by Salviati. It does parallel his habit of juxtaposing areas of high finish with areas of simple outline. Vasari records that he and Salviati copied one another's copies – although the present drawing is not likely to be by Vasari – and no doubt this practice was widespread among young artists.

History

Sir Joshua Reynolds (L.2364); Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Woodburn, 1842, no. 23 (“Study for the Adam in the *Creation of Eve* . . . careful drawing in black chalk.”). Woodburn, 1846, no. 31 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1852, p. 4, pl. 17 (As Woodburn, 1842.). Fisher, 1865, I, p. 17, pl. 17 (As 1852.). Robinson, 1870, no. 34 (Copy from Michelangelo, probably executed soon after the fresco's completion.). Fisher, 1872, II, p. 22, pl. 17 (As 1852.). Gotti, 1875, II, p. 221 (“Studio per l'Adamo, nel fresco che rappresenta la creazione di Eva. Un bel disegno.” Mistakenly located in the collection of Frederick Locker in confusion with the study for Adam now in the British Museum, W11.). Fisher, 1879, XXV/27 (“Copy from the fresco.”). Thode, 1913, p. 210 (Copy.). Parker, 1956, no. 358 (Mid-sixteenth century.).

CATALOGUE 89

The Prophet *Jonas*

1846.104; R.35; P.II 359

Dimensions: 402 × 281 mm

Medium

Black chalk. Later framing line in pen and ink.



Condition

The sheet is undulating severely. There are some inherent diagonal wrinkles and some handling creases. There are minor infilled losses, a small edge nick with a flap of paper still attached, repaired edge tears with ingrained dirt, abrasion, local staining, and smudging of the medium. The sheet has some foxing and extensive uneven discolouration with local staining in upper corners. The primary support is drummed by the four edges to the backboard of the mount, so the verso is not visible.

Inscription

To the lower right in pen and ink: *M.^o Angelo fe.* At the base of the sheet in pen and ink, the letter *D.*

Discussion

The drawing contains the colour indications R(osso), B(ianco), V(erde) in black chalk, perhaps by the artist. It is closely linked with, perhaps even copied from, a copy of the *Jonas* in the Louvre (Inv. 741/J264; black chalk, 398 × 279 mm, without colour indications), which seems to the compiler of slightly higher quality. The Louvre drawing has been given both to Daniele da Volterra and Giulio Clovio. In the compiler's view, the attribution to Daniele is closer to the mark, and it may well be by one of the artists working with him in the late 1540s and in the 1550s, who included some of the most talented painters of the younger generation, such as Marco Pino and Pellegrino Tibaldi as well as the Spaniards Navarette and Gaspar Becerra; drawings by Becerra in particular

have sometimes been attributed to Daniele himself. A third copy of the *Ionas*, which may perhaps depend from the present version, is in the Uffizi (15092F; black chalk, 329 × 272 mm) as Daniele da Volterra, but bearing the annotation *Clovio?* by Ph. Costamagna.

The letter D at the bottom, in pen and ink, suggests that the present sheet was the fourth in a series of copies after Michelangelo's Prophets and Sibyls, but no companion drawings are known to the compiler.

Comparable colour indications in pen (R,B,V) are found upon a copy by an unidentified draughtsman after the figures in the *Ioram-Iosaphat* lunette in Liverpool (Walker Art Gallery, 1995, 204/Brooke, 1998–9, pp. 183–4; black chalk, 266 × 425 mm); more elaborate ones, also in pen, are on a drawing in the Uffizi which, although frequently doubted, may be an autograph study by Daniele da Volterra for the upper part of his *Assumption of the Virgin* in the Della Rovere Chapel in the Trinità dei Monti (203S; black chalk, 269 × 285 mm).

History

Jeremiah Harman; Samuel Woodburn (Parker's inclusion of Sir Thomas Lawrence, whose blind stamp is not to be found on the sheet, must be an error).

References

Woodburn, 1842, no. 59 (“A highly finished study of the *Jonah* for the Fresco in the Sistine Chapel.”). Woodburn, 1846, no. 17 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1852, p. 4, pl. 19 (As Woodburn, 1842.). Fisher, 1865, I, p. 17, pl. 19 (As 1852.). Robinson, 1870, no. 35 (Copy from Michel Angelo. It “seems to reveal the hand of Giulio Clovio.”). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 15, pl. 19 (As 1852.). Fisher, 1879, XXVI/28 (“[A]n old and finished drawing from the fresco.”). Gotti, 1875, II, p. 221. Thode, 1913, p. 210 (Copy). Parker, 1956, no. 359 (“[C]learly old and betrays some skill” but nothing to warrant attribution to Clovio. Another copy in the Louvre Inv. 741/J264. Colour indications are presumably B for bianco, V for verde, R for rosso.). Joannides, 2003a, p. 327 (Discussion of Louvre Inv. 741/J264.).

CATALOGUE 90

The Woman at the Right of the *Iesse-David-Salmon* Lunette

1846.105; R.26; P.II 360

Dimensions: 260 × 188 mm

Medium

Red chalk.

Condition

There are wrinkles in the lower right corner and what appears to be a fracture. There are several areas of abrasion, a major area of skinning, accretions, local staining, widespread foxing, and general uneven discolouration. There is mould damage along the left edge. The primary support is drummed by the four edges to the backboard of the mount, so the verso is not visible.

Inscription

Lower left corner, in pen: *miclal agnolo* preceded by mutilated and illegible letters.

Discussion

The provenance from Casa Buonarroti, if correct, opens the possibility that this drawing might be by an artist who worked with Michelangelo or one acquainted with him. The changes of position of the fingers of the right hand might suggest that the present drawing was made not after the fresco but after a lost study for it by Michelangelo; alternatively it might arouse suspicions that this copy was made to deceive. Neither inference is likely to be correct, and it seems more probable that this minor pentimento represents no more than the copyist's self-correction.

The style suggests an early date, and there are some features in common with works by Rosso, as indicated in the subtle analysis of Nesselrath. However, the drawing lacks the sharpness and intensity characteristic of Rosso and the employment of loose, somewhat lack-lustre hatching, seems alien to him. It may be by the same hand as a copy of a section from the pendentive of the *Brazen Serpent* in Paris (Louvre Inv. 769/J218; red chalk, 257 × 253 mm).

History

Casa Buonarroti? (the nature of the inscription rather suggests provenance from a group of drawings that seems to have been in the Ciciaporci Collection); Filippo Ciciaporci?; Bartolommeo Cavaceppi?; Jean-Baptiste Wicar; Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Woodburn, 1836b, no. 97 (“[E]vidently from nature; treated in a grand style.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 7 (As 1836.). Woodburn, 1846, no. 14 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1862, p. 4, pl. 15 (“[A] design for one of the Sibyls in the Sistine Chapel. 1509.”). Fisher, 1865, I, p. 23, pl. 15 (As 1862.). Robinson, 1870, no. 26 (Michel Angelo; “in all



probability made from nature.” Mistakenly said to be engraved by Ottley, in confusion with Cat. 91.). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 15, pl. 15 (As 1862.). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 26. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 222. Fisher, 1879, XVIII/21 (“Study for one of the figures in the lunettes.”). Thode, 1913, p. 210 (Copy.). Parker, 1956, no. 360 (“Correspondence with the fresco is fairly close, though not in all details.”). Nesselrath, 1990, no. 27 (“L’autore... cerca di imitare la grandiosa maniera pittorica che Michelangelo dispiega nelle sue lunette, tratteggiando ampie superficie con diversa intensità a seconda delle zone di ombra e lasciando emergere semplicemente il fondo bianco del foglio per rendere quelle illuminate; come nell’affresco, egli non distribuisce le luci, ma piuttosto le ombre... Questo modo di disegnare, manieristico, che è stato utilizzato molto spesso dallo stesso Michelangelo, si sviluppò sotto il suo influsso soprattutto nella cerchia di Rosso Fiorentino e di Polidoro, e probabilmente il foglio... è nato in questo ambiente.”).

CATALOGUE 91

The Woman and Child at the Left-Hand Side of the
Eleazar-Mathan Lunette
1846.106; R.28; P.II 361

Dimensions: 170 × 133 mm

Medium

Black chalk with touches of white body colour.

Condition

The sheet is lined. There is a pressed-out vertical fold with associated creasing, major toned corner infills, certainly carried out before the sheet was acquired by Lawrence, and a minor infilled hole. There is local staining and foxing and widespread uneven discolouration.



Discussion

This drawing was much admired by earlier critics and was among those drawings from his collection that Ottley chose to reproduce in his *Italian School of Design*. However, all later scholars have concluded, rightly in the compiler's view, that it is not an original but simply a good copy of one of the earliest of the lunettes to be painted in the Sistine Chapel.

The drawing is attractive and appealing, accurate but not slavish in its representation, and lively in its handling. The forms are blocked in broadly and confidently, and it would seem to be by an accomplished draughtsman. It is likely that it was made before 1520; it may be by a Florentine artist influenced by Fra Bartolommeo, but a Venetian hand is also a possibility.

Nothing is known of the drawing's provenance prior to Ottley, but although it bears no stamps, it may have come from an English collection. This group was popular with portraitists of Reynolds' generation, employed by Reynolds himself and by Tilly Kettle.

Printed Copy

Published by Ottley, 1808–1823, etched by F. C. Lewis dated 1 May 1812, facing p. 31, 182 × 145 mm.

History

William Young Ottley, (his sale, 6 June 1814, etc., lot 829, "One – a woman with a child on her knee – the original design for one of the most celebrated groups in the vault of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican – black chalk on tinted paper, heightened. Engraved in Mr Ottley's *Italian School of Design*." £12.12.0); Sir Thomas Lawrence (no stamp); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Ottley, 1808–1823, pp. 31–2 (Michelangelo; "This admirable group forms one of the series...intended to represent the genealogy of Christ, and was, like many of the others, evidently taken hastily from nature during the artist's rambles in the streets of Rome." Lewis's etching included.). Ottley sale, 6 June 1814, etc., lot 829

("One – a woman with a child on her knee – the original design for one of the most celebrated groups in the vault of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican – black chalk on tinted paper, heightened. Engraved in Mr Ottley's *Italian School of Design*."). Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonaroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–57] ("A Woman playing with a Child on her Knees, Black chalk."). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 68 ("[E]vidently from life, and which he has made use of in the grand work of the Sistine Chapel."). The Literary Gazette, July 1836 ("[A]mong the many productions in this gallery which rivetted our attention."). The Athenaeum, 16 July 1836 ("[F]or a compartment of the Sistine; so lofty that its merits cannot be understood without this drawing; Cunego mistook dust for the embellishment of a beard, so graved the woman as an old man!"). Woodburn, 1842, no. 34 (As 1836.). Woodburn, 1846, no. 43 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1862, p. 3 (As Woodburn, 1842.). Fisher, 1865, p. 21 (As 1862.). Robinson, 1870, no. 28 (Michel Angelo; "more altered in execution than... [Cats. 17 and 89]... in the fresco it is accompanied by a second seated figure in the background."). Fisher, 1872, II, p. 19 (As 1862.). Black, 1875, p. 214, no. 26. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 221. Fisher, 1879, XX/p. 8 (Slight changes of phrasing.). Thode, 1913, p. 210 (Copy.). Parker, 1956, no. 361 ("[C]ertainly contemporary and of some skill. . . . Correspondence is fairly close, but it omits the head to the left of the woman's profile, modifies her features . . . and emphasizes the outline curve of her back."). Nesselrath, 1990, no. 28 (The fresco is one of the most detailed of the series, but the author of this design "schizzato con mano sicura . . . è interessato prevalentemente all'posa della figura che ha isolato.").

CATALOGUE 92

The *Ignudo* Left Above *Esaias*

1976.254; Macandrew A23

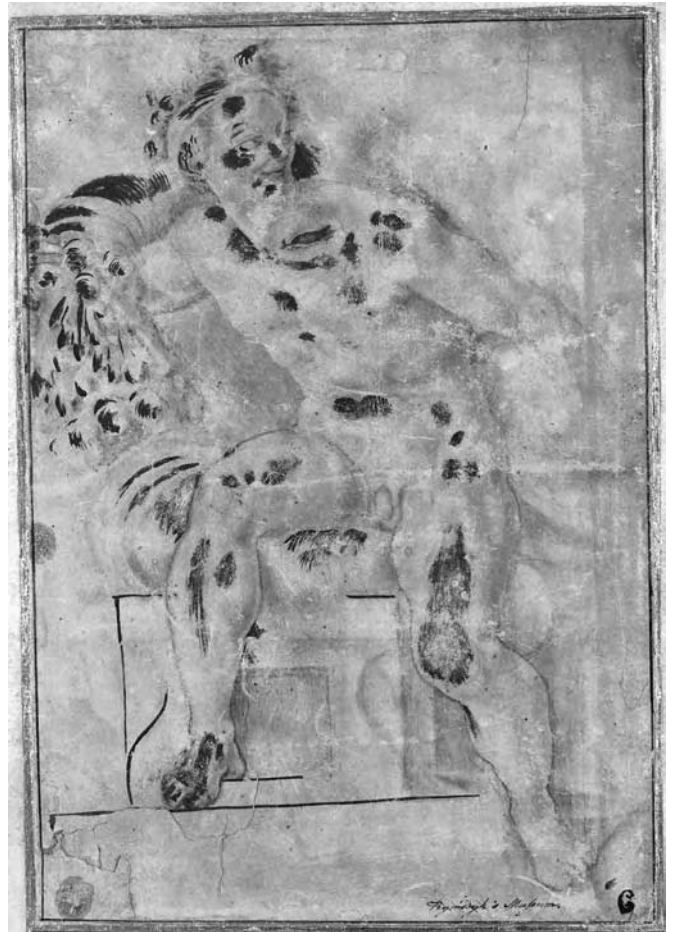
Dimensions: 295 × 202 mm

Medium

Brush and brown wash heightened with white, on mauvish prepared paper.

Condition

The sheet has severe tears in the bottom left corner and one at the top right corner. There are surface abrasions overall, especially to the crests of cockling. There are stains in the bottom left and right corners and near the tear. The lead white heightening has begun to tarnish.



Inscription

Partly cancelled, lower right: *Rymsdyck's Museum*

Discussion

A poor copy of this *ignudo*, probably made after an engraving.

History

Rijmsdijk (L.2167), inscription Rymsdyck on verso; 'C' (L.474), identified conjecturally by Brooke, 1998–9, as the stamp of the Comte de Caylus, a view contested by Turner, 2001, who suggests that it may rather be a JG in ligature and that the collector was either an Englishman or resident in England; unidentified eighteenth- or nineteenth-century sale, Lot 865, in red ink. Finch bequest to the Taylorian Institution in 1830, transferred to the Ashmolean Museum in 1976.

References

Macandrew, 1980, A23 (Old but clumsy and faded.).



CATALOGUE 93

The Last Judgement

The Entire Composition

1846.107; R.65; P.II 362

Dimensions: 553 × 407 mm

Medium

Pen and ink with brown wash with a small area lower centre in grey ink and wash. Some reinforcement of contours.

Condition

The sheet has been previously restored; it is lined, and the edge repairs at the lower and upper right are toned additions. There is a horizontal central fold with what appears to be a repaired tear with infilled losses. There are numerous toned infills and repairs, and many edge losses are visible; there are also some horizontal cuts, a number of small holes (several from ink burn-through), and many abrasions. There is a local stain and widespread discolouration.

Discussion

Recorded in the Lawrence inventory together with another virtually identical copy, probably by the same hand, now in the Musée Condé, Chantilly (Lanfranc de Panthou, 1995, no. 39; pen and ink over lead point, with wash and white body colour, 595 × 435 mm). Like that drawing, this is from the studio responsible for copies of the Sistine ceiling in Windsor, the Louvre, and Haarlem (see Cat. 86). A characteristic of these series of drawings is that, without exception, they were not made directly from Michelangelo's works but, in most cases, from the engravings of Adamo Scultori. The present copy and its companion seem most likely to depend from the engraving of the *Last Judgement* by Martino Rota, published in 1569, in which "Charon" is shifted to the left and placed directly below Christ. The condition of the present sheet suggests that it may have been used in a studio as a model for other copies.

The compiler can see no relation with the work of Federico Zuccaro.

If the provenance from Casa Buonarroti is correct, the drawing must be assumed to be a late entry to the Buonarroti Collection.

History

Casa Buonarroti?; William Young Ottley; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonarroti Case 3, Drawer 3, no. 20 [1830–231] ("A magnificent drawing highly finished of the *Last Judgement* executed in bistre, a most capital work."). Woodburn, 1842, no. 50 ("The whole of the composition of the *Last Judgement*. . . From the Collections of the Casa Buonarroti, and W. Y. Ottley Esq."). Woodburn, 1846, no. 1 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1862, p. 3, pl. 2 (The whole composition. 1532.). Fisher, 1865, II, p. 21, pl. 2 (As 1862.). Robinson, 1870, no. 65 (Casa Buonarroti provenance given with a question mark. "[A] very masterly performance. . . probably made shortly after the completion of the fresco. It is unfortunately much injured by the fading of the pigment employed and the having. . . been exposed to damp."). Fisher, 1872, II, p. 19, pl. 2 (As 1862.). Gotti, 1875, II, p. 227. Philostrate, 1878, p. 215 (Michael Angelo.). Fisher, 1879, XLIII/45 (Copy.). Thode, 1913, p. 210 (Copy.). Parker, 1956, no. 362 (Presumably made before figures were over-painted. Shows peculiarity that Charon and his surroundings are executed in grey ink, and shifted to the left.). Nesselrath, 1990, no. 148 (By Federico Zuccaro?, as suggested by Winner. Differences between drawing and fresco interpreted as a conscious modification of original. The manner corresponds to that of Federico's first Roman period: Federico referred to the *Last Judgement* in his designs for *Paradiso* in the Palazzo Ducale in Venice in 1564–5.).

CATALOGUE 94

St. John

1863.769; Macandrew A24

Dimensions: 278 × 114 mm; irregular, cut down

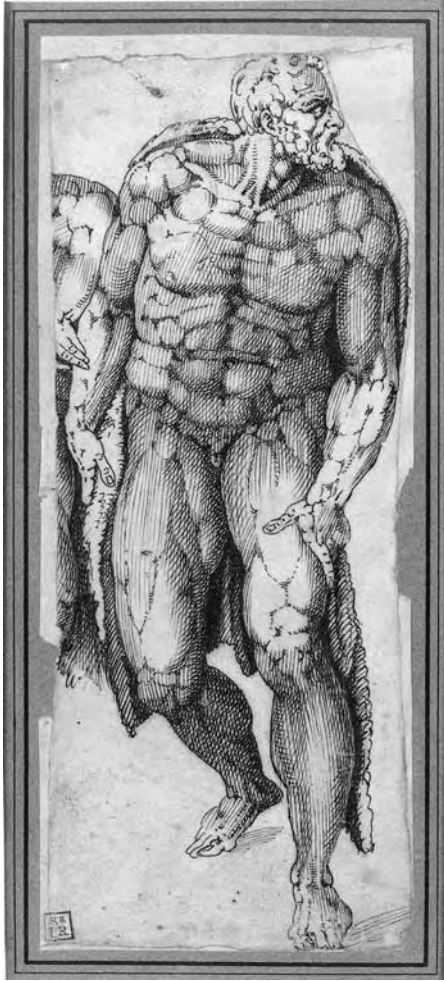
Medium

Pen and ink.

Condition

Single-sided window mount.

The sheet has overall ingrained surface dirt and handling dirt. There are various pale stains, particularly at the bottom and to the right of the figure's left leg as well as small ink stains below the feet and brown stains to the left of the head. There are losses at the bottom edge and bottom right corner. Strips of paper have been added to all the edges with losses to the middle and bottom of the



strip on the right and to the lower half of that on the left, which also displays a small loss and stain and tears at the centre. There are powdery particles on the left edge near the lower loss. The medium has suffered from abrasion to some areas, and there is a possible cleavage beginning in the dense hatched area between the legs. The secondary support is discoloured to blue-grey-brown.

Discussion

A weak copy, no doubt indirect. Probably of the sixteenth century.

History

Reynolds (L.2364); unidentified eighteenth- or nineteenth-century sale, Lot 916, in red ink; Francis Douce bequest to the Bodleian Library, 1834, transferred to the Ashmolean in 1863.

References

Macandrew, 1980, A24 (Late sixteenth century.).

CATALOGUE 95

The Trumpeting Angels

1863.771; Macandrew A26

Dimensions: 400 × 633 mm

Medium

Black chalk.

Condition

There is overall discolouration, plus numerous stains and various small black accretions. The left and right edges of the sheet are severely torn, and curling, losses, and abrasions have occurred throughout these areas. There is severe creasing, mostly horizontal. The left edge of the sheet has an additional strip attached along its full length. There are losses at the top left corner and along the top edge and a filled loss at the bottom right corner.

Numbering

In pen and ink: 40 H or 401E.

Discussion

Although four volumes of drawings from the collection of the writer, historian, art theorist, curator, and collector Filippo Baldinucci were sold by his descendants to the Louvre in 1806, dispersals from his collection occurred well before this. Baldinucci's attributions are often optimistic, but whether or not he believed the present drawing to be by Michelangelo is unknown. In any case, it seems of reasonable quality and was probably made quite early, before Daniele's partial repainting of 1565.

It would be reasonable to assume that the present drawing was part of the same very large copy of the *Last Judgement* as Cat. 102: The scale is homogeneous and the known provenance is identical. There are, however, considerable differences between them in handling and conception of form. It is not, of course, to be excluded that two different draughtsman might be responsible for different areas of the same copy. In the present state of knowledge it seems best to catalogue them separately. See Cat. 102 for further discussion.

History

Filippo Baldinucci; Francis Douce bequest to the Bodleian Library, 1834, transferred to the Ashmolean in 1863.

References

Macandrew, 1980, A26 (As for A25.).



CATALOGUE 96

A Group of the Saved
1846.108; R.64; P.II 363

Dimensions: 236 × 352 mm

Medium

Red chalk, with some touches of oxidised white lead.

Condition

The sheet is lined. There are several central, vertical pressed-out folds with associated ingrained dirt and abrasion. There are major tear repairs, with a minor loss and a hole, which is not filled; there are also other repaired edge tears and small abraded areas. There is extensive foxing, many stains, including an oil stain, and widespread discolouration. The primary support is drummed by its four edges to the backboard of the mount, so the verso is not visible.

Discussion

An early copy, drawn with some precision and, despite the aridity remarked upon by Nesselrath, handled with

confidence. This drawing was in all probability made from the fresco, and not from an intermediate copy. The draughtsman presumably stood on a step-ladder.

This drawing may well have been one element in a mosaic of copies after the fresco and was perhaps made with a print in view – although it does not appear to have been used for one – but its sharpness and relative impersonality could be no more than the result of the copyist's desire for accuracy. He does succeed in conveying something of the weight of Michelangelo's figures.

The drawing does not appear to be by a major creative artist, and no attribution can be more than speculative, but Marcello Venusti, who made his name as a copyist of the *Last Judgement*, is a possibility; the facial types are not unlike those found in his paintings.

History

Richard Cosway (L.628); Sir Thomas Lawrence (no stamp); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Woodburn, 1842, no. 82 ("Study of several figures for the bottom part of the *Last Judgement*"). Woodburn, 1846, no. 50 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1862, p. 3, pl. 3 (As Woodburn, 1842.). Fisher, 1865, II, p. 22, pl. 3 (As 1862.). Robinson,



1870, no. 64 (“[S]ixteenth century copy... it is not of much merit and is probably the work of an engraver.”). Fisher, 1872, II, p. 20, pl. 3 (As 1862.). Fisher, 1879, XLII/44 (Copy.). Thode, 1913, p. 210 (Copy.). Parker, 1956, no. 363 (Old copy of no particular merit.). Nesselrath, 1990, no. 141 (“[U]n lavoro particolarmente arido”; the copyist seems to have known drawings by Michelangelo as well as the fresco. The portion of the painting depicted corresponds to several *giornate*. Close connection with an engraving published by Antonio Salamanca in 1545, but not securely preparatory for it.).

CATALOGUE 97

A Group of the Saved

1855.128; P.II 364

Dimensions: 158 × 211 mm, irregular.

Medium

Red chalk, with accents in black chalk added by another hand.

Condition

The sheet is lined. There are several central, vertical pressed-out folds with associated ingrained dirt and abrasion. There are minor repaired tears at the edges. There is extensive foxing and black speckled accretions, together with small abrasions and a larger blond/bald patch from pulp imperfection. There is uneven discolouration with other local stains, particularly around the edges. The secondary support shows some skinning, a diagonal indentation, and local staining.

Inscriptions

On the verso in graphite, in the handwriting of C. F. Bell: *Pontormo School./Copy from the picture formerly in San Lorenzo/at Florence.*

Discussion

An early copy, no doubt indirect. The simplification of bulk and mass suggests a Bolognese artist, conceivably, but far from certainly Denys Calvaert.

The later touches of black chalk verge on the playful, notably in the addition of a faint moustache to the principal figure.



History

Chambers Hall (L.551).

References

Parker, 1956, no. 364 (Early copy; traditionally associated with Pontormo's destroyed *Resurrection* in San Lorenzo.).

CATALOGUE 98

A Demon Carrying Off a Damned Soul

1846.109; R.62; P. II 365

Dimensions: 145 × 101 mm

Medium

Red chalk.

Condition

There is extensive uneven discolouration with some foxing and ingrained dirt.

Discussion

An early drawing after this much copied group. The right shoulder and arm of one of the damned is drawn below.

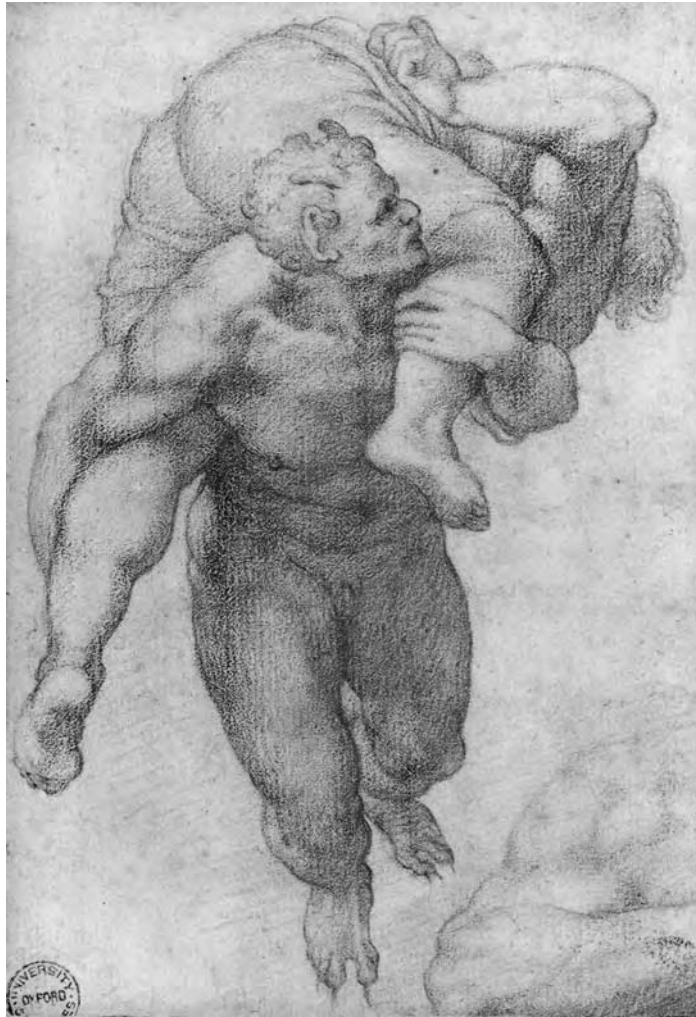
Although reasonably accomplished, the drawing is a little bland. Another copy after a figure from the *Last Judgment*, the seated nude with his back half-turned among the group of the saved at the lower left corner, seen by the compiler on the art market in London in July 2001 (red chalk, 169 × 170 mm, indecipherable inscription in pen and ink at lower right and, above this, the number 27) seems to him to be by the same hand, one not too far from that of Federico Zuccaro.

History

Jeremiah Harman; Samuel Woodburn.

References

Woodburn, 1842, no. 25 ("Study from the *Last Judgment*."). Woodburn, 1846, no. 45 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1852, p. 4, pl. 16 (As Woodburn, 1842.). Fisher, 1865, I, p. 17, pl. 16 (As 1852.). Robinson, 1870, no. 62 (Copy, "perhaps of contemporary date."). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 15, pl. 16 (As 1852.). Gotti, 1875, II, p. 227. Fisher, 1879, XL/42 (Copy.). Steinmann, 1905, II, p. 608 (Copy.). Thode, 1913, p. 210 (Copy.). Parker, 1956, no. 365 (An early copy before the figure was draped.). Nesselrath, 1990, no. 142 (Done prior to the draping of the figures in 1565; relation to figure below differs from that in fresco.).



CATALOGUE 99

BARTOLOMMEO PASSEROTTI (1529–1592)?

A Demon Biting the Leg of a Damned Soul

1846.110. R.61; P.II 366

Dimensions: 266 × 224 mm, the lower right corner made up

Watermark: Indecipherable.

Medium

Red chalk.

Condition

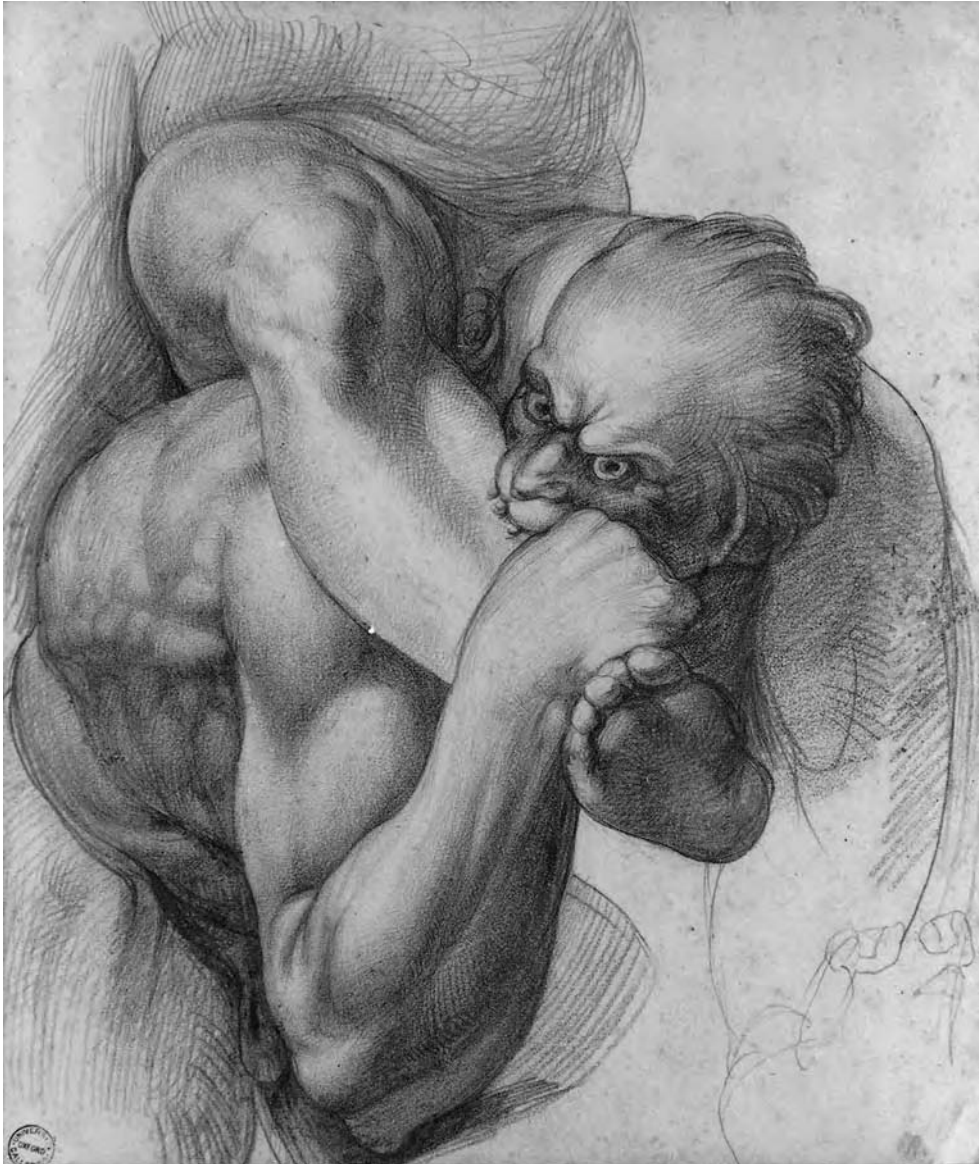
There is uneven, uncomfortable undulation. The sheet is probably lined: A small torn strip at the left edge seems to indicate a support behind. There is a corner infill and a minor toned infill in the image, some small edge nicks, and a scattering of abraded spots with offset chalk or dirt. The sheet has widespread foxing and general

discolouration. The primary support is drummed by its four edges to the backboard, so the verso is not visible.

Discussion

Although this drawing does not make an attractive impression, it is powerful and plastic and, unlike most copies of the *Last Judgement*, conveys both the virtuosity of figure drawing and the hard, polished surface of Michelangelo's fresco. It was probably made on site and not from an intermediary drawing; although the handling evokes speed and vigour, the areas of hatching are in fact created by quite small and precise strokes. The outline of the right elbow was changed; this alteration suggests that the artist was adjusting his copy by reference to the original.

Were this a pen-drawing, there would be an immediate temptation to give it to Bartolommeo Passerotti, who passed the first half of the 1550s in Rome, made a number of pen copies after the *Last Judgement*, and was strongly influenced by certain aspects of it. Passerotti's penchant



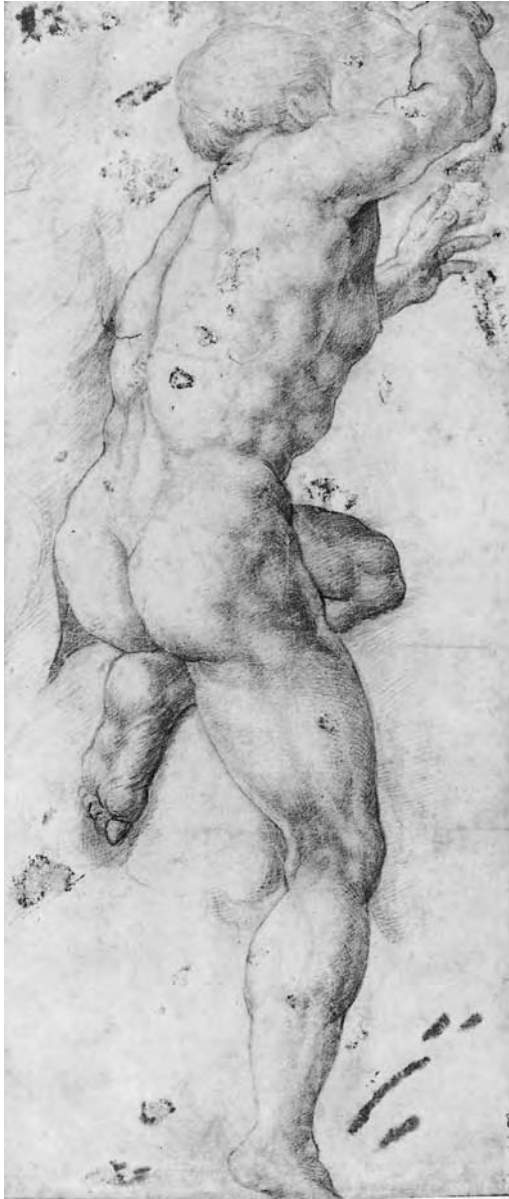
towards, directness and brutality of effect would fit well with the personality projected by this drawing, and the date would also be appropriate. Passerotti is little known as a draughtsman in chalk, and no attribution to him of such can be more than conjectural. However, the compiler (Joannides, 2000, p. 40) has attributed to Passerotti two further sheets of drawings in red chalk (although, unlike the present drawing, over stylus indications) in the Ashmolean Museum (Parker, 1956, II, p. 625, 240 × 401 mm; and l. 627, 415 × 283 mm, classed as school of Raphael), both of which contain copies after the antique, and the present drawing seems compatible with those. A similar date is suggested by the fact that Parker, 1956, II, p. 625 bears an uncommon watermark found elsewhere – to the compiler's knowledge – only on a map printed in Rome in 1557.

History

Jeremiah Harman; Samuel Woodburn.

References

Woodburn, 1842, no. 84 ("Study from the Last Judgment."). Woodburn, 1846, no. 9 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1852, p. 6, pl. 29 (As Woodburn, 1842.). Fisher, 1865, I, p. 19, pl. 29 (As 1852.). Robinson, 1870, no. 61 (Copy, "the touch and general style of drawing... seem to reveal the hand of Daniele da Volterra."). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 17, pl. 29 (As 1852.). Gotti, 1875, II, p. 227. Fisher, 1879, XXXIX/41 (Copy.). Steinmann, 1905, II, p. 608 (Copy.). Thode, 1913, p. 210 (Copy.). Parker, 1956, no. 366 (Nothing to warrant attribution to Daniele da Volterra "but... old and fairly accomplished.").



CATALOGUE 100

One of the Saved
1846.112; R.63; P.II 367

Dimensions: 335 × 145 mm

Watermark: Anchor in circle.

Medium

Black chalk; various old stains including, perhaps, some areas of oxidised white lead; a framing line in pen and ink.

Condition

The sheet is undulating severely. There is horizontal creasing, as well as some tears with ingrained dirt, small holes, and extensive toned abrasions with uneven and blackening over-drawing. The primary support is drummed by its four edges to the backboard, so the verso is not visible.

Discussion

An early copy of this much-copied figure, probably no later than 1550. The quality seems reasonable, and an attribution to a draughtsman in the circle of Bronzino – but not Alessandro Allori – might be considered. Marcello Venusti, famed as a copyist of the *Last Judgement* but by whom very few drawings have been identified, is also a possibility.

History

Lamberto Gori?; William Young Ottley (his sale, 1814, lot 1590, “One, a back figure, naked, a study for one of the devils in the Last Judgement – black chalk – very fine. From L. Gori’s Collection”?. £5.10.0); Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Ottley sale, 6 June 1814, lot 1590 (“One, a back figure, naked, a study for one of the devils in the Last Judgement – black chalk – very fine. From L. Gori’s Collection”?). Woodburn, 1842, no. 1 (“[A]n admirable study; highly finished in black chalk, and touched with surprising truth as to anatomical knowledge.”). Woodburn, 1846, no. 46 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1852, p. 4, pl. 15 (As Woodburn, 1842.). Fisher, 1865, I, p. 17, pl. 15 (As 1852.). Robinson, 1870, no. 63 (“[C]opy by a good hand.”). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 15, pl. 15 (As 1852.). Fisher, 1879, XLI/43 (“This copy was apparently made when the figures were still represented nude.”). Steinmann, 1905, II, p. 608 (Copy). Thode, 1913, p. 210 (Copy). Parker, 1956, no. 367 (Old copy, made before drapery was added.).

CATALOGUE 101

ALESSANDRO ALLORI (1535–1607)?

A Skeletal Head

1846.113; R.60 (4); P.II 368

Dimensions: 70 × 53 mm

Medium

Black chalk.



Condition

The sheet is probably lined. There are minor edge tears, repaired, with ingrained dirt. The sheet has accretions, local staining, and some foxing.

Discussion

Even were the provenance of this drawing from Casa Buonarroti correct – which it probably is not because there is no evidence that Moritz von Fries acquired ex-Buonarroti drawings – it need not signify Michelangelo's authorship because several drawings still in that collection are obvious copies after his works, some of them made after his death, and other later copies were certainly included in the mass dispersal of the late eighteenth century. Although the present drawing was tentatively accepted by de Tolnay in 1978, all other modern scholars have judged it to be a copy after the death's head in the lower centre of Michelangelo's fresco, and this view seems to the compiler to be correct. The differences noted by de Tolnay from the figure as painted seem to the compiler not to indicate a preparatory study but rather to reveal the copyist's own personality. Although no more than a fragment, the drawing is clearly of considerable accomplishment, precise and accurate in its delineation and convincing, if a little bland, in its establishment of volumes. The cutting of the drawing is clearly extreme,

but it would seem less so could it be shown to have been excised from a sheet that contained a series of head studies or that copied only single elements from the fresco.

The present drawing was attributed to Giulio Clovio by Perrig, 1999, but to the compiler it lacks Clovio's neatness and thinness. It seems more likely to be by Alessandro Allori, who studied closely Michelangelo's *Last Judgement* during his sojourn in Rome in the later 1550s; in 1560, on his return to Florence, Alessandro painted an abbreviated and reduced variant of it in the Montauto Chapel in Santissima Annunziata. A number of black chalk copies of different figures in the *Last Judgement* made by Alessandro survive – several of them in the Louvre – and the present drawing is compatible with them. The soft but precise handling is typical, as is the comparative lack of plastic force. Personal contact between Allori and Michelangelo is indicated by a letter of thanks on Allori's behalf from Benedetto Varchi to Michelangelo dated 12 February 1560, and Michelangelo seems to have been helpful to the young man who, apparently “non si sazia di predicare le singularissime virtù e unica cortesia” of the master. Alessandro in appreciation, might well have presented Michelangelo with drawings, including a copy or copies after parts of his work. It does in any case seem certain that the young Alessandro knew at least some of Michelangelo's studies for the *Last Judgement* for two studies by him in Lille (Brejon de Lavergnée, nos. 4, 5; both in black chalk, respectively, 402 × 241 mm and 410 × 265 mm) for the *Cleansing of the Temple* in the Montauto chapel were long attributed to Michelangelo himself, before they were identified as Allori's by Françoise Viatte (unpublished thesis, 1963), and these can hardly have been made without knowledge not merely of Michelangelo's fresco but of some of his drawings for it. Thus, the qualities intuited by de Tolnay in the present fragment may register the direct impression upon Allori of Michelangelo's own drawings.

History

Casa Buonarroti? (this is probably incorrect); Graf Moritz von Fries (L.2903); Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (no stamp); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Woodburn, 1842, no. 35 (“Five very fine studies on one Mount, one of which is the Death's Head in the *Last Judgement*”; this drawing had been mounted together with [Cats. 51–52], which had been together at least since 1804 and probably earlier, and [Cat. 73]). Woodburn, 1846, no. 40 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1862, p. 3, pl. 4 (Pen,



washed with grey.). Fisher, 1865, II, p. 22, pl. 4 (As 1862.). Robinson, 1870, no. 60.4 (Michel Angelo. For the *Last Judgement*, “a fragment cut from a larger sheet.”). Fisher, 1872, II, p. 20, pl. 4 (As 1862.). Black, 1875, p. 215, no. 55. Gotti, 1875, II, p. 227. Fisher, 1879, XXXVIII/40 (For the *Last Judgement*). Steinmann, 1905, II, p. 604 (Copy; erroneously located in Casa Buonarroti.). Thode, 1913, p. 210 (Copy.). Delacre, 1938, p. 389 (Reproduced as Michelangelo.). Parker, 1956, no. 367 (Early copy.). Dussler, 1959, no. 627 (Copy.). De Tolnay, 1978, Corpus III, no. 365 (Not copied from the fresco, “data l’asimmetria più marcata e la minor monumentalità... Le cavità degli occhi sono qui più irregolari ed espressive, più vicine ad una fisionomia umana nella metamorfosi della morte.”). Perrig, 1999, pp. 225–6, 274 (By Giulio Clovio, from the Farnese group, perhaps acquired in Italy in 1785–7 by Joseph von Fries, Moritz’s brother; the Casa Buonarroti provenance a falsification by Woodburn.).

CATALOGUE 102

The Damned in the Lower Right Corner
1863.770; Macandrew A25

Dimensions: 548 × 1160 mm

Medium

Black chalk.

Condition

There is overall discolouration and surface dirt. The sheet has suffered severe damage in the form of tears, losses, creases, and abrasions to the surfaces both of the support and of the medium. There are numerous losses with fillings of varying quality. There is insect damage, mostly grazing, which is particularly obvious in the top right edge.

Numbering

6 R on the back of the mount.

Discussion

If Macandrew’s view that this drawing was made in the early seventeenth century is correct, the similarity that he detected to the manner of Alessandro Allori, who copied the *Last Judgement* extensively during his stay in Rome in the first half of the 1550s, might be explained by the assumption that it was made by one of Allori’s many pupils after an earlier copy by the master. A more economical explanation, however, and one preferred by the compiler, is that it is indeed a copy of the mid-sixteenth century, made before Daniele da Volterra’s repainting of part of the fresco in 1565. If, as one would imagine, this is a fragment of a full copy, that would have been very large indeed, some 2.8 m high by 2.5 m wide, larger in fact than the painted copy of the *Last Judgement* by Marcello Venusti, now in Capodimonte.

Whether or not the present drawing is by the same hand as Cat. 93, to which it is linked by size, condition,

and provenance, is conjectural. The handling is sufficiently dissimilar as to make uncertain a connection, which one would otherwise have taken for granted.

Any comment on the authorship or authorships of the two drawings is hazardous. As Macandrew noted, there are some similarities with the work of Alessandro Allori, but the present drawing seems tighter in handling than anything known by him, and Cat. 93 seems less secure. In theory, Marcello Venusti is an obvious alternative. He was an assiduous copyist of the *Last Judgement*, but he is little known as a draughtsman – and entirely unknown on this scale – and those drawings reasonably attributed to him do not particularly resemble either Cat. 93 or the present one. Many ambitious and competent young artists must have made copies of the *Last Judgement* for their own use and others would have been made to prepare the engravings of the fresco that were published soon after its unveiling – although, as far as the compiler can see, neither Cat. 93 nor the present drawing was reproduced in an engraving. At present, the issue of authorship or authorships must remain unresolved.

History

Filippo Baldinucci; Francis Douce bequest to the Bodleian Library, 1834, transferred to the Ashmolean in 1863.

References

Macandrew, 1980, A25 (Faithful but much damaged, by an early seventeenth-century Florentine artist in the manner of Alessandro Allori.).

CATALOGUE 103

PELLEGRINO TIBALDI (1527–1596)?

Detail from the *Conversion of Saul*

1846.115; R.78; P.II 369

Dimensions: 339 × 368 mm, irregular, much damaged, with large areas of loss, notably at upper left, upper right and lower centre, made up.

Medium

Black chalk underdrawing, with brown wash superimposed, and black chalk used again to emphasise the contours; three unrelated lines in red chalk at lower right.

Condition

A restored sheet, otherwise in fragments. There are major tear repairs, extensive pressed-out creasing and abrasion, many fractures, and small holes. There is extensive discolouration, with media accretions and stains.

Discussion

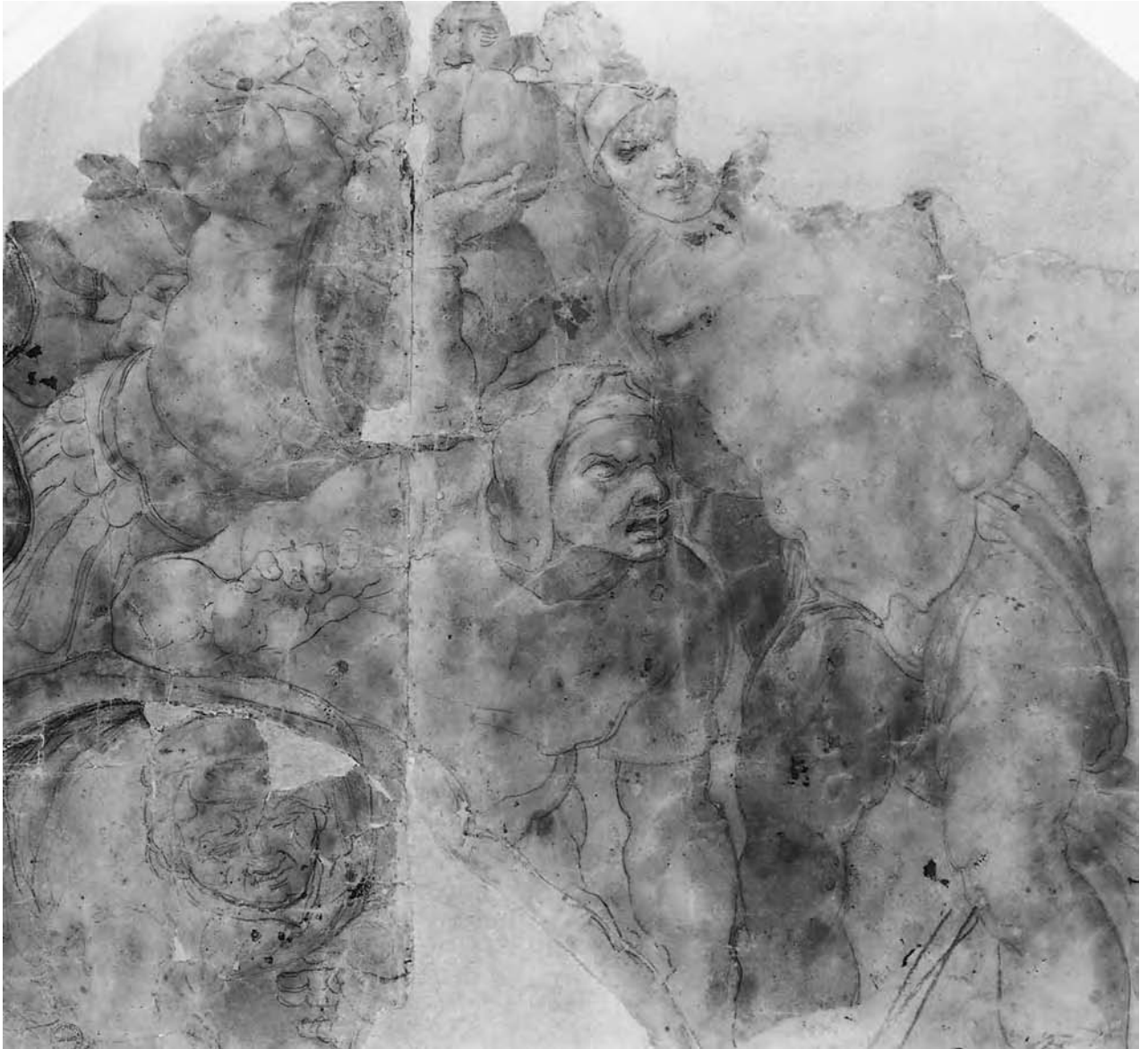
There may be some relation of type to two copies after parts of the first fresco to be painted in the Pauline Chapel, the *Conversion of Saul*, in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle (PW 504 and 505; both black chalk, respectively, 445 × 594 mm and 413 × 330 mm). Both of these are made up of several separate pieces of paper attached together, an unusual procedure that may have been caused by the difficulty of copying a large fresco situated in a narrow space. The artist was presumably compelled to study the fresco part by part, perhaps from a mobile ladder or scaffolding, and he would then have joined his drawings in an attempt to make a mosaic of the whole, perhaps with the intention of using it as a cartoon for a reduced replica. The style of the Windsor drawings shows some similarities to that of Taddeo Zuccaro, who was deeply interested in Michelangelo's last frescoes, and the artist who made them may have come from his circle. The present drawing might also have been part of a "mosaic," but no companions to it have been identified.

Although this drawing is in ruinous condition, close examination reveals in it an unusual combination of strength and delicacy. Even though the forms have a brutality and force that come close to those of the original, the modelling is achieved by the most refined handling of wash, in which virtually imperceptible changes of tone produce precisely graded volumes. The technique and level of skill seem characteristic of Pellegrino Tibaldi, as does the ability to match Michelangelo's strongest effects. If this attribution is correct, the drawing was probably made immediately following Michelangelo's completion of the Paolina, in 1550 or 1551.

The provenance would also support the view that this drawing is by an artist associated with Daniele da Volterra, as Pellegrino was for a period, because it seems to have come from the Cicciaporci Collection. The fact that Woodburn gave the provenance as Buonarroti and Wicar is no doubt a slip rather than an attempt to mislead. He also connected this drawing with the *Battle of Cascina* rather than the Pauline Chapel.

History

(The Buonarroti-Wicar provenance first given by Woodburn and followed by Robinson and by Parker



[the latter with a question mark] is certainly incorrect.) Filippo Ciciaporci; Bartolommeo Cavaceppi; William Young Ottley (his sale, 6 June 1814, etc., probably lot 263, “One – a study for his picture of the *Conversion of St. Paul* [sic] in the Paoline Chapel, purchased of Signor Cavaceppi, formerly in the Ciciaporci collection – black chalk and bistre.”); Samuel Woodburn; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Ottley sale, 6 June 1814, etc., probably lot 263 (“One – a study for his picture of the *Conversion of St. Paul* [sic] in the Paoline Chapel, purchased of Signor Cavaceppi, formerly in the Ciciaporci collection – black chalk and bistre.”). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 53 (“A fragment of the cartoon

of Pisa – consisting of part of three of the figures in this very celebrated work. [sic] This highly interesting study is drawn in bistre and is unfortunately much damaged. Size, $14\frac{1}{4}$ by $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.”). *The Athenaeum*, 16 July 1836. (“‘Fragment of the Pisa Cartoon,’ or rather of the study for it. Highly interesting, genuine or not.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 45 (As 1836.). Woodburn, 1846, no. 41 (As 1842.). Robinson, 1870, no. 78 (From the *Conversion of St Paul*. An “old but indifferent copy.”). Gotti, 1875, II, p. 226. Springer, 1878, p. 521 (Study for the *Conversion*). Springer, 1883, II, p. 385 (As 1878.). Thode, 1913, p. 210 (Copy). Parker, 1956, no. 369 (After Michelangelo; “so overworked as to make it impossible to judge its former quality.”).



CATALOGUE 104

CIRCLE OF DANIELE DA VOLTERRA

Two Executioners from the *Crucifixion of St. Peter*
1863.657; P.II 368*

Dimensions: 403 × 251 mm

Watermark: Large, possibly a shield with bars or chevrons.

Medium

Black chalk.

Condition

The sheet is lined. It appears to be toned, but streaks imply adhesive discolouration from being lined. It is undulating severely and lifting slightly at the left edge. There is

a major horizontal pressed-out fold with ingrained dirt, other creases, and inherent wrinkles. Major irregular tears have been repaired, and the losses toned onto the secondary support. There are small abraded areas, accretions, local staining, ingrained dirt, and uneven and widespread discolouration. The secondary support has abraded edge and corner patches, discoloured edges and some creasing.

Inscriptions

Recto: In the handwriting of Padre Sebastiano Resta:

Si confronti con i roversci del sepolcro di Giulio 2° nella ultima pagina del tomo primo della mie serie, sebene qtta fu fatta in gioventù pero il modo è l'istesso.

Verso: In the handwriting of Jonathan Richardson Junior, copying Padre Resta:

Nella Capella Paolina havera dipinto la crocefissione di S.

Pietro con un'altra istoria di S. Paolo

Michel Angelo nella sua Vecchiaia.

*Questo resta veramente è scoretta (?), ma sia come si vuole non sò
segurta p copia ne originale tien la me(m)*

moria della maniera grande, che è qto che ti serve.

Per l'occasione della 40 hore s'attacò il fuoco nella sudetta

*Capella Paolina, e tutte la Pitture di Lorenzino di Bologna, di Fedco Zuccaro, e ciò che più importa q.te
istorie di M. Angelo si affumicarono e si p(e)*

*dettero affatto. Percio ti sia cara questa reliquia di memoria
ch'io crede di mano di Michelangelo, non*

*di Daniele da Volterra suo allievo. Va però in Stampa. P.
Resta.*

In the handwriting of Jonathan Richardson Junior:

*This was part of a book that was Father Resta's, but was never
my Lord Somers's being parted with before my Lord bought
that Collection. Remnants of annotations at the left
edge of the backing sheet: in . . . questa, om*

Shelfmarks above the inscription: *N.36 Zm.17 Th.30:
Zm.63*

Discussion

The present drawing seems to have been made soon after Michelangelo completed the fresco, probably in the early 1550s. The attribution to Michelangelo himself, suggested by Robbins et al., and, apparently, by Hardy, seems to the compiler entirely untenable, but it does register something of the drawing's quality. The connection they propose between it and a privately owned panel painting of the *Crucifixion of Saint Peter* – which they, like Hardy, believe to be by Michelangelo – would reinforce the possibility that the present drawing was made to prepare a painted replica. To the compiler, the nature of the chalk work, with quite widely spaced hatching lines and limited cross-hatching in some areas, would suggest an artist in the circle of Daniele da Volterra, despite Padre Resta's denial of this. The verso inscription seems to indicate that it was presented by Resta to an artist who had need to refer to its “*maniera grande*”; if this interpretation is correct, this must be among the earliest instances of a revival of artistic interest in Michelangelo's *ultima maniera*.

An unexplained oddity is the sketch of the sole of a right foot found at the right margin.

This drawing, minus the right foot, was copied on a sheet now in Christ Church (0081/Byam-Shaw S1519; black chalk, 414 × 268 mm).

History

Padre Resta; Jonathan Richardson Senior (no stamp); Jonathan Richardson Junior (no stamp); Francis Douce bequest to the Bodleian Library, 1834, transferred to the Ashmolean in 1863.

References

Parker, 1956, no. 368*. Hardy, 1992, p. 30 (“[U]seful for the placement of the left hand upon the cross. In the sketch and the *modello* the cross extends only three-quarters of the way across the executioner's back and the fingers of the Apostle are almost inchoate.”). Robbins et al., 2000, p. 27 (By Michelangelo, made in preparation for a privately owned panel claimed by the authors as Michelangelo's *modello* for the fresco.).

CATALOGUE 105

Half Plan of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini

WA 1944. 102.7. Largest Talman album, Fol. 7

Dimensions: 413 × 278 mm, laid into a sheet 587 × 450 mm.

Watermark: Fleur de lys in a circle surmounted by a B close to but more regular than Briquet 7118 (Salerno 1595) and 7119 (Salerno 1600).

Medium

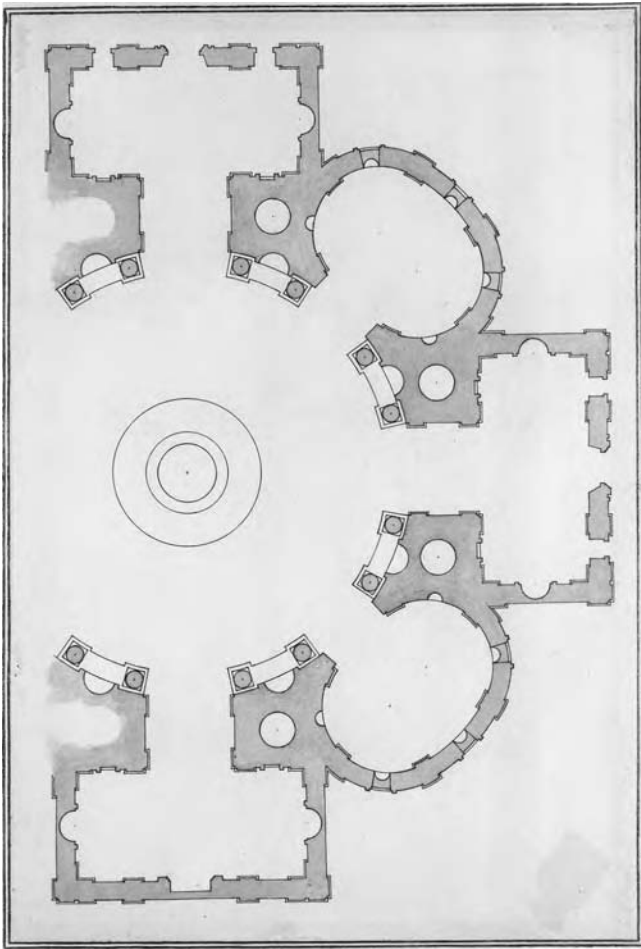
Pen and ink with brown wash over stylus indentation and compass holes.

Condition

Single-sided window mount. The sheet is undulating overall. There are various creases at the top edge and a diagonal crease across the top left corner.

Discussion

The version of Michelangelo's design for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini chosen by the commissioners of the project was made under Michelangelo's supervision in a wooden model by his assistant Tiberio Calcagni. A drawn plan generally attributed to Calcagni and thought to have been used to prepare the model, is in the Uffizi (3185A; pen and ink and grey wash over black chalk and stylus work, 492 × 424 mm; see Cat. 54). The wooden model seems to have been destroyed in the eighteenth century, but a number of records of its appearance survive. It was engraved by Jacques Le Mercier in 1607 in a slightly tilted



elevation that also shows part of the plan. It was engraved again in 1683 by Valérian Régnard both in strict elevation (Ackerman, 1961, fig. 71b) and in plan; a drawing in Berlin (Kupferstichkabinett 20.976; pen and ink with mauve wash, 156 × 170 mm; published by Noehles, fig. 56, and also illustrated in Argan and Contardi, fig. 474), corresponds closely with Régnard's elevation and may well have been its source. Another copy of the model in plan is the drawing by Giovanni Vincenzo Casale in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (Album G. V. Casale, fols. 374–5; Argan and Contardi, fig. 477). It displays some differences from the other plans that may be no more than the result of inaccurate copying. However, the circular form in the centre of Casale's plan clearly represents the lantern that crowns the church's dome.

The present drawing, identified in an undated inscription on the mount by Professor Ackerman, is close to Le Mercier's engraving of the plan. However, it shows the entrance arm protruding a little further from the body of the church than in Calagni's ground plan, and it also contains other differences that should be noted. On the

right and upper arms, there are three entrances (and the left arm was presumably planned to have a similar arrangement), the main one in the centre and subsidiary narrower entrances on either side. Another drawing, by Giovanni Antonio Dosio (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Mss. Cam-pori App.1775, = a.Z.2.2, C.140 verso–141 recto; Argan and Contardi, fig. 478), of the model in section (minus the lantern), also shows an entrance arm protruding further than in the model and, apparently, containing three doorways. It may be, therefore, that the present drawing reflects a phase in Michelangelo's planning of the church, just prior to the final one, in which he brought the arms more tightly into the main body of the church and reduced the entrances to one per arm.

Also of interest is the circular, centrally placed form, whose outer ring is larger in relation to the central space than in the final version recorded in Uffizi 3185A but whose two inner rings seem to correspond precisely. It seems unlikely that these circles represent an altar, which Michelangelo seems never to have thought of as circular, and in both drawings it is presumably the lantern. The outer ring in the present drawing no doubt indicates the platform around the lantern, seen most clearly in Berlin 20.976 and Régnard's engraving.

The present drawing displays a further minor inconsistency in the pilaster on the exterior just right of the choir area, which is narrower than all the other comparable pilasters, but it is unlikely that this has any significance.

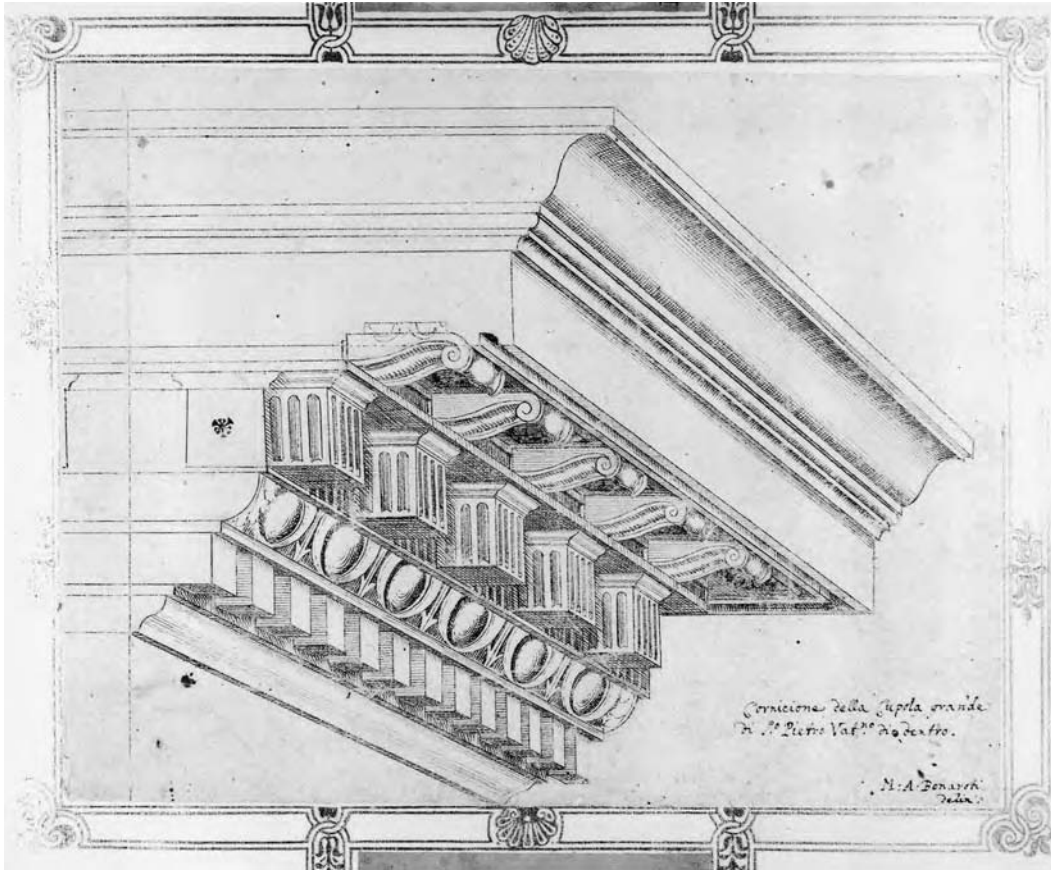
Another variant, in which the arms protrude still further, and in which the entrance is articulated with two deep lateral niches (similar to those seen in CB 124A/B160/Corpus 612) and with columns in the corners, a motif found in several studies by Michelangelo of this period (such as BM W84/Corpus 623), is seen in a fairly sketchy drawing – but containing some measurements – of the plan by Oreste Vannocci Biringucci in Siena (Biblioteca Comunale, S.IV.1, fol. 42 recto; Argan–Contardi, fig. 473). This might also record a phase in Michelangelo's design process for which no autograph drawings survive.

History

John Talman the younger, part of the Largest Talman album (L.2462; Christie's sale, 13 March 1942, lot 102, H. Calmann, acquired in 1944.

References

Noehles, 1969, p. 66, fig. 58 (First publication of plan; after Calagni's wooden model.). Argan and Contardi, 1990, p. 347 (Plan that of Calagni's wooden model.).



Fara, 1997, p. 24 (After Michelangelo's final project for the church.).

Inscription

In pen, lower right: *Cornicione della Cupola grande di S o Pietro Vat no di dentro*

*M. A. Bonaroti
delin.*

CATALOGUE 106

Interior Cornice of Main Crossing of St. Peter's
WA 1942. 55.686. P.II Appendix A, p. 554, Larger Talman
album, Fol.174/68 of drawings

Dimensions: 206 × 263 mm, laid into an album page
507 × 355 mm.

Medium

Pen and ink.

Condition

There is overall discolouration and minor ingrained dirt.
There is a small tear in the bottom left corner and a minor
loss at the bottom edge. There is slight abrasion to the
medium and various minor accretions.

Discussion

After the structure as built and perhaps made within Michelangelo's lifetime. Parker attributed the drawing to I. B. Mola (c. 1588–1665), the father of the painter Pierfrancesco Mola, because the inscription seems to be by the same hand as one on the verso of the preceding page (fol. 173) – perhaps a signature – attributing that to I. B. Mola, who was also responsible for the drawing on the recto of page 173. Because both the drawings on fol. 173 are of details from St. Peter's, it was natural for Parker to have made the connection, but it is clear that the drawings are of very different types and by different hands. Those on fol. 173 are diagrammatic measured studies of details from the portico and the interior pilasters, whereas the present drawing is a pictorial study, which would have been suitable for engraving; indeed the drawing style might well indicate the hand of an engraver.

History

John Talman the younger, part of the Larger Talman album (L.2462); Christie's sale, 13 March 1942, lot 102, H. Calmann, acquired in 1942.

References

Parker, 1956 (Appendix A, p. 554; attributed by inscription to I. B. Mola [c. 1588–1665].).

CATALOGUE 107

BARTOLOMMEO PASSEROTTI (1529–1592) AFTER BACCIO BANDINELLI (1493–1560)

Portrait of Michelangelo
1944.133; P.II 90

Dimensions: 375 × 272 mm

Medium

Pen and ink.

Condition

Single-sided solid museum mount.

The sheet shows heavy vertical undulations. There is severe discolouration and ingrained surface dirt overall, plus various patches of black spots. Brown lines are seen at the bottom edge and lower left edge. There are repaired tears and losses at all edges, especially the bottom edge. The top corners have been filled, and there is a patch in the top edge near the centre. There is a heavy horizontal fold line across the sheet, below the centre. The lightest areas of the medium may be beginning to fade.

Discussion

The present drawing is a same-size copy of a drawing in the Louvre (Inv. 2715/J R27/Corpus 118; pen and ink over black chalk, 365 × 250 mm). This is widely attributed to Michelangelo and, if accepted as such, would be a self-portrait. The present drawing is free and vigorous in handling and makes no attempt to reproduce the original in every detail. It seems to the compiler very obviously by Passerotti and may be compared with any number of his studies of heads.

The Louvre original and the present drawing correspond not to the image of Michelangelo presented in four painted portraits by or after Michelangelo's friend Giuliano Bugiardini but to that presented in a fifth portrait, which is also in the Louvre (Inv. 874; oil on panel, 490 × 364 mm). Indeed, the relation of the Louvre draw-

ing and the Louvre painting is closer than one of simple similarity: The external and internal dimensions of the head in both drawing and painting are identical, and Inv. 2715 or a replica of it, must have served as the cartoon for the painting.

The Louvre painting may be identical with, an exact replica of, or exactly replicated in, a painting formerly in the collection of the Duc d'Orléans, first catalogued in that collection in 1728 by Du Bois de Saint-Gelais, who gave it to Sebastiano del Piombo. The Orléans painting was engraved by Clairon Mondet in the *Galérie du Palais Royal* in 1786, but it was not mentioned in the *Etat général des tableaux appartenant à S.A.R le duc d'Orléans* drawn up in 1788, and there seems to be no further trace of it. When, in 1874, Frédéric Villot catalogued the Louvre painting, he made no mention of the Orléans version and claimed that the Louvre painting came from the collection of Louis XIV, and was identical with one recorded at Fontainebleau by Bailly as “une copie du portrait de Michel-Ange.” However, although it is generally accepted that the Louvre and Orléans paintings are distinct, only the discovery of an “Orléans” original could prove that they are. Indeed, it seems to the compiler, as to Garraut, more likely that the Orléans and Fontainebleau paintings are in fact the same.

Villot gave the Louvre painting to Bugiardini rather than Sebastiano. More recently, it has been attributed to Daniele da Volterra and to Bandinelli. But although the attribution to Sebastiano has long since been abandoned, is ignored in recent literature on that artist, and clearly cannot be sustained, it is nevertheless of interest in that it registers a response to the geometrical simplification of the forms and the sense of weight that the portrait conveys. Daniele's authorship has found a recent supporter in Pagnotta, 1987, no. 118, p. 235, but this view seems untenable to the compiler. Because Daniele came into contact with Michelangelo only c. 1545, it would entail accepting that he copied a portrait of the master made some twenty or more years earlier, and it would still leave open the question of who was responsible for the original that he copied. Furthermore, Daniele's portrait drawing of Michelangelo (Haarlem, Teyler Museum, A6/VT 142; black chalk and leadpoint, 295 × 218 mm) and his painted version of this head in the *Assumption of the Virgin* in the chapel of Lucrezia della Rovere in the Trinita del Monte show a man who is older and more elegantly clad and whose features are envisaged differently. However, the attribution to Daniele does, once more, register something of the plastic force of the Louvre painting.

The authorship of the Louvre painting and that of the Louvre drawing need not be identical but probably is.



The drawing, although close to Michelangelo in style, and much more accomplished than any drawing by any of Michelangelo's known pupils in this period, is not, in the opinion of the compiler, by Michelangelo himself. The very long pen-lines seen on the turban, the use of a rather thick pen, and the systematic handling of the hatching, all contrast with Michelangelo's most immediately comparable pen drawings – chronologically, stylistically, and iconographically – such as another drawing in the Louvre (Inv. 684/J29 recto/Corpus 95; pen and ink over red chalk, 275 × 211 mm). Pouncey's 1964 attribution of both drawing and painting to Bandinelli – implicitly anticipated as far as Louvre 2715 is concerned, by Parker's placing of the present drawing – has been little noticed, in part, perhaps, because, when it was made, no immediately comparable drawings by Bandinelli were known. However, with the discovery of Bandinelli's drawn copy of Leonardo's *Annunciatory Angel* (Christie's, London, 1 July 1969, lot 119; pen and ink, 356 × 265 mm, present whereabouts unknown; reproduced by Ward, 1988, fig. 5), it is clear that such a drawing as Inv. 2715 is within his capacity qualitatively, quite apart from its stylistic congruence with that sheet. Pouncey's attribution of the painting to Bandinelli has likewise received little attention, perhaps because of the paucity of paintings certainly by Bandinelli. But Thode's unsurpassed characterisation of the painting's style (1908, II, pp. 546–7) – “Der inkarnat is brustig rot, was die fast brutale Wirkung des Ganzen mitbestimmt. Der Farbe nach am Ernstesten von einem Schuler aus dem Kreis des Andrea del Sarto, aber nicht auf der Hohe der Kunst etwa eines Pontormo” – disregarded by subsequent critics, fits perfectly that of Bandinelli who, of course, learned to paint with Andrea del Sarto. The establishment of relief in masses formed of patches of light and shade is appropriate to the work of a sculptor, appropriate to a student of Sarto, and congruent with Bandinelli's own later *Self-Portrait* in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston. The tendency, visible in the Louvre portrait, to emphasise the planes of the face in a manner that verges on faceting is also appropriate to the imagination of a sculptor, and specifically to one who had studied closely the work of a painter and draughtsman known greatly to have influenced Bandinelli: Giovanni Battista Rosso.

Perhaps the well-known enmity between Bandinelli and Michelangelo discouraged acceptance of Pouncey's attribution, but it should be remembered that in 1516–17 Michelangelo attempted to promote Bandinelli's career, at the cost of alienating Jacopo Sansovino, by recruiting his aid with the sculpture for the façade of San Lorenzo (an accidental offset of a drawing by Bandinelli which

shows knowledge of Michelangelo's design for a relief of the *Martyrdom of St Lawrence* is illustrated in Riley-Smith, 1998). At this time, the two men must have been close, and hostility probably solidified only in 1524–5, when Bandinelli took over the *Hercules and Antaeus* block that Michelangelo considered his own. That Bandinelli should have drawn a portrait of Michelangelo in 1522 is not implausible; nor is it that he should have produced a painted version of it, for it was precisely at this period that he was attempting to enlarge his range to include painting. To the compiler, Pouncey's attribution of the Louvre painting and the Louvre drawing to Bandinelli seems self-evidently correct. Given the subsequent hostility between the two men, it is unsurprising that Michelangelo's biographers omitted to mention his relatively brief friendship with Bandinelli. In his autobiography, Bandinelli remarks that his drawings were praised by Michelangelo, which, at the very least, demonstrates that Michelangelo saw some of them. For a drawing on a sheet with a provenance from Michelangelo's studio, which the compiler believes to be by Bandinelli, see Cat. 8 verso.

Passerotti was, of course, fascinated by the art of Michelangelo, after which he made numerous copies, and he was also interested in the personality of the master. In addition to Bandinelli's portrait drawing, he copied Daniele da Volterra's bust of the aged Michelangelo in at least two drawings. That from the collections of Richard Cosway and Sir Thomas Lawrence and formerly in the Grand Ducal Collection at Weimar is reproduced by Steinmann, 1913, pl. 67A; in 1990 it was with Thomas le Claire, Hamburg (advertisement in the *Burlington Magazine*, January 1990, p. v). The other, somewhat more vivaciously rendered, is in the Louvre (Inv. 8485; pen and ink, 155 × 140 mm; reproduced Steinmann, 1913, pl. 67B). A further portrait head of Michelangelo by Passerotti, whose source is uncertain, is in the British Museum (1895–9–15–1025; pen and ink, 388 × 261 mm). Other artists also occupied his attention: In his famous drawing of *Michelangelo's Anatomy Lesson* (Paris, Louvre, Inv. 8472; pen and ink, brush and wash over lead point? and black chalk, indented for engraving, 385 × 498 mm), he included among the tributaries to the master Raphael, Jacopo Sansovino and Baccio Bandinelli, of whom he also made a portrait drawing (pen and ink, 420 × 275 mm), with Arnoldi-Livie, Munich, 2005. It is clear that the graphic work of Bandinelli held particular fascination for him. Indeed, Passerotti's style as a pen draughtsman is more closely based on that of Bandinelli than of any other artist, and it is a reasonable presumption that the two men were acquainted. Support for this contention is provided by the present drawing, for which

Passerotti must have had access to Bandinelli's original, and also by some unremarked details in his drawing of *The Marriage Feast at Cana* (Paris, Louvre, Inv. 5074; pen and ink with brown wash over traces of black chalk, 348 × 478 mm; Faietti and Cordellier, 2001, no. 57), which contains derivations from three separate drawings by Bandinelli:

1. The male figure seen from the rear at the far left is taken from Bandinelli's study for a young man in the *Birth of the Virgin* at Düsseldorf, Museum Kunst Palast, Sammlung der Kunstakademie (KA (FP) 17; red chalk, 389 × 238 mm/Ward, 1988, fig. 11).
2. The nude man pouring wine in the left foreground is based on Bandinelli's drawing in London, the British Museum (1946-7-13-268 recto; red chalk, 404 × 277 mm/Ward, 1988, no. 35).
3. The standing serving woman just to the right of the table is based on Bandinelli's drawing in London, the British Museum (1885-5-9-35 recto; red chalk, 328 × 195 mm/Ward, 1988, no. 17).

A systematic search would no doubt reveal further relations of this kind between the drawings of Bandinelli and those of Passerotti.

History

Purchased 1944, Hope Collection.

References

Parker, 1956, no. 90 (Style of Bandinelli; copy of Louvre Inv. 2715/J R27/Corpus 118, often thought to be a self-portrait.). Joannides, 2003a, pp. 398–400 (Discussion of Louvre Inv. 2715/R27, by Bandinelli; attribution of present drawing to Passerotti.).

CATALOGUE 108

UNIDENTIFIED FLORENTINE ARTIST

A Standing Nude Man

1846.117; R.85; P.II 371

Dimensions: 312 × 153 mm, irregular.

Medium

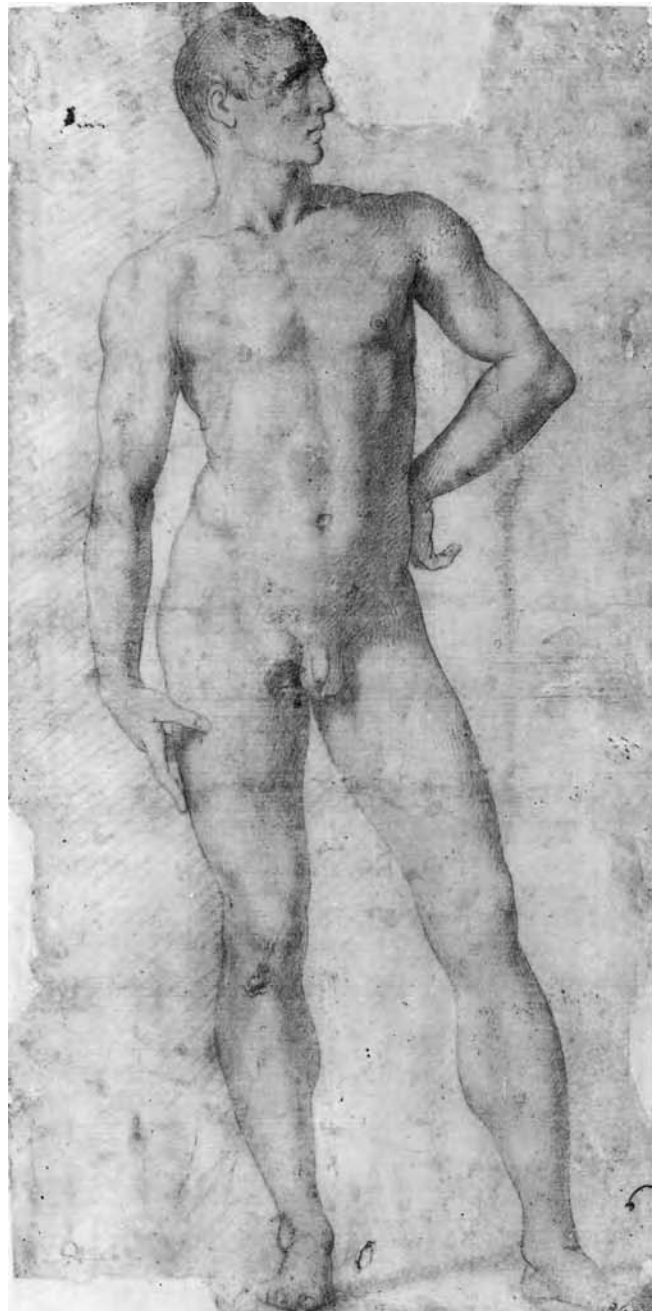
Red chalk.

Condition

The sheet is probably lined. Several major edge losses have been infilled to make a complete sheet, especially to the right of the figure's head and at the lower left. There are major edge tear repairs, abraded patches, local staining, and uneven discolouration. The primary support is drummed by its four edges to the backboard, so the verso is not visible.

Numbering

The trace of a number? in pen and ink at the lower right edge.



Discussion

While the pose of this figure has generally been connected with that of Michelangelo's marble *David*, it is closer to that of Apollo in Benvenuto Cellini's stone group of *Apollo and Hyacinth* of 1546–7 (Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello). However, the present drawing cannot be claimed to be a copy of Cellini's figure, whose pose is, in any case, not particularly original, and the relation may be no more than coincidental. It does not necessarily enjoin a date after 1547. The drawing may well have been made from life, with the artist setting a model in a familiar stance.

The handling of red chalk, with repeated strokes of a sharp point, tight even contours, and local modelling much suppressed, is reminiscent of that of Rosso, but the draughtsman was clearly not at Rosso's level. Cellini's few surviving drawings, none in chalk, would also seem to identify him as a draughtsman of higher quality than the artist responsible for the present drawing, although it is not without elegance. It was presumably made in the 1530s by a Florentine artist unconnected with Michelangelo or his workshop, but one who may have worked with Rosso.

History

William Young Ottley? (his sale, 11 April 1804 and following days, lot 264, "One – a naked youth standing, red chalk, very fine."); William Roscoe (his sale, September 1816, lot 70, "One, Design of a Figure intended for the Statue of *David*, afterwards executed by Michelangelo with an alteration in one arm. Red chalk, highly finished. Size, 12½ h. 6 w."); Bought by Watson (i.e., the London bookseller William Carey) 10/6d; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Ottley sale?, 11 April 1804, lot 264 ("One – a naked youth standing, red chalk, very fine."). William Roscoe, his sale September 1816, lot 70 ("One, Design of a Figure intended for the Statue of *David*, afterwards executed by Michelagnolo with an alteration in one arm. Red chalk, highly finished. Size, 12½ h. 6 w."). Woodburn, 1842, no. 61 ("A male figure – evidently a study from the life for the Fresco [sic] of *David* with the sling, in the Piazza Grand Duca at Florence."). Woodburn, 1846, no. 16 (As 1842.). Fisher, 1852, p. 4, pl. 11 (As Woodburn, 1842.). Fisher, 1865, I, p. 16, pl. 11 (As 1852.). Robinson, 1870, no. 85 (Not by Michelangelo, not improbably by Bandinelli.). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 14, pl. 11 (As 1852.).

Fisher, 1879, LIII/54 (Erroneously ascribed to Michelangelo.). Parker, 1956, no. 371 ("[N]o doubt of the sixteenth century, but very indifferent, and certainly not by Bandinelli.").

CATALOGUE 109

BATTISTA FRANCO (c. 1510–1561)

Recto: *Jupiter and Mercury*

Verso: Figure Studies

1846.128; R.57; P.II 407

Dimensions: 252 × 181 mm.

Medium

Recto: Pen and ink over red chalk.

Verso: Pen and ink.

Condition

Double-sided window mount. The sheet is undulating slightly.

Recto: There is overall discolouration, ingrained surface dirt, and various surface abrasions, particularly in the bottom right corner. All losses have been filled, one of which – in the shoulder area – has gold paint on it. There is a crease in the bottom left corner and various horizontal and vertical fold lines, which have led to loss of media.

Verso: Overall surface dirt.

Description

The recto is orientated vertically; the verso seems to have been used first horizontally and then vertically.

Verso

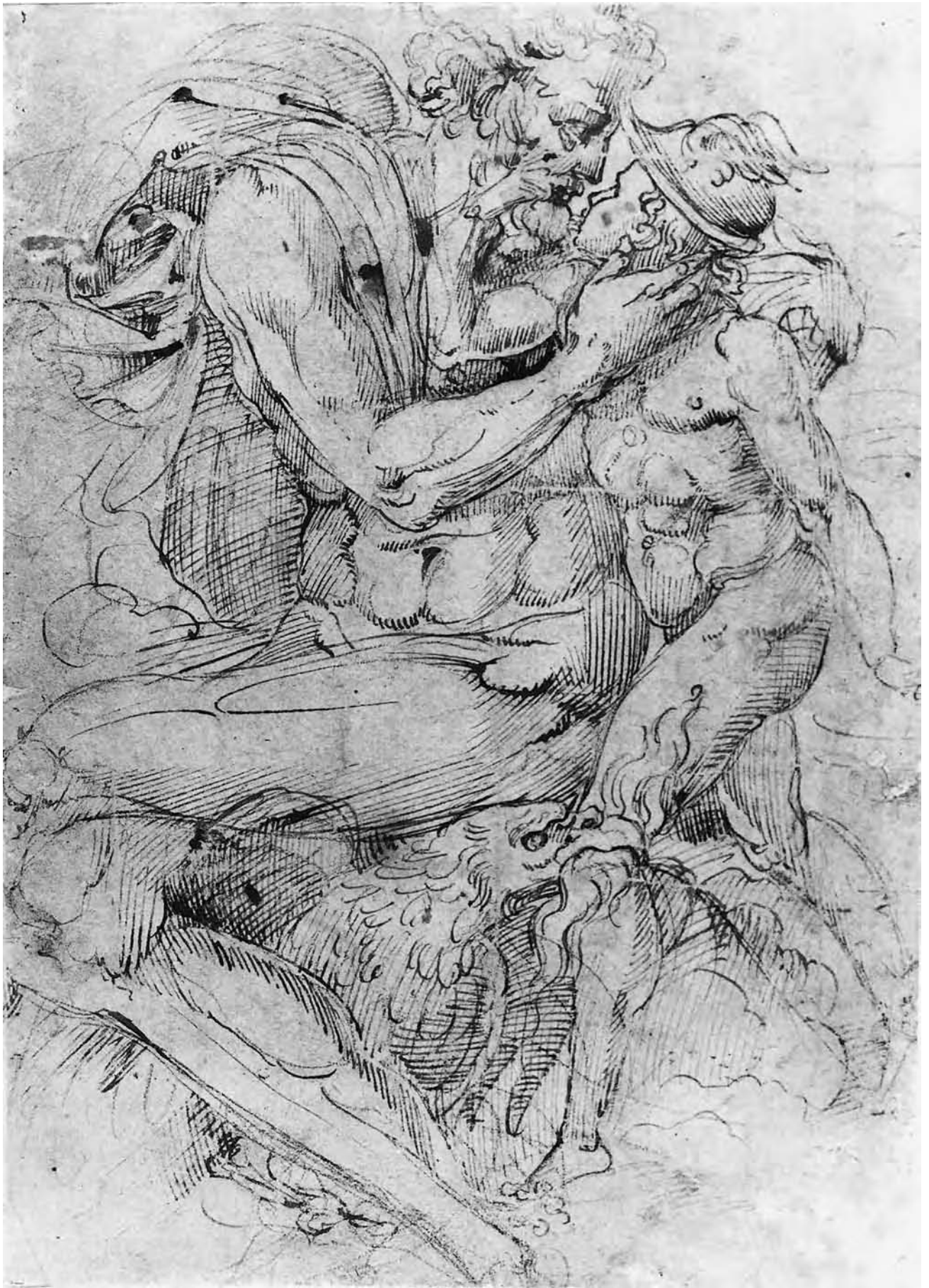
A. A full length male or female figure seen from the left, moving to the left, the head turned to the viewer (overlapped by G and H).

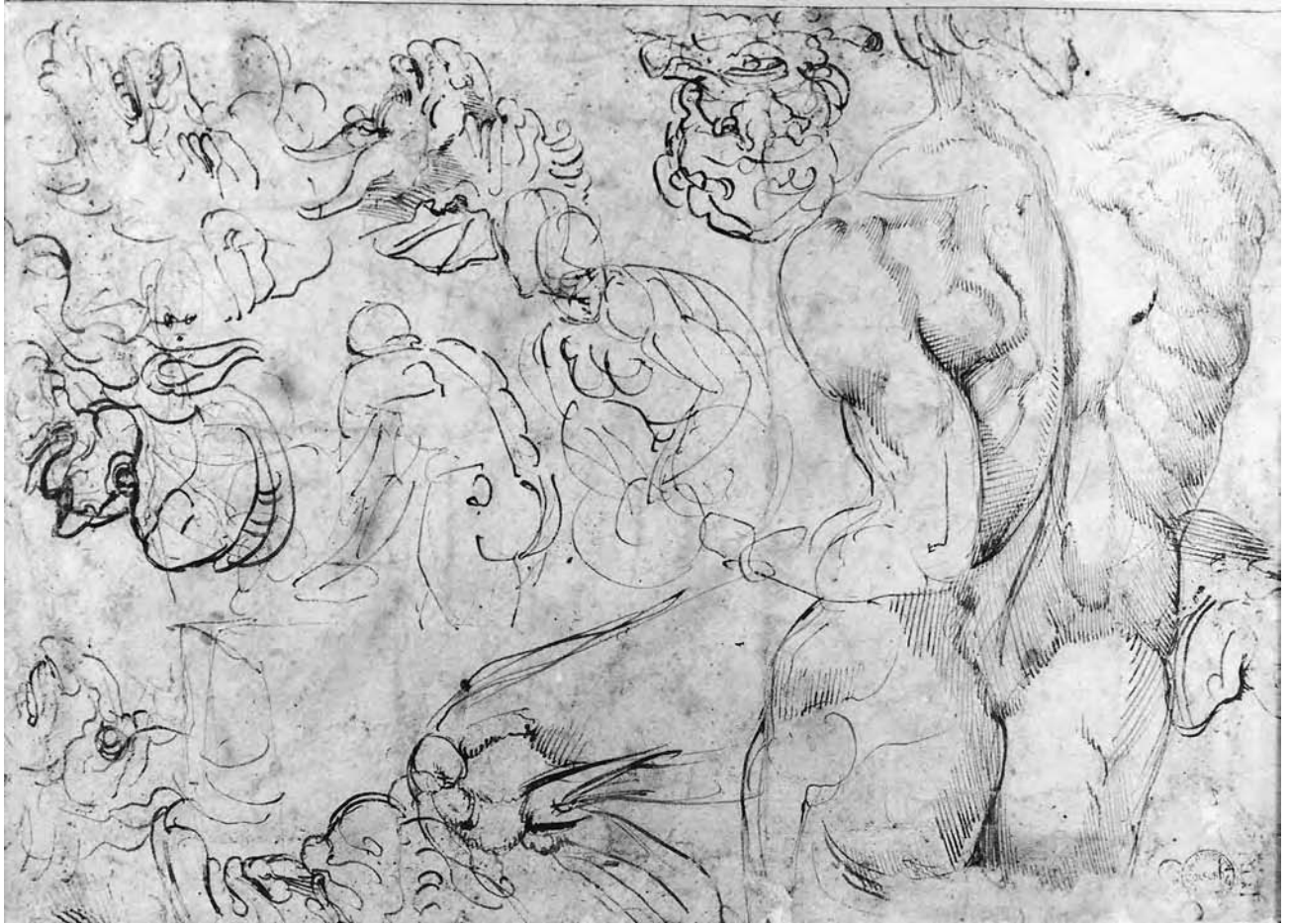
B. The torso of a male figure bending forward, seen from the right rear.

C. The torso of a bending male or female figure, turning to his/her left, his/her head indicated in two positions, seen from the left.

D. The torso of a male nude from the rear, his body turned to his left, his head turned to his right. On a larger scale than the other drawings.

E. Immediately below B and C, partly overlapped by I. A left knee with a portion of thigh and calf, seen in left profile, no doubt a study for the knee of Jupiter on the recto and perhaps the first drawing to be made on this side of the sheet.





With the left edge as base

F. A grotesque head seen in left profile with a goat-like muzzle and pendulous jowls.

G. Immediately below F. A grotesque head seen in left profile with a pointed nose and jutting beard.

H. A grotesque head in right profile.

I. Partly overlapping E. A grotesque head in left profile with a protruding forehead and compressed nose.

J. A grotesque head seen in left profile with a goat-like muzzle (variant of F).

With the top edge as base

K. A grotesque head seen from the front.

With the right edge as base

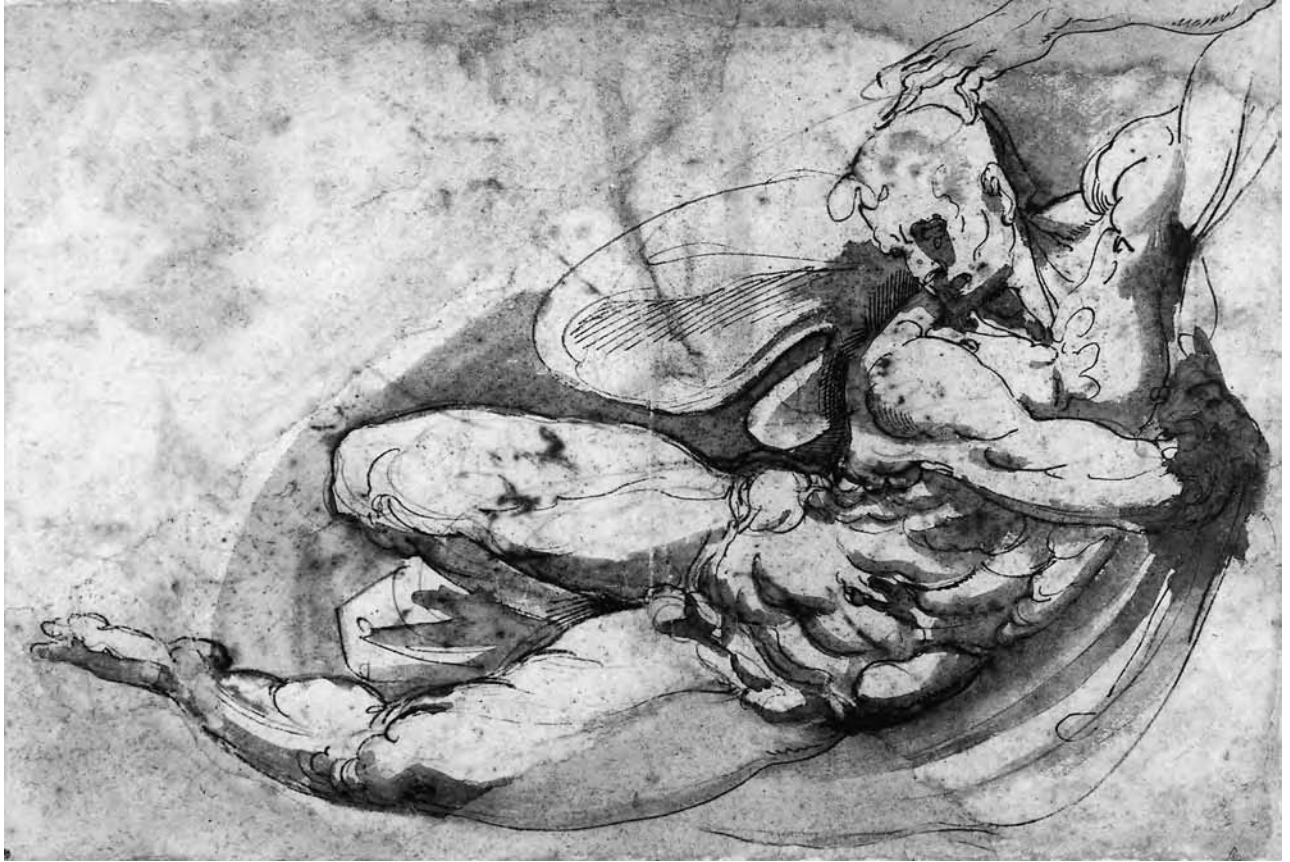
L. Fragment of a grotesque head seen in left profile.

Discussion

The recto group, which represents Jupiter with Mercury rather than with Ganymede, obviously parodies, in a Rossesque spirit, Raphael's *Jupiter and Cupid* from the Psyche Loggia in the Villa Farnesina.

The present sheet is widely accepted as being by Raffaello da Montelupo, but there is little left-handed hatching to be found in it and, in the compiler's view (supported by A. V. Lauder), it is more likely to be an early drawing by Battista Franco, who worked with Raffaello in Rome in the mid-1530s, before moving to Florence. Several of the drawings attributable to him in this period, such as Cat. 110, are made in a wild style consonant with that of this sheet, before he developed the fine pen work with which he is most commonly associated. But even later in life he could sometimes revert to coarse handling of the pen in initial sketches.

Support for the view that the present sheet was drawn when Battista was working with Raffaello da Montelupo is provided by the outline figures on the verso, some of which are quite Michelangesque; it seems likely to have been copied from – or at least inspired by – Raffaello's own adaptations of Michelangelo's drawings, such as those found on the verso of his famous copy of Michelangelo's *Medici Madonna* in the Louvre (Inv. 715/J55; pen and ink, 367 × 250 mm), a sheet once also owned by Sir Thomas Lawrence. F and G particularly have an



energy reminiscent of Michelangelo and might reflect grotesque heads by him. B and C have an energy of pose and movement that might also reflect lost sketches by the master.

History

Sir Joshua Reynolds (L.2364 on verso); William Young Ottley; Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonaroti Case 5, Drawer 2, no. 27 [1830–29] (“Jupiter with a Young Mercury, with various studies on the back with the pen, very fine.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 80 (“Jupiter and Ganymede.”). Robinson, 1870, no. 57 (“A certain analogy with Raffaello’s mythological compositions in the Farnesina will perhaps...be perceived...The writer desires...to leave open the question of the authenticity of this drawing.”). Black, 1875, p. 215, no. 52 (Jupiter and Ganymede; “somewhat doubtful.”). Gotti, 1875, II, p. 236. Springer, 1883, II, p. 390 (“[H]at nichts mit Michelangelo zu thun. Dürfte eher Perin del Vaga gehören.”). Berenson, 1903, I, pp. 255, 262, no. 1720

(Montelupo.). Berenson, 1938, I, pp. 257, 263, no. 1720 (As 1903.). Delacre, 1938, pp. 390–1 (Recto: surprising for Montelupo. Verso: implies Michelangelo’s authorship.). Parker, 1956, no. 407 (“[I]nstance of Montelupo’s ambidextrousness, the recto being drawn with the right hand, and the verso with the left.”). Berenson, 1961, no. 1720 (As 1903/1938.). De Tolnay, 1978, Corpus III, p. 40 (Attributed to Raffaello da Montelupo.).

CATALOGUE 110

BATTISTA FRANCO? (c. 1510–1561)

Recto: Recumbent Nude Man

Verso: A Group of Three Nude Men

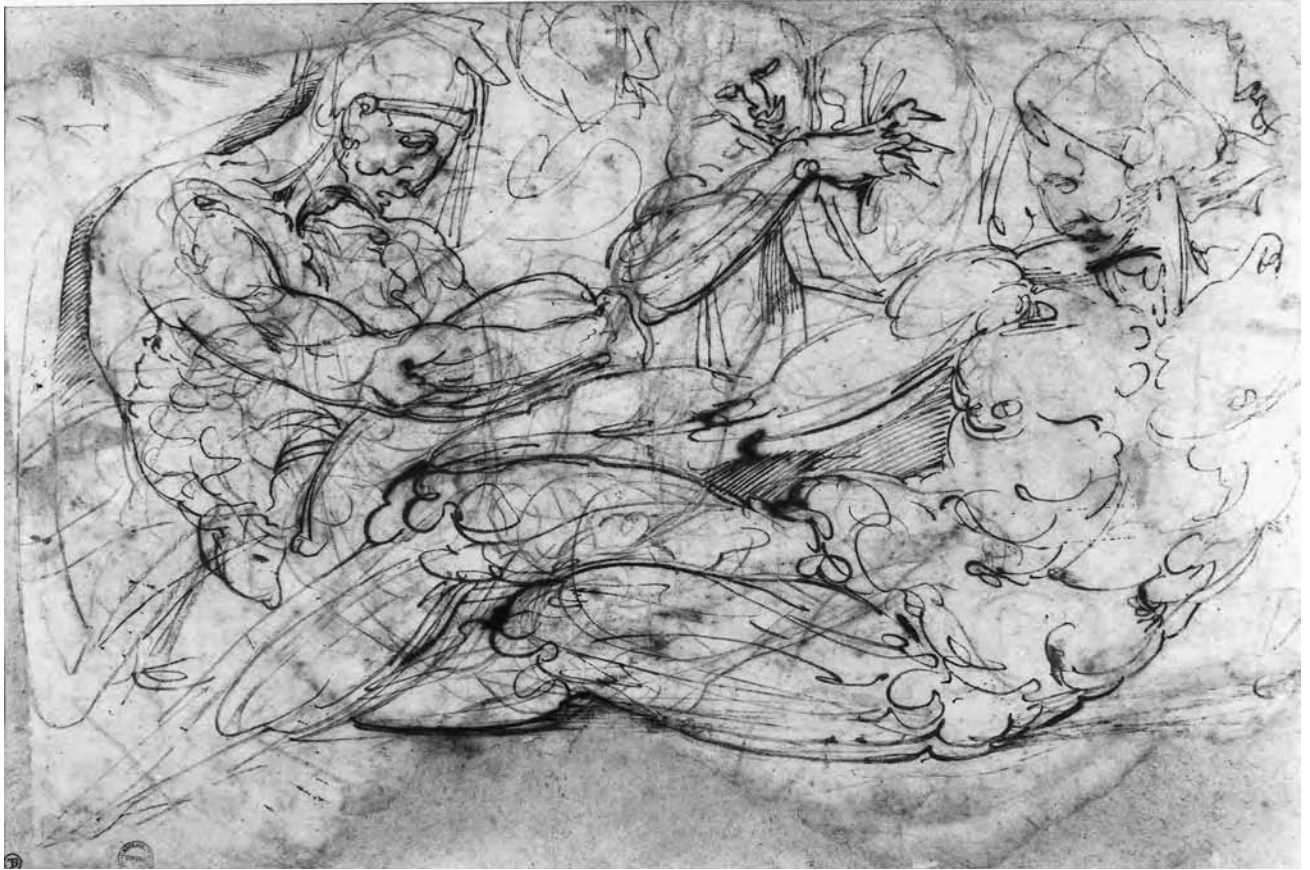
1846.33; R.87; PII 237

Dimensions: 270 × 402 mm

Medium

Recto: Pen and ink and brown wash over red and black chalks.

Verso: Pen and ink over black chalk.



Condition

Double-sided solid museum mount with bevelled inlay attached to verso.

Recto: There is overall ingrained surface dirt. There is a large vertical tear that has been repaired from the centre and several patches at the bottom and the top right corner of the sheet. There are small spots visible, especially in the washed areas at the right, which may be foxing. The medium has suffered from abrasion and loss to the heavily applied lines, and show-through of the medium has occurred.

Verso: There is abrasion of the media overall. Particularly visible on this side is that the darkest (i.e., the most heavily applied) lines are beginning to halo and to break down the primary support.

Description

Verso

Three nude men, with the possible indication of the head of a fourth between the central figure and that on the left and, perhaps, a further profile at the far right.

Discussion

Parker, to whom the attribution is due, first noted the probable dependence of the recto figure from

Michelangelo's design of *Venus and Cupid*, a cartoon made for execution as a painting by Jacopo Pontormo for Michelangelo's friend Bartolommeo Bettini (a painting generally identified with this work, on panel, 128 × 197 cm, is in the Accademia, Florence). This project was under way in 1532–3, which implies that the present sheet was made around the mid-1530s, at a moment when Battista Franco would have been heavily under the impress of Raffaello da Montelupo and eager to absorb Michelangelo's most recent Florentine work. However, it cannot be excluded that the drawing was in fact made in Rome. Bettini left Florence for Rome in 1536 and (as suggested by Costamagna, 1995, p. 218) probably took Michelangelo's cartoon with him. There are distinct similarities in style to Cat. 109.

The action of the verso drawing is difficult to interpret with any confidence as is the relation between the chalk underdrawing and the pen-work, which in places diverge considerably from each other. The left-hand figure, seen nearly in profile, seems to be clasping his right knee with, no doubt, both hands. The right-hand figure's head is also in profile, but his torso is turned outward to the viewer, while his legs are stretched out, one crossed over the other, in front of those of his companion at the left. His right arm is stretched out to rest on his right

knee. The central figure, who faces forward toward the viewer's left, seems to be either sitting or kneeling. His right forearm is bent across his chest, and the hand is angled to rest on his left upper arm. Although there is no direct connection between these figures and anything known by Michelangelo, there is some relation to the relief of reclining decorative figures devised by Michelangelo to be placed at the lower centre of the front lower storey of the Julius Tomb as seen in the *modello* in the Metropolitan Museum, Inv. 62931/Corpus 489. It may be that Battista Franco was aware of some related drawing by Michelangelo that he took as his starting point.

The purpose of the drawings on this sheet is entirely conjectural. The recto study might be for a river god to be placed in the left or right lower corner of some large-scale religious or secular fresco: Decorative adjuncts of this type became common during the 1530s and can be seen, for example, in Franco's own fresco of the *Capture of the Baptist* in the Oratorio of San Giovanni Decollato. The verso figures may also have served some such function, but they seem to be involved in some common experience and may participate in a narrative; in which case the confined arrangement and the mood of foreboding might suggest the Ugolino and his sons confined in prison.

History

Pierre Crozat?; Pierre-Jean Mariette (L.1852); the Marquis de Lagoy (L.1710); Thomas Dimsdale (L.2426); Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Woodburn, 1836b, no. 8 ("A Magnificent Model – for one of the figures on the Tombs of the Medici. This splendid study is drawn with surprising energy, in the grandest style of this great Master. It is executed with the pen and bistre; and has several fine studies on the reverse, executed with the pen; engraved. Capital. Size 18 inches by 11 inches. From the Collections of M. Crozat, M. Mariette, Marquis Legoy, and Thomas Dimsdale, Esq."). The *Athenaeum*, 16 July 1836 ("Figure for a Tomb"; the drawing powerful beyond compare, with that large-handedness about its contours which makes us imagine the artist himself of colossal dimensions; nevertheless somewhat mannered and fantastic."). The *Court Journal*, 23 July 1836 ("[D]rawn with consummate learning and skilful freedom."). Woodburn, 1842, no. 14 ("A Magnificent Study – for one of the figures on the Tomb of the Medici at Florence, drawn with surprising energy, in the grandest style of this Master, executed with the pen and bistre; with several fine studies on the reverse,

executed with the pen. It is engraved. See Landon's M. Angelo, pls. 17, 25, 26. Size 16 inches by 11 inches. From the Collections of M. Crozat, M. Mariette, Marquis Legoy, and Thomas Dimsdale, Esq."). Fisher, 1852, p. 5, pl. 26 ("Study – for one of the figures on the Tomb of the Medici family at Florence, drawn with pen and bistre in the grandest style of this Master."). Fisher, 1865, I, p. 19, pl. 26 (As 1852.). Robinson, 1870, no. 87 (Not Michelangelo.). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 17, pl. 26 (As 1852.). Fisher, 1879, LV/55 ("[N]ot to be ascribed to Michelangelo."). Parker, 1956, no. 237 (The recto figure shows a debt to Pontormo's *Venus*, designed by Michelangelo; drawing "shows an absurdly exaggerated mannerism" recalling Franco, but it is uncertain if it "is actually by his hand.").

CATALOGUE 111

BATTISTA FRANCO? (c. 1510–1561)

Recto: Anatomical and Other Studies

Verso: Anatomical Studies

1846.130; R.51; P.II 409

Dimensions: 285 × 206 mm, small losses made up at upper left and lower right

Medium

Pen and ink and red chalk, and red chalk over pen and ink.

Condition

Double-sided window mount; bevelled inlay adhered to verso.

Recto: There is overall patchy discolouration and ingrained surface dirt with an "oily" stain at the top right corner. There are three vertical fold lines with tears in all the major folds, particularly at the edges. Various losses have been filled. There is some show-through from the verso.

Verso: The repair patches are clearly visible. There is some colour change in the ink lines. The red chalk is smudged at the right edge.

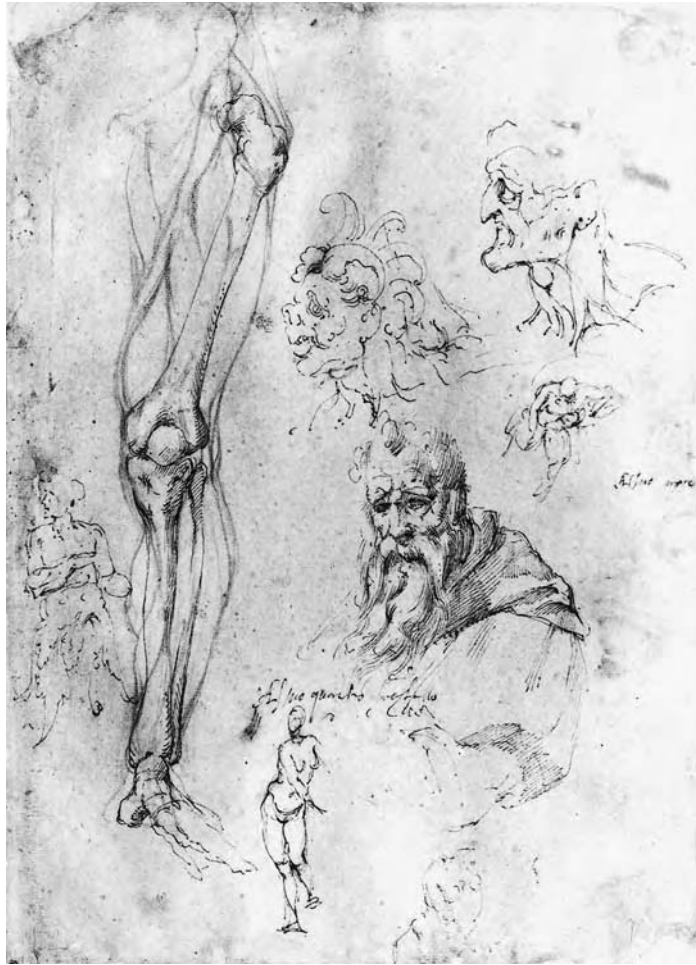
Description and Inscription

Recto

A. A grotesque figure, the torso merging into foliage.

B. A left leg, partially écorché to show the bones and muscles, seen frontally, in red chalk.

C. A grotesque head, in left profile.



D. Immediately below C. An elderly, long-bearded man seen from the left.

E. The head of an elderly man, in left profile.

F. Immediately below E. A sketch of a flying God the Father? seen frontally in foreshortening.

G. A standing female figure in a pose faintly reminiscent of Leonardo's *Leda* or Raphael's *Venus*.

H. The same, abbreviated.

I. Lower centre, inscription: *Al suo quanto fratello.*

J. Right edge, inscription: *Al suo (se)mpre?*

Verso

A. A right eye in right profile.

B. A right leg, partially écorché to show the muscles, seen frontally.

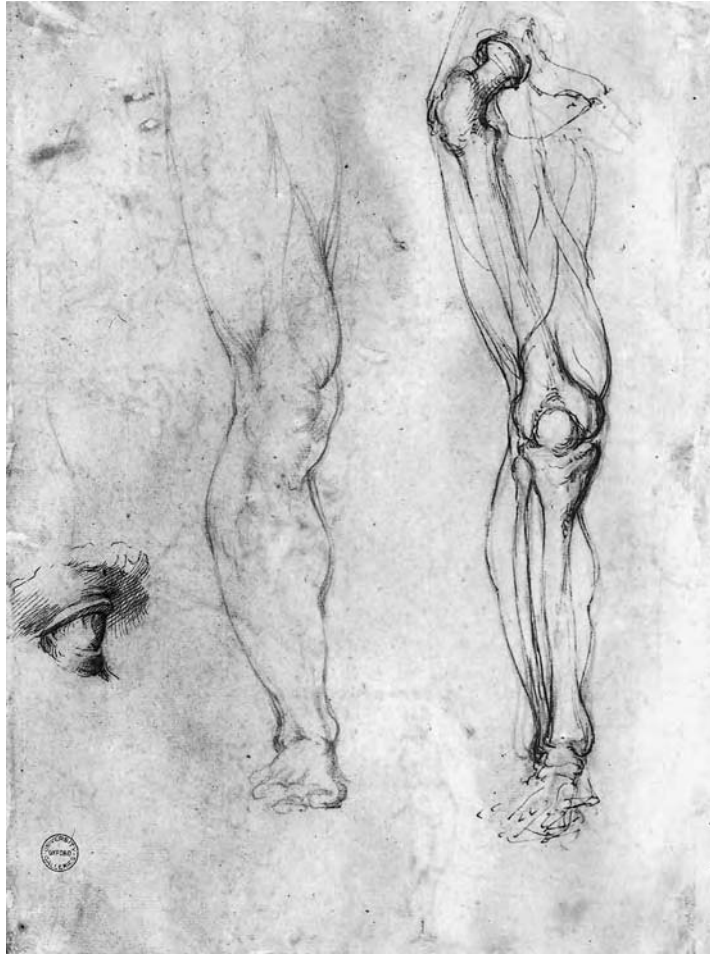
C. A right leg, partially écorché to show the bones and muscles, seen frontally (traced through from the recto).

Discussion

Although thought to be by Michelangelo as late as Robinson's catalogue, this double-sided sheet is certainly

by one of his followers. Berenson's attribution to Raffaello da Montelupo has generally been accepted, but the drawing does not display Raffaello's characteristic left-handed hatching, and the line-work seems more sinuous and elegant than his. The way in which the bones are drawn in pen and the muscles then inserted in red chalk is also unusually neat for Raffaello. The compiler is inclined to give this sheet to Battista Franco, who collaborated with Raffaello during the 1530s and copied some of his drawings. However, this attribution must be regarded as tentative, especially given our ignorance of figure studies in pen by several of the artists who worked closely with Michelangelo. Nor can any of the drawings on this sheet firmly be connected with compositions by Franco.

None of the drawings seem to derive directly from surviving or lost drawings by Michelangelo. However, the verso sketch of a right eye in profile comes close to such as those found on Cat. 28 verso and might, perhaps, have been copied directly or indirectly from a lost "teaching drawing" by Michelangelo. The style of the anatomical studies is more linear and less substantial than



Michelangelo's anatomies in pen and can hardly be copied from him, but the proportions of the leg are reminiscent of Michelangelo's work of the 1530s and 1540s when he adopted thicker and heavier figure types. It is notable that the draughtsman by tracing the forms of the left leg on the recto, produced those of the right leg on the verso. Such tracing was at times employed by Michelangelo, but it was common enough practice for this not to be significant.

The grotesque profiles on the recto reflect an interest common to Michelangelo and his pupils, but they cannot be linked directly with any known drawings by them. The well-characterised sketch of the elderly bearded man – certainly not Michelangelo himself, as Robinson surmised – is notable, but the compiler is unable to connect it with other drawings.

History

Pierre Crozat; Pierre-Jean Mariette (L.1852); Graf Moritz von Fries (L.2903); Marquis de Lagoy (no stamp); Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

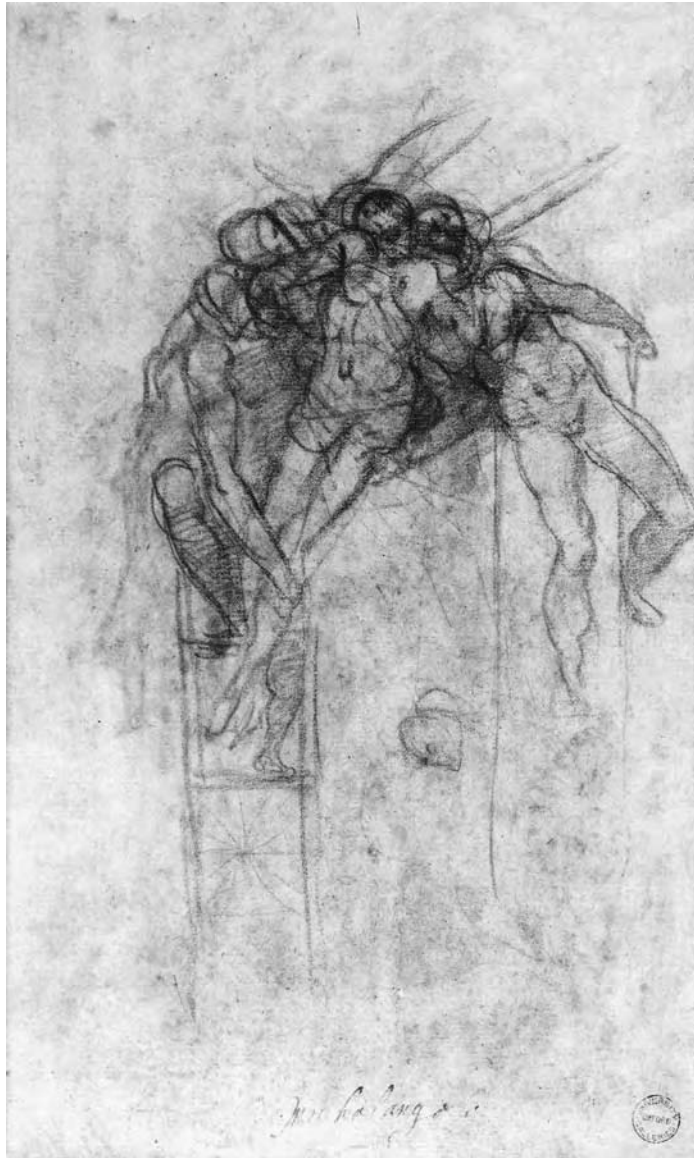
References

Vasari (Bottari, ed.), III, 1760, p. 240? ("Michelangelo, quando doveva delineare una figura, cominciava dal farne primo su una carta lo scheletro, e poi sopra un' altra carta disegnava la stessa figura rivestite di muscoli. . . Signor Mariette ha gli studi del Christo della Minerva fatti in questa guisa."). Marquis de Lagoy, etching of uncertain date. Lawrence Inventory, 1830, no. 6 [1830-9] ("A Curious leaf, on one side it is a portrait of M. Angelo."). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 45 (Recto: "Various studies – a leg, of which the bones are drawn with surprising truth to nature, and the sinews and flesh marked in red chalk. Also some heads of caricature, and an old man's portrait, with a long beard. On the reverse are other studies. Size, 11 1/4 inches by 8 1/4 inches. From the Collections of M. Crozat, Mariette and the Count of Fries."). The Literary Gazette, July 1836 ("Nor ought the carefulness with which this great man made his anatomical studies to be lost upon the young artist. . . So great, indeed, was his solicitude in this respect, that he occasionally drew the bones first, with one material, and superinduced the muscles with another. This practice is exemplified in



No. 45, 'Various studies', in which the bones of a leg and thigh are drawn with ink and the sinews and flesh with red chalk; may we be daring enough to add, that the form of the femur is not rendered with its natural elegance?). The Observer, 24 July 1836 ([H]is surprising knowledge of anatomy"). Woodburn, 1842, no. 33 (As 1836.). Fisher, 1852, p. 6, pl. 28 (Recto and verso: "Various studies – a leg, of which the bones are drawn with surprising truth to nature."). Fisher, 1865, I, p. 19, pl. 28 (As 1852.). Robinson, 1870, no. 51 (Michel Angelo; the bearded figure like Michelangelo; the inscription, not by his hand, "may have reference to this likeness, and may be construed to mean as like him as a brother." Style "characteristic of period of Medici tombs."). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 17, pl. 26 (As 1852.). Black, 1875, p. 213, no. 46. Gotti,

1875, II, p. 234. Fisher, 1879, XXXV/37a and b (Recto and Verso: "a bust of a man with inscription below, said to resemble Michelangelo himself."). Berenson, 1903, I, pp. 255, 262, no. 1715 (Montelupo.). Berenson, 1935, p. 115 (Montelupo.). Berenson, 1938, pp. 257, 263, no. 1715 (As 1903.). Parker, 1956, no. 409 (Montelupo.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1715 (As 1903/1938.). Kornell, 1996, pp. 115–16 (Raffaello da Montelupo; detailed discussion of anatomy; Mariette may have thought that this sheet was drawn in connection with the Minerva Christ.). Gatteschi, 1998, p. 58 (Raffaello da Montelupo; bearded man is "il ritratto – inequivocabile e assai toccante – di un Michelangelo in età avanzata"; probably datable to the early 1540s.). Perrig, 1999, p. 226 (Attributed to Raffaello da Montelupo; one of only two drawings from the



von Fries Collection to be exhibited as by Michelangelo in 1836.).

Inscription

Verso: In pen and ink at lower centre: *Michelangelo*.

Discussion

The present drawing was probably given to Michelangelo because of its broad compositional resemblance to the master's version of the subject in Haarlem (Teyler Museum A25 recto/VT60/Corpus 89; red chalk, 273 × 191 mm) and a close variant of that design, known from a plaster cast in Casa Buonarroti and several plaques in bronze. Girolamo Muziano's authorship of the present drawing was first recognised by Pouncey. Even though it has not securely been connected with a painting by Muziano, it – and its companions – may represent early ideas for a composition recorded in an engraving by Cornelius Cort (*The Illustrated Bartsch* 52, 86–II).

CATALOGUE III2

GIROLAMO MUZIANO (1532–1592)

Recto: *The Deposition*

Verso: *The Deposition Varied*

1846.134. R.83; P.II 415

Dimensions: 262 × 161 mm

Medium

Red chalk.

Three further studies are no doubt related:

1. Munich Graphische Sammlung, no. 2569 (red chalk, 247 × 185 mm), noted by Gere.
2. Uffizi, 138E/198S (red chalk over stylus indentation, 427 × 285 mm), classed as Daniele da Volterra but transferred to Muziano by Hirst, 1967, p. 503.
3. Uffizi, 12900F (red chalk, 158 × 101 mm), classed as Titian but given to Muziano by Gere in an annotation on the mount, accepted, in a subsequent annotation, by Pouncey.

History

Jonathan Richardson Senior (L.2184); Thomas Hudson (L.2432); Sir Joshua Reynolds (L.2364); Sir Thomas Lawrence (no stamp); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonaroti Case 11, Drawer 5 [1830–141 i,ii] (“Two: Study of a figure M. Angelo and Taking down from cross from ditto.”). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 46 (“[A]dmirably drawn in red chalk.”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 8 (As 1836.). Fisher, 1862, p. 4, pl. 8 (“[A] Grand composition.”). Fisher, 1865, II, p. 22, pl. 8 (As 1862.). Robinson, 1870, no. 83 (“Obviously the work of another artist. . . . This writer believes . . . [it] is really from the hand of Jacopo Sansovino” for the model in the Victoria and Albert Museum.). Fisher, 1872, I, p. 20, pl. 8 (As 1862.). Fisher, 1879, LI/53 (“Formerly ascribed to Michelangelo.”). Thode, 1913, no. 455 (Not Michelangelo.). Parker, 1956, no. 415 (As Naldini. “J. Wilde’s attribution to Naldini seems probably correct. . . . According to P. M. R. Pouncey, No. 415 is certainly by Muziano.”). Gere, 1957, p. 161 (Endorses Pouncey’s attribution to Muziano; notes similar study in Graphische Sammlung, Munich, Inv. 2569.). Macandrew, 1980, p. 267 (Records Gere’s view.).

CATALOGUE 113

FLORENTINE DRAUGHTSMAN?

Nude Seated River God
1846.22; R.86; P.II 82

Dimensions: 178 × 110 mm, all corners chamfered.

Medium

Pen and ink with brush and brown wash.

Condition

Single-sided solid museum mount.



There is overall ingrained surface dirt and foxing. There are various dark marks, which may be stains or possibly show-through, which would suggest that there may be marks, lines, or images on the laid-down verso. There is a patch under the upper right edge and cleavage at the upper right corner. There are spots of gold paint at the top edge.

Inscription

An inscription in the hand of Jonathan Richardson the Younger on the back of the now lost old mount, is preserved on the back of the present mount:

The Great Duke has a Model in Wax about the size of this Figure made by Michelangelo to restore the torso, as this Dr[awing]. was without doubt made for that Model.

That was a Present to the Great Duke by Franceschino Vellazzano when he was very/ Old, & that it might be preserv'd for ever as a Jewel. He had it from Vāsari. J.R. jun.

Shelfmarks: D.47/P. 65.G.

Discussion

This and Cat. 70 – for which see further discussion – seem to be the drawings recorded in Ottley’s sale of 1803 as part of lot 27. This contained four drawings, two of which, “in pen and bistre,” were “from M. Angelo’s model for restoring the celebrated antique torso.” These studies were attributed by Ottley to “KENT,” by which he presumably meant William Kent, the painter and, still more famously, architect. If this attribution could be proved to be correct, they would no doubt have been copied by Kent after earlier drawings because they bear no obvious relation to his known drawing style. Alternatively – the view preferred by the compiler – they may simply have been owned either by Kent, or his homonym, the dealer, and ownership was mistaken for authorship by Ottley. Indeed, no previous writer seems to have expressed any doubts that this drawing and Cat. 70 are genuinely of the sixteenth century. William Kent the architect certainly had contact with Jonathan Richardson the Younger as well as the elder – he is referred to personally by the former in 1722 (p. 340) – and a drawing or drawings might easily have passed between them. If the drawings are by Kent, however, Parker’s inclusion of Lely? in the provenance – a name not included by any other writer – would have to be disregarded.

Parker’s tentative suggestion of Bandinelli as the author of this drawing has not been taken up by later writers. There is, however, a definite resemblance to the drawing that he cites as a comparison (British Museum 1854-6-28-1/Berenson 1681; pen and ink with wash, 366 × 187 mm [maximum, irregular]), both in their style of handling and in the fact that they are both strongly influenced by Michelangelo’s Sistine *ignudi*. The present drawing also seems to show knowledge of Michelangelo’s New Sacristy figures, especially *Day* and *Dawn*. Whether or not it does copy a model, believed in the eighteenth century to have been made by Michelangelo with the aim of restoring the *Belvedere Torso*, is a matter for conjecture. If so, the resemblance must be slight because this figure has none of the muscular power of that fragment.

The compiler is inclined to think that the present drawing is of the 1530s or 1540s, and by a young sculptor in Bandinelli’s circle, perhaps made to serve for a fountain. This view is also that of an unidentified annotator on the mount of the British Museum drawing, who refers specifically to the present one. The British Museum drawing, although on occasion in the past attributed to Michelangelo or his school, is now given, rightly, in the compiler’s view, to Baccio Bandinelli. However, it should be noted that Nicholas Turner (in a personal communication) has suggested a radically different possibility: that the

present drawing is by the Lombard artist Daniele Crespi, and the compiler can see sufficient similarities with drawings by Crespi to find that idea intriguing.

Engraving

A facsimile was engraved by W. W. Ryland, signed and dated 1762. This was included in Rogers, 1778, I, facing p. 39.

History

Sir Peter Lely? (no stamp). Jonathan Richardson Senior (L.2184); Jonathan Richardson Junior? (no stamp); Uvedale Price?; Sir Joshua Reynolds (L.2364); William Young Ottley? (probably his sale of 14 April 1803, part of lot 27 (“Four – two of studies, pen, and two drawings in pen and bistre by KENT, from M. Angelo’s model for restoring the celebrated antique torso. See on the back, quotations from Richardson and Wright” [the passage from Wright, 1730, that Ottley refers to, and which – like that of Richardson – is no longer attached to this drawing, must be the following from his p. 268 “It is allow’d by all to have been the Trunk of an *Hercules* and Some at *Rome* suppose him to have been in the Act of Spinning; but *Mich. Angelo* seem’d to have been of another Opinion, according to a Model we saw at *Florence*, which he made in order to restore it, as he was to have done had he lived. In that Model, his right elbow rests upon his Thigh, his Head is inclin’d as going to rest upon that hand, the other Hand is lying loose upon the left Thigh. By this it should be that *Mich. Angelo*’s Opinion was that it was *Hercules* reposing himself, after his labours.”])); Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

Richardson and Richardson, 1722, p. 75 (Seen in Florence “The Model of *Mich. Angelo* for restoring the *Torso*; ’tis in Wax, about the same Size as the Drawing for it which my Father has. It was *Vasari*’s, afterwards *Franceschino Volterrano* had it; and when he was very Old he brought it to the Great Duke as a Present, that it might be for ever preserv’d in that Collection: ’tis in Perfection.”). Rogers, 1778, I, plate facing p. 39 (Michelangelo.). Ottley sale, 14 April 1803, part of lot 27? (“Four – two of studies, pen, and two drawings in pen and bistre by KENT, from M. Angelo’s model for restoring the celebrated antique torso. See on the back, quotations from Richardson and Wright.”). Lawrence Inventory, 1830, M. A. Buonaroti Case 3, Drawer 3 [1830–87] (“The Restoration of the Celebrated Torso with a curious account at the back, annotated in Roger [sic].”). Woodburn, 1842, no. 62 (“The restoration of the Torso – pen and bistre wash. This Drawing is copied in Mr Rogers’ imitations.”). Robinson,



1870, no. 86 (Not Michelangelo.). Fisher, 1879, LIV/p. 17 ("Not considered authentic by Mr. Robinson."). Parker, 1956, no. 82 (Attributed to Bandinelli; compared with a drawing in the British Museum, 1854-6-28-1/Berenson, 1903, no. 1681; pen and ink with wash, 400 × 210 mm).

Verso: Various Studies of a Right Hand; A Man Seen from the Rear
1846.136; R.4; P. II 452

Dimensions: 410 × 263 mm

Medium
Pen and ink.

Condition
Double-sided solid museum mount with a bevelled inlay attached to the verso.

Recto: There are many losses, all of which have been filled and toned, no doubt at different times. There is a heavy horizontal fold above the centre and a heavy

CATALOGUE 114

BARTOLOMMEO PASSEROTTI (1529–1592)

Recto: Study for Adam in a Composition of the *Fall of Man*; Studies of Hands



horizontal crease across the centre. Various abrasions are visible across the bottom edge, and various cleavages have occurred in the medium (typical of iron gall ink deterioration), most of which have been repaired on either the recto or the verso with lens tissue.

Verso: There are brown-yellow areas of discolouration or staining visible on the left edge and in various other small areas, possibly the remnants of animal glue.

Inscription

Recto: In pen and ink at lower left: *M.B.F.* (i.e., Michelangelo Buonarroti Fecit).

Description

Recto

Top line

- A. A seated figure, lit from the left.
- B. The legs of A, lit from the left.
- C. Slightly revised version of A, lit from the left.
- D. A right leg, lit from the right.
- E. A seen from the rear.

Second line

- F. Part of E, repeated?.
- G. Immediately below F. The foot and ankle of D, in shadow.

H. A right hand, lit from the left.

I. H, on a larger scale, lit from the left.

Third line

J. H, revised, lit from the left.

K. H, now shown holding an apple, lit from the left.

Verso (in the opposite sense from the recto)

A. The torso of a male nude seen from the rear, three-quarters left.

B. A right hand, bent at the wrist, seen from the left.

C. A version of B, on a larger scale.

D. A version of B, more loosely drawn.

Discussion

The studies on the recto were presumably made for a seated Adam in a composition of the *Fall of Man*, as K clearly indicates. However, because this subject is not recorded in painted or graphic form by Passerotti, either it was not taken further or the final work has been lost.

The hand studies on the verso display more tension and suggest a different pose and a different subject. Sleeves are clearly indicated on all three studies, and these would not, of course, be appropriate to *The Fall*. As noted by Höper, hand studies of similar type are to be found in Düsseldorf (Museum Kunstpalast, FP 9445; pen and ink, 354 × 257 mm), Milan (Ambrosiana, F 265 Inf 67; pen and ink, 400 × 276 mm), Munich (Graphische Sammlung, Inv. 13.731; pen and ink, 370 × 214 mm), and Vienna (Albertina, 2029; pen and ink, 388 × 270 mm) among other collections. All these are broadly comparable in size with the present sheet. It was remarked by Titus, 1975, that the source of the hand is a plastic model, of which a version is preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Pope-Hennessy, 1964, II, no. 461).

As Höper further notes, the study of a back, A, is closely comparable in its pen-work with a page of figure drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Dyce 159/Ward-Jackson 242; pen and ink, 419 × 260 mm). The figure of which this is a detail, no doubt a model in wax or clay, seems to have been of particular interest to Passerotti. It was also represented by him at full-length in a drawing offered at Christie's, London, 11 July 2002, lot 6 (pen and ink, 440 × 200 mm) and on both sides of a sheet in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, Inv. 1907 (pen and ink, 416 × 216 mm). The Budapest sheet was attributed to the équipe of Bertoja and Mirola by De Grazia, 1991, D/2, but on balance Passerotti seems to the compiler to be more likely. De Grazia notes the similarity of this figure to Michelangelo's marble *David*, and it is not to be excluded that these drawings do indeed record a model

by Michelangelo that enjoyed great longevity as a studio prop. An example can be seen at the lower left in the *Portrait of an Artist* from the circle of Géricault in the Musée du Louvre, RF 1225.

It was suggested by Parker, followed by Dussler and others, that this drawing was created by Passerotti in a deliberate attempt to deceive. The compiler finds this implausible. The drawing diverges in no way from Passerotti's distinctive style. Had Passerotti wished to fake a drawing by Michelangelo, he would surely have imitated a drawing by the master that he knew, and no surviving drawing by Michelangelo resembles this, in pen-work, layout, or the structures of the forms depicted. To the compiler, the initials on the recto seem clearly a later addition, designed to enhance the sheet's value, and he sees no justification for the view that they are executed in the same ink and by the same hand as the drawing.

If the provenance from Sir Peter Lely proposed below is correct, it must be assumed that his stamp was lost from the present verso of the sheet between 1807 and 1836 and that the Casa Buonarroti-Wicar provenance given by Woodburn in 1836, modified to Wicar alone in 1842, was an error.

History

Casa Buonarroti; Jean-Baptiste Wicar (this provenance first given by Woodburn in 1836, is probably incorrect; Casa Buonarroti is omitted in 1842–85); more probable is Sir Peter Lely; William Young Ottley (his sale of July 1807, lot 374, "One – a study of three hands – masterly fine pen – PL"); Sir Thomas Lawrence (L.2445); Samuel Woodburn.

References

William Young Ottley? (his sale of July 1807, lot 374, "One – a study of three hands – masterly fine pen – PL."). Woodburn, 1836b, no. 10 (A Study of Three Hands – and the back of a male figure. This noble drawing is executed with the pen with the utmost skill and knowledge; it far exceeds the very celebrated drawing of a similar subject mentioned by Vasari which is now in the Louvre [Inv. 717/J R2/Corpus 93]. On the reverse side, are other models for the same hand, on a smaller scale, but equally fine. Capital. Size, 16½ inches by 10½ inches. From the Collections of M. Buonarroti, and the Chevalier Wicar."). The Court Journal, 23 July 1836 ("[F]ull of life and motion suspended."). Woodburn, 1842, no. 85 ("A sheet of studies of hands – also the body of a man; powerfully drawn, bistre pen. Size, 16½ inches by 11¾ inches. From the Collection of the Chevalier Wicar."). Woodburn, 1853, no. 26 (Verso reproduced.). Fisher 1862, p. 4, pl. 14 (Recto only:

“Powerfully drawn.”). Fisher 1865, t. II, p. 23, pl. 14 (As 1862.). Robinson, 1870, no. 4 (“[I]ncontestably the work of Michelangelo,” c. 1500. The studies of a hand probably made from a plastic model by Michelangelo, which has not survived; a comparable model of a left hand deriving from Michelangelo is in the Gherardini Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum; the seated figure “from a bronze or wax model, probably from a Renaissance imitation of an antique statuette of Mercury or Mars.” Reference to Louvre Inv. 717/J R2/Corpus 93 whose handling resembles “the coarser manner of Bandinelli.”). Fisher, 1872, PII, p. 21, pl. 14 (As 1862.). Black, 1875, p. 213, no. 4. Philostrate, 1878, p. 215 (Verso reproduced, as by Michael Angelo.). Fisher 1879, PIII/3 (Verso only: “Studies of Hands.”). Wickhoff, 1891, p. ccviii (Passerotti, not Michelangelo.). Berenson 1903, no. 1699 (Passerotti.). Delacre, 1938, pp. 105, 112, 532 (Close links with Louvre Inv. 717/J R2/Corpus 93, accepted by Delacre as by Michelangelo.). Berenson, 1938, no. 1699 (Passerotti.). Parker, 1956, no. 452 (Passerotti; reference to Albertina 2029, inscribed *Il Passarotti*; “the inscription has every appearance of being by the draughtsman’s own hand, and its intention must therefore presumably have been fraudulent.”). Dussler, 1959, p. 36 (Passerotti may himself have added the inscription M.B.F.). Berenson, 1961, no. 1699 (Passerotti.). Barocchi, 1962, p. 266, under no. 213 (Passerotti.). Van Schaak, 1962, pp. 75–6 (Publishes *Three*

Studies of Hands [pen and ink, 417 × 198 mm] in a U.S. private collection; suggests that this drawing like Cat. 114 “may have been intended by Passerotti to pass fraudulently as an original by Michelangelo.”). Gregori, 1967, p. 48, under no. 68 (Compared with Passerotti’s *Female Head*, pen and ink, 372 × 261 mm, in the Meissner Collection.). Sutton, 1970, no. 35 (“The inscription . . . appears to be from the draughtsman’s own hand and therefore to have been of fraudulent intent.”). Titus, 1975, p. 43, under no. 38 (“Passerotti seems to have attempted to pass off the drawing as an original by Michelangelo. On the same sheet one has evidence of Passerotti avidly copying a small cast of a hand, traditionally known as the ‘Hand of Michelangelo’ which is also copied on other sheets by Passerotti. A version of this to be found in the Victoria and Albert Museum.”). Béguin and Giampaolo, 1979, p. 33 (Some drawings by Passerotti, like Cat. 114, have been given to Michelangelo because they bear the initials M.B.F.). Scrase, 1981–2, p. 50 (A drawing by Passerotti in the Fitzwilliam Museum [PD.122–1961] related to the wax model in Casa Buonarroti, Inv. 521, also formerly attributed to Michelangelo “even freer” in style.). Meijer and Van Tuyll, 1983, p. 116, under no. 47 (Compared with a study of four hands in the Teyler Museum, Haarlem, A13 recto/VT 362; pen and ink, 251 × 215 mm). Höper, 1987, p. 175 (Passerotti; comparison with drawings in other collections; summary of view.).

APPENDIX I

DRAWINGS BY OR ATTRIBUTED TO MICHELANGELO IN WILLIAM YOUNG OTTLEY'S SALES

TEXTS

I

An Extensive Collection of Capital Drawings, 14 April 1803, and seven days following, except Sunday. Thomas Philipe, Warwick Street, Golden Square, London.

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONAROTI

18. Two – Sybils, one in bistre on blue paper, heightened; two in red chalk, one pen; Judith with the head of Holofernes, black chalk and bistre, heightened.

19. Three – The Brazen Serpent, in an angle, pen and bistre; the Fall of Phaeton, pen and Indian ink; and a composition in black chalk, by MARCELLO VENUSTI, great design.

20. Four – The Annunciation, pen and bistre, two Holy Families, pen; and a Pieta, pen and bistre.

21. Two – The Deluge, one a small fine pen sketch, round; the other the great composition in the CAPELLA SISTINA, masterly pen and Indian ink, heightened.

22. One – A group in the Last Judgement, pen and bistre. From Sir Peter Lely's collection.

23. One – Pen sketch, on blue paper, most masterly. From Hudson's collection.

24. Two – The Descent from the Cross, masterly pen and bistre, and Sarcophagus, pen and Indian ink.

25. One – Muscular figures on both sides, masterly fine pen.

26. One – Bust of a young man, after Michael Angelo, black chalk, see account at bottom.

27. Four – two of studies, pen, and two drawings in pen and bistre, by KENT, from M. Angelo's model for restoring the celebrated antique torso.

See on the back, quotations from Richardson and Wright.

SARTO

587. One – A whole length portrait of Michael Angelo, black chalk, on blue paper, heightened, from the Duke of Argyll's collection.

II

Capital Collection of Drawings of the Great Masters of all the Schools. 11 April 1804 and three days following. Thomas Philipe, Warwick Street, Golden Square, London.

MICHAEL ANGELO

264. One – a naked youth standing, red chalk, very fine.

265. Three – two studies, in black chalk; and one ditto, masterly pen – on the back of the last is an account of money, in the writing of the celebrated artist – bought from the family of the artist, still resident in Florence.

266. Six – studies of heads – three in black chalk, two in red and one fine pen – from the Martelli collection at Florence.

267. Nine – studies of legs and thighs – four in black, four red chalk, and one pen, from the same collection.

268. Ten – ditto, and arms, etc. – 2 arms, one foot, red chalk, three arms and one leg and thigh, in black chalk; an arm, pen; a horse's head and a monstrous animal, black chalk – from the Bonarroti collection – on the back of one are some verses autograph of this great artist.

269. Four – three profile heads; and a military figure, on one knee, all in red chalk; on the back of the latter is a pen sketch – the heads are from the Martelli collection.

270. Five – various pen studies of figures and architecture – some of his writing on the back of three – from the Bonarroti collection.

271. One leaf containing nine capital studies, in black chalk, two horses, five thighs, with legs, and two feet, from the Martelli collection.

272. One ditto, containing two studies of heads, ears, architecture, etc., all masterly pen, from Lely's collection.

273. One ditto, containing three studies of figures, all in black chalk, from the Bonarroti collection.

274. One ditto, containing several studies of attitudes for the Last Judgment, and a study for the Annunciation, all in black chalk, from ditto.

275. One ditto, containing two studies in black chalk, one for the Last Judgment, the other a man carried on the shoulders of three naked figures, very fine, from the same collection.

276. One – a sheet of capital studies – red chalk on one side; black chalk, with a little red on the other – from Count Geloso's cabinet.

277. One – a group of three figures in the Last Judgment, a masterly sketch – black chalk and Indian ink.

278. One – the Pieta, a beautiful high-finished study, by Michael Angelo, for the picture by Sebastiano del Piombo for the church of St. Francis at Viterbo, black chalk, stumped – see Vasari, tom. 2, p. 345 – from the Spada collection at Rome.

279. Three – a sheet with two torsos, etc., free pen, and some of his writing, and two others by Salviati etc. after Michael Angelo, one in red, the other in black chalk.

III

Sale, London, 6–13 July 1807, 9 July (4th day); Thomas Philipe, Warwick Street, Golden Square, London.

MICHELANGELO

374. One – a study of three hands – masterly fine pen – PL (i.e., Sir Peter Lely).

375. One – Descent from the Cross, many figures – black chalk, stumped, fine, from Conde Geloso's Cabinet.

376. Two – a fight of cavaliers, black chalk and pen, CAPITAL; and a group of five figures, half length, pen and bistre, fine.

377. One – the Fall of the Giants, pen and bistre – CAPITAL – from K. Cha. I cabinet.

IV

Ottley Sale, 6 June 1814 and fifteen following days. Thomas Philipe, Warwick Street, Golden Square, London.

BUONARROTI OR BONARROTI

(In this sale, the drawings were divided into six groups, sold on different days.)

Third Day (p. 23)

253. One, an architectural design – a window, for the Lorenziana library, studies on the back in black chalk. From the Bonarroti collection at Florence.

£1.1.0

254. One, a ditto, ditto from the same collection.

£3.3.0

255. Two studies of heads etc. – red chalk.

£3.3.0

256. Four pen studies, on one sheet, from the Bonarroti collection. With specimens of his handwriting on the back of two.

£3.5.0

257. A man's head – black chalk.

£5.15.6 (also £5.5.0 in pencil in opposite margin)

258. Three – an eagle's wing – red chalk; an eagle – pen wash, and a study of eyes, etc., done when he was young – pen.

£1.1.0

259. One – a man's head, profile, black chalk.

£1.1.0

260. Two leaves of architectural designs, etc., from the Buonarroti Collection, one of them for the sacristy of St Lorenzo, the other for the cupola of St Peter's. A specimen of his handwriting on one.

£6.6.0

261. Two – an architectural design; and a pieta, both pen. His writing on the back of one.

£1.11.6

262. One – a study for the Prophet Isaiah, in the Capella Sistina – free pen and bistre. MOST CAPITAL – pen studies on the back.

263. One – a study for his picture of the Conversion of St Paul, in the Paoline Chapel, purchased of Signor Cavaceppi, formerly in the Cicciaporci collection – black chalk and bistre.

£5.5.0

264. One – a sheet with two leaves of his sketch book containing pen studies on both sides, for the vault of the Capella Sistina – most interesting. From the Buonarroti collection.

£5.5.0

265. One – a sheet with two ditto, for ditto, ditto

£5.5.0 (pencil annotation: Clark £10.0.0)

Seventh Day (p. 74)

823. Three, on one leaf, studies in black chalk – a figure on the back of one.

£6.0.0

824. One, of studies in black chalk for his composition of Christ praying in the garden – ditto.

£4.0.0

825. One, of studies for a pieta – black chalk. From the collection of the Cicciaporci family of Florence, to whom the contents of the three above lots formerly belonged,

mentioned in the preface to *Condivi*, Life of Michelangelo, published in 1746, page xviii. This collection was sold and dispersed about 1765, and with others purchased of the Cav. Cavaceppi, 1792–3, by their present proprietor.

£6.10.0

826. One – a *Pieta*, a study by M. Angelo, for the picture painted by Sebastiano del Piombo, in the church of St Francis, at Viterbo – black chalk. CAPITAL. See Vasari.

£11.0.0

827. One – a fine study for the upper part of the holy family, in the Palazzo Buonarroti at Florence – one of his last works – free pen and wash. Engraved in the *Etruria Pittrice*.

£5.0.0

828. One – the figure of Christ naked for the flagellation painted by Sebastiano del Piombo – black chalk, stumped and heightened – very fine. From the Ciciaporci collection.

£10.0.0

829. One – a woman with a child on her knee – the original design for one of the most celebrated groups in the vault of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican – black chalk on tinted paper, heightened. Engraved in Mr Ottley's *Italian School of Design*.

£12.12.0

Thirteenth Day (pp. 129–30)

1500. Two – a group in the Sistine Chapel, after Michael Angelo, one a damned head, both red chalk, stumped.

£0.5.0

1501. One – naked females sitting, one holding a child, in the same manner – very fine. From Lamberto Gori's collection at Florence.

£14.0.0

1502. One – the design for the figure of the Madonna in the Last Judgement – black chalk. CAPITAL. From the same collection.

£9.0.0

1503. One – the Virgin and Child with St. Elizabeth, sitting by, a prodigiously fine group, free pen and wash, heightened. MOST CAPITAL. From the same collection.

£17.5.0

1504. Two, on one leaf – three naked figures carrying a dead body – stumped – black chalk – fine; and two sketches of a figure for the last judgment – black chalk. From the Ciciaporci collection.

£5.7.6

Fourteenth Day (p. 137)

1586. One – a Madonna and child – fine pen – curious. One of Michel Angelo's earliest performances.

£0.10.6

1587. Two black chalk studies on one leaf – the Annunciation, with a specimen of his writing, from the Ciciaporci collection, and a dog lying in the midst of flames, an emblematic design. From the Buonarroti collection at Florence.

£10.10.0

1588. One – a leaf of pen studies – head of a warrior, etc., very fine. P. L. – in his early manner.

£9.15.0

1589. One – a leaf containing four designs – a pen sketch of a draped figure turning over the leaves of a book from nature, which appears to have given him the idea for his *SYBIL ERITHRAEA* in the Sistine chapel, and three small studies of heads, two of them in pen, the other black chalk, two sitting figures sketched from nature on the back – pen and wash.

£4.4.0

1590. One – a back figure, naked, a study for one of the devils in the Last Judgment – black chalk – very fine. From L. Gori's collection.

£5.10.0

1591. One – Christ on the cross, two angels lamenting on each side of him in the clouds – a highly finished design – black chalk. CAPITAL. Made by him for the Marchesa di Pescara (See Vasari) formerly in the King of Naples collection at Capo di Monti.

£6.16.6

1592. Two finely drawn male figures, standing, one of them a first thought for his colossal statue of David – mostly pen.

Fifteenth Day (p. 145)

1677. One, a dream of Michael Angelo, relating to the inquietudes which he suffered in the latter years of his life from those employed with him in the fabric of St Peter's – it is thus inscribed in his own hand: *Sogni fatti a di 16 di Aprile 1560 la notte della domenica seconda doppo pasqua* – six figures in spirited pen – very curious.

£?

1678. One – a sketch for his own monument; at the bottom the rivers Arno and Tyber, with the representations of the Lorenzian library and the church of St Peter's, his chief works in architecture; the compartment in the centre represents Michael Angelo, when a boy, received by the Arts into the Garden of Lorenzo de Medici, where he began by designing from the remains of ancient sculpture, on either side the guardian genius of Buonarroti triumphing over Envy and over Death; above his sarcophagus appears the figure of Fame sounding his praises, with three trumpets, as a sculptor, a painter and an architect – fine pen. MOST INTERESTING.

£6/0?..10.6

1679. Three, on one leaf – a first thought for the *Sybilla Lybica* in the Sistine Chapel – fine pen; a beautiful head, red

chalk on the back; and two pen sketches below – from the Buonarroti collection.

£10.10.0

1680. One – a design of horses, etc. – free pen – a first thought on the back, for the statue of Christ in the Minerva – red chalk – very fine.

£5.15.6

1681. One – a man on horseback defending himself – fine pen – intended perhaps for the cartoon of Pisa; – another horse in black chalk – from the Buonarroti collection – most spirited.

£5.10.0

1682. One – two draped figures, standing, bold pen – engraved in Mr. Ottley's work – a head in profile, full of character, on the back.

£35.0.0

Sixteenth Day (pp. 152–3)

1758. One – masterly pen studies of horses; one a skirmish intended probably for the cartoon of Pisa – one of Michel Angelo's sonnets in his own handwriting on the back. From the Buonarroti collection.

£23.2.0

1759. One – a masterly pen sketch for a battle or skirmish, intended perhaps for the same cartoon – very fine.

£9.9.0

1760. One – a leaf of masterly sketches in red chalk; Hercules and Antaeus, etc. on both sides with one of his poems autograph. MOST INTERESTING. This poem is copied in facsimile in Mr Duppa's *Life of Michael Angelo*.

£33.12.0

1761. One – a design for two groups of the Capella Sistina – Charity etc. – a sketch of an arm on the back – black chalk. CAPITAL. From the collection of Lamberto Gori.

£17.17.0

1762. The poems of MICHEL ANGELO, the first edition, published by his nephew and printed by the GIUNTI in 1623, in sheets, complete and never stitched. From the Buonarroti family – unique.

£6.6.0

1763. One – a study for the head of St Bartholomew, in the last judgment, larger than life, black chalk; various studies, black and red chalk on the back. MOST CAPITAL.

£42.0.0

1764. One, descent from the cross – black chalk, stumped – CAPITAL. From the collection of Conde Geloso.

£5.15.6

1765. One – the fall of Phaeton, in the same manner, made in 1559 for his friend Tomaso Cavalieri CAPITAL. The collec-

tion of Lamberto Gori. See Mem in Michel Angelo's own hand-writing on the back

£19.10.0

1766. One – three figures in conversation – masterly pen – R. The original from which Baptista Franco made the copy, engraved in Mr Rogers's work. R. CAPITAL. See note on the back.

£20.0.0.

1767. THE FAMOUS DREAM OF MICHAEL ANGELO, black chalk, exquisitely finished – MOST CAPITAL. It differs in some respects from the prints engraved from it.

£60.0.0

1768. One – a sketch of the group of the “the martyrs” and “the seven mortal sins” in the last judgment, but very different from the finished picture – two fine heads and other sketches on the back – black chalk. CAPITAL. From the Ciciaporci collection, engraved in Mr. Ottley's work.

£54.12.0

1769. One – a bust of Cleopatra – a highly finished and capital design – black chalk. Also engraved in Mr. Ottley's work.

£12.12.0

... The designs, therefore, which he had at different periods made for his friends, especially Tommaso Cavalieri, and the Marchesa di Pescara and those he had left in Florence were, perhaps, the only ones which escaped. Many of his sketches were till lately preserved in his house, still belonging to the Family at Florence. The Ciciaporci family, as is mentioned by Baldinucci, had others. A large proportion of those contained in the present catalogue are from the above collections.

COMMENTARY

I

T. Philipe and Co., London. 14 April 1803 and seven days following, except Sunday.

In this sale, ten lots (excluding lot 587) were classed as by Michelangelo. They comprised twenty-one drawings of which seventeen were claimed to be autograph. Identifications can be proposed for only three drawings, that in lot 26 and two of the four in lot 27.

No Italian provenances are recorded. Drawings are listed as from Sir Peter Lely (lot 22), Thomas Hudson (lot 23), and no doubt Jonathan Richardson the Elder and Sir Joshua Reynolds (lot 27).

It is unlikely that this sale contained any autograph drawings by Michelangelo.

18 i,ii. Unidentified.

19 i,ii,iii. Unidentified.

20 i,ii,iii,iv. Unidentified.

21 i. Unidentified.

ii. Perhaps acquired by William Roscoe and in his sale September 1816, as part of lot 65: "a Group intended for the Compartment of the Deluge, in the Cieling [sic] of the Capella Sistina. Pen and bistre, heightened. Size 11 h 8 w. From the Collection of P. H. Lanckinck," bought Heber 15s. Untraced.

22. 1807-277?

23. Unidentified.

24 i,ii. Unidentified.

25. Unidentified.

26. This may be the copy of the portrait drawing of Andrea Quaratesi in Rotterdam, the Boymans Museum, Inv. I 174, black chalk, H.o,462; L.o,362. In the Boymans Museum it is given to Jacopo Vignali, but it is probably by Carlo Dolci, like the Louvre copy. Although this drawing's certain provenance is Sir Joshua Reynolds, Thomas Banks, and Sir Edward John Poynter, Ottley might well have owned it between Reynolds and Banks.

27 i,ii,iii,iv. The two studies ascribed to KENT may be identical with two drawings now in the Ashmolean Museum:

i. 1842-62/R.86/P.II 82/Cat. 113.

ii. 1842-74/1846-49/R.66/P.II 373/Cat. 70.

It is uncertain whether the Kent referred to is the architect and painter William Kent (1685-1748) or the dealer of the same name, documented as active in Florence and Rome in 1758-1760, where he acquired both paintings and drawings. Reynolds owned yet another drawing that he believed to be by Michelangelo and which he annotated: "Study for restoring the torso"; this is now in the British Museum, W104.

587. Unidentified.

II

Capital Collection of Drawings of the Great Masters of all the Schools. 11 April 1804 and three days following.

The section of this sale that interests us contained sixteen lots comprising sixty-two drawings, sixty of which are attributed to Michelangelo; some fourteen of these seem to be identifiable with varying degrees of security (see lots 264, 266, 267, 268, 269, 272, 274). It is uncertain whether the drawings stated as coming from the Buonarroti Collection (lots 265 [three drawings], 268 [two or ten? drawings], 270 [five drawings], 273 [three drawings], 274 [two drawings], 275 [two drawings]) comprise an overall total of seventeen or twenty-five drawings since the general description of the ten drawings in lot 268 seems so close to the description of those in lot 267, which came from the Martelli Collection, that it

may be that only two drawings, the "monstrous animal," and the "leg and thigh" in that lot came from Casa Buonarroti. In 1814, Ottley explicitly included drawings originating from different collections in the same lot, and he may already have done so in 1804. He presumably mounted or re-mounted together compatible drawings that he had acquired from different sources.

Four lots (266 [containing six drawings], 267 [containing nine drawings], 269 [containing four drawings], 271 [containing nine drawings]) comprise a total of twenty-eight drawings of which twenty-seven are listed as coming from the Martelli Collection, but if eight of the ten included in lot 268 also came from the Martelli, then the total from that source would rise to thirty-five. One drawing (lot 276) came from Count "Geloso," that is Count Genovesino, and another one came from Sir Peter Lely (lot 272).

MICHAEL ANGELO

264. 1842-61/R.85/P.II 371 (all give the provenance solely as Ottley)/Cat. 108.

265 i,ii,iii. It may be that this lot is identical with 1814-260, which should be seen for further details.

266 i,ii,iii,iv,v,vi. Not securely identified. Perhaps the two drawings in 1814-255 came from this group. A drawing sold at Sotheby's London, 11 June 1981, lot 239, red chalk, 130 × 65 mm, as ascribed to Michelangelo, and from the collections of William Young Ottley and Thomas Banks may also have come from this group: It represents a young man in left profile and bears a No. 32 whose form indicates a provenance from a Florentine collection. A group of drawings by Antonio Gabbiani (1652-1726), whose members bear the same type of numbering, was owned by Wicar and is now in Lille. This numbering, which presumably post-dates Gabbiani's death, was tentatively identified by Pouncey and Gere, 1962, p. 129, no. 224 as that of Lamberto Gori, but it seems much more probable that it is that of the Martelli Collection. A sheet of red chalk sketches in the Prado, FD2522/Inv. D-1736, bearing the "Martelli" number 79, containing further sketches of profiles, a left eye, and a schematic bending skeleton, may have been part of this Michelangelesque group. For this sheet, and the others in the Prado that are discussed later, see Turner and Joannides, 2003.

267 i,ii,iii,iv,v,vi,vii,viii,ix. Not securely identified. A red chalk drawing in the Prado (FD 2335/Inv. D-1738) containing three studies of a right leg, which appears to be a copy of a lost sheet or sheets by Michelangelo of the early 1520s, may have been part of this lot. This also once bore a "Martelli" number of the type discussed in the commentaries to lots 266 and 268, but it has been erased so thoroughly that no more than a trace now remains.

268 i,ii,iii,iv,v,vi,vii,viii,ix,x. The “monstrous animal” is probably BM W50, whose earliest provenance is given by Wilde as H. Wellesley; a less likely alternative is 1842-75/1846-52/R.53a/P. II 320/Cat. 36. The “leg and thigh, in black chalk” probably refers to the sheet of which it is noted “on the back of one are some verses autograph of this great artist” because the description fits very neatly a sheet now in the British Library (Department of Manuscripts Add. Ms. 21907, fol. 1/Corpus 217; black chalk and pen and ink, 150 × 185 mm), which has a study of a leg and thigh for the New Sacristy *Day* on the verso and a sonnet by Michelangelo on the recto. This sheet (which Hugo Chapman kindly drew to the compiler’s attention) is on an Ottley mount and it was acquired by the British Museum from the sale of the poet Samuel Rogers, Christie’s, London, 28 April 1856, etc., as part of lot 1212, a group of eight drawings listed under the name of Fuseli (this information comes from an annotated copy of the Samuel Rogers sale catalogue, preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum). The sheet may have been bought by Fuseli in 1804 and subsequently acquired by Samuel Rogers, who would obviously have been interested in owning a poem by Michelangelo. The poem on the sheet was thought to be more significant than the drawing, so it was allocated to the Department of Manuscripts and is now part of the collections of the British Library rather than the British Museum; it was not included in Wilde’s catalogue of 1953.

If the other drawings in lot 268 came from the Martelli Collection rather than Casa Buonarroti, then two autograph black chalk sketches by Michelangelo that entered the Prado in 1930 may have formed part of it. One of these (FD2515/Inv. 1732) is a loose study of a right arm; the other (FD2464/Inv. 1733) prepares the right shoulder, upper arm and part of the torso of the devil carrying a woman from the *Last Judgement*. They bear respectively the “Martelli” numbers 2 and 28.

269 i,ii,iii,iv. The “three profile heads... in red chalk” may be identical with a sheet in the Prado by an associate of Michelangelo (FD53/Inv. D-1737); it bears the “Martelli” number 3. A further drawing of a profile, the now unlocated drawing 1836-18, reproduced by Woodburn, 1853, no. 27, may have been made by the same hand; however, it did not bear a Martelli number and had a provenance from the Duke of Modena, so it must have been separated from the others at least by the mid-seventeenth century.

270 i,ii,iii,iv,v. Unidentified. It may be that four of the five drawings in this lot re-appeared as 1814-256.

271. Unidentified.

272. This drawing reappeared as 1814-1588. It is probably identical with a drawing by Michelangelo, now in Hamburg (Inv. 21094/Corpus 35), bearing Sir Peter Lely’s stamp and

with a provenance from William Esdaile, who no doubt acquired it at the 1814 sale.

273 i,ii,iii. 1814-823 i,ii,iii, but it must be assumed that the change of provenance between the two sales was the result of an error either in 1804 or in 1814. The probability that Cat. 51 was copied by Andrea Commodi would support a provenance for that drawing, and presumably the other two on the same mounting, from Casa Buonarroti, as stated in 1804. 1814-823 was acquired by William Roscoe; it reappeared at his sale of September 1816 as lot 59: “Three, Studies of a Figure, in black chalk; another figure on the reverse of one of them. From the same Collection” (as the previous lot, i.e., Mr. Ottley’s). It was acquired by Watson, a pseudonym of the London bookseller William Carey, for 15 s. and presumably later entered Lawrence’s collection, 1830-Unidentified. By 1842, these three fragments had been combined with two others (P.II 368, 377/Cats. 101, 73) to make a mounting of five sheets: 1842-35/1846-40/R.60 (1,2,3)/P.II 334, 335, 336 (all these catalogues give the provenance as Buonarroti, Wicar and Lawrence)/Cats. 53, 51, 52.

274. No single drawing answers this description, nor any mounting that can now confidently be reconstructed. But it seems probable that this lot was a mounting of two black chalk drawings subsequently disassembled and re-mounted by Ottley. If this is correct then:

i. The “studies of attitudes” may be 1842-54/R.67/P.II 329 (all of which omit Cicciaporci)/Cat. 41.

ii. The *Annunciation* probably reappeared as one of the two sheets in 1814-1587. In the entry for 1814-1587, the provenance of the *Annunciation* is given as Cicciaporci whereas its new companion is given as Buonarroti/1842-28/1846-32/R.74/P.II 345 (all of which give the provenance as Buonarroti, Wicar, and Lawrence, omitting Cicciaporci and Ottley)/Cat. 50.

275 i,ii. This mounting of two drawings reappeared as 1814-1504.

i. 1814-1504 ii (as from the Cicciaporci Collection)/Part of 1831-81 i,ii,iii/1836-82 i,ii,iii/1842-64 i,ii,iii/1846-65 i,ii,iii/R.70(3)/P.II 338 (Cicciaporci omitted from the provenance)/Cat. 45.

ii. 1814-1504 i (as from the Cicciaporci Collection)/Part of 1831-81 i,ii,iii/1836-82 i,ii,iii/1842-64 i,ii,iii/1846-65 i,ii,iii/R.70(1)/P.II 339 (Cicciaporci omitted from the provenance)/Cat. 48. See 1814-825 for further details.

276. Given the provenance, it would be natural to suppose that this sheet reappeared as 1807-375 (and subsequently), but the description of that lot is so different as to undermine this supposition.

277. 1803-22? Not further identified.

278. 1814-826. Probably not part of 1830-5. Not otherwise identified.

279 i,ii,iii.

i. Perhaps identical with 1842-2/R.21/P.II 292 (all of which give the provenance as Wicar and Lawrence, omitting Ottley)/Cat. 2.

ii. Richardson/Sir J. Reynolds/1830-143i/Woodburn's seventh exhibition as Andrea Del Sarto, no. 79/1860-827, bought Morant, £5.5s./The Marquess of Northampton, Castle Ashby, Northampton; his sale at Christie's London, 1 May 1959, lot 6, the commentary to which concluded that the drawing was closer to Bandinelli than Sarto/P.&D. Colnaghi, London/ N. Embiricos, London/Christie's, New York, 24 January 2001, lot 8, as Salviati, 2003 with Jean-Luc Baroni, London; red chalk, 422 × 211 mm.

iii. Probably Richardson/Sir J. Reynolds?/1830-143ii/1860-830ii as Andrea Del Sarto, bought Sir Robert Ker £1.10s./By descent to Admiral Sir George King-Hall, 1930, when recorded by A. E. Popham as "Identical with a copy after the Soldier dressing himself, the same figure copied by Agostino Veneziano, black chalk, 372 × 218 mm, with a provenance from Sir Joshua Reynolds and Sir Thomas Lawrence"/By descent to Mrs B. McLeod; sale property of the late Richard Ker, Sotheby's, London, 27 October, 1948, lot 67 "Follower of Michelangelo. A Soldier fastening his belt seen from the back . . . 14³/₈ × 8¹/₂," bought de Belle-roche, £36/Untraced.

III

Sale, London, 6-13 July 1807, by Thomas Philipe (815 + 5 lots), 104 pp., 9 July (4th day).

MICHELANGELO

Four lots comprising five drawings. One drawing each from the collection of Sir Peter Lely (lot 374), Count Geloso [i.e., Genovesino] (lot 375) and Charles I (but in fact Nicholas Lanier). Nothing is listed as coming from the Buonarroti Collection, but it may be that lot 376 did come from that source. None of these drawings is certainly identifiable but plausible identifications may be proposed for lots 374 and 376(i) and a possible one for lot 377.

374. Probably 1830-31/1836-10/1842-85/R.4/P.II 452/Cat. 114, now universally accepted as by Bartolommeo Passerotti. The obstacles to accepting the identity of Cat. 114 and this lot are the absence of Sir Peter Lely's mark and the fact that in 1836 and subsequently, the provenance of Cat. 114 is given as Buonarroti and Wicar, with no mention of Sir Peter Lely or Ottley. However, that a drawing by Passerotti should have come from Casa Buonarroti is unlikely. And because the PL stamp was usually applied to the bottom corner of a drawing, it can easily be lost in later trimming. On balance, it is more likely than not that lot 374 is identical with Cat. 114.

375. 1814-1764, bought by Dimsdale?/1830-Not identified/Not exhibited in 1836/August 1838 purchase of William II of Holland?/1850-150, bought Brondgeest, 60 guilders/1860-118, bought Enson, £8.18s.6d /Not further identified; untraced. See 1860-118 for further details.

376 i,ii.

i. The "fight of cavaliers" may be identical with 1814-1681 (the provenance is given as Buonarroti) and, subsequently, with 1830-112/1842-67/1846-18/R.17/P.II 295 (all of which give the provenance as Wicar and Lawrence, omitting Ottley)/Cat. 6. A less likely possibility is BM W3, whose provenance, from the Lempereur Collection, would probably not have been confused with one from Casa Buonarroti.

ii. Perhaps identical with 1814-827, no doubt a copy. Not otherwise identified.

377. The compiler is aware of two possible candidates for this drawing:

1. The page of copies after Michelangelo, 1842-19/1846-38/R.15/P.II 346/Cat. 59, the only drawing in the Michelangelo series in the Ashmolean to bear the mark of Nicholas Lanier, thought in the early nineteenth century to be that of Charles I. Against this, however, is that the description does not seem particularly appropriate.

2. The "Battle of Giants" sold at Christie's, London, 1 July 1986, lot 40 as by an Associate of Michelangelo, pen and ink, 432 × 287 mm, from the collections of Sir Joshua Reynolds (L.2364), John Bowring, W. Russell (L.2648), sold at Christie's, London, 11 December 1884, lot 286 as "Michelangelo – A Battle of Giants," 12 s. to Haig. Against this are the facts that the Lanier stamp is not to be found on the drawing – although it has been trimmed at the lower edge – and that Reynolds is not mentioned in the provenance of 377.

IV

Ottley sale, 6 June 1814 and fifteen following days.

BUONARROTI OR BONARROTI

(In this sale, the drawings were divided into six groups, sold on different days.)

Third Day (p. 23)

253. 1830-94/1836-49/1842-42/1846-12/R.80/P.II 332 (all of which include Wicar in the provenance but omit Ottley)/Cat. 56.

254. 1830-66/1836-1/1842-43/1846-11/R.81/P.II 333 (all of which include Wicar in the provenance but omit Ottley)/Cat. 55.

255 i,ii. Unidentified. Perhaps part of 1804-266.

256 i,ii,iii,iv. Unidentified. Perhaps this is 1804–270 minus one drawing.

257. 1830–85/1836–7/1842–58/1846–26/R.75/P.II 337 (all of which include Casa Buonarroti and Wicar in the provenance but omit Ottley)/Cat. 44.

258 i,ii,iii. Unidentified.

259. 1830–27?/1836–90/1838–54/1850–134/bought by Roos/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection Private Collection, Switzerland/Phillips, London, 11 December 1996, lot 239, as follower of Daniele da Volterra, black chalk, 192 × 147 mm. See 1830–27 for further details.

260 i,ii. Perhaps 1804–265 i,ii,iii.

It seems likely that the two leaves specified in this lot in fact comprised three drawings.

Leaf 1

i. 1860–149/Philipps-Fenwick/BM W38 (provenance given by Wilde as Lawrence and Woodburn with Ottley omitted).

ii. 1860–149/Philipps-Fenwick/BM W84 (provenance given by Wilde as Lawrence and Woodburn with Ottley omitted).

These two drawings were mounted together when they entered the British Museum with the Philipps-Fenwick Collection in 1946 and were later separated.

Leaf 2

iii. 1842–56/R.82/P.II 344 (provenance given as Wicar and Lawrence with Ottley omitted)/Cat. 54.

261 i,ii.

i. Probably identifiable with 1842–72/R.48.2/P.II, 312/Cat. 19.

ii. Probably identifiable with 1842–72/R.48.1/P.II, 378*/Cat. 75.

All these catalogues include Casa Buonarroti, Wicar, and Ottley in the provenance. The main obstacle to this identification is that 1842–72 contained three drawings on one mount rather than two (the third being P.II 313/Cat. 3). This might be accounted for either by a post-1814 remounting to include a third scrap, or by a misdescription of the present lot.

262. Bought by William Roscoe, for £21.00 according to an annotation in the sale catalogue; not in Roscoe's sale; presumably acquired either directly or indirectly from Roscoe by Lawrence; 1830–52/1836–63/1838–34/1850–154, misdescribed/1860–136, presented by Vaughan to the BM, W29. According to Ottley, 1811–23, p. 32, this drawing (reproduced on the facing page in an etching by G. Lewis dated 1 August 1809) came from the Ciciaporci Collection

via Cavaceppi, and this provenance was repeated in 1836–63 and subsequently. See 1850–154 for further details.

263. 1830–Unidentified/1836–53/1842–45 (wrongly identified as the *Battle of Cascina*)/1846–41 (subject wrongly identified)/R.78 (subject correctly identified)/P.II 369/(all of which include Wicar in the provenance but omit Ottley. This was presumably an error by Woodburn; a Ciciaporci provenance is much more plausible than a Buonarroti provenance for this drawing.)/Cat. 103.

264 i,ii. No doubt half of 1830–61/1836–2/1842–47/R.24/P.II 299–302/Cat. 9–12.

265 i,ii. No doubt half of 1830–61/1836–2/1842–47/R.24/P.II 299–302/Cat. 9–12.

These two lots (i.e., 264 and 265) are described as bearing two double-sided sheets per mounting. It seems clear that they were combined, or rejoined, in Lawrence's collection to form a mounting of four double-sided sheets. The other four sheets of *conetti* for the Sistine ceiling (Cats. 13–16) do not seem to have been owned by Ottley and came to Lawrence's collection via Wicar and Woodburn.

Seventh Day (p. 74)

823 i,ii,iii. Probably 1804–273 i,ii,iii. Bought by William Roscoe, his sale of September 1816, lot 59/Bought by Watson, a pseudonym of the London bookseller William Carey, for 15 s/Sir Thomas Lawrence 1830–unidentified/1842–35 (combined with two other fragments, P.II 368, 377/Cats. 101 and 73, to make a mounting of five sheets/1846–40/R.60 (1,2,3)/P.II 334, 335, 336 (all these catalogues give the provenance as Buonarroti, Wicar, and Lawrence, the Ciciaporci-Cavaceppi provenance omitted)/Cats. 53, 51, 52. See 1804–273 for further details.

824. Part of 1830–81 i,ii,iii/1836–82 i,ii,iii/1842–64 i,ii,iii/1846–35 i,ii,iii/R.70 (2)/P.II 340 (all of which give the provenance solely as Ottley; the Ciciaporci-Cavaceppi provenance omitted)/Cat. 47.

825. Part of 1830–81 i,ii,iii/1836–82 i,ii,iii/1842–64 i,ii,iii/1846–35 i,ii,iii/R.70 (1)/P.II 339 (all of which give the provenance solely as Ottley; the Ciciaporci-Cavaceppi provenance omitted)/Cat. 48.

Lots 824 and 825 present a problem that needs to be considered in relation to lot 1814–1504. It would seem, from Woodburn's description of his exhibit 1836–82, which contained three leaves, that all four drawings (i.e., 1814–824, 1814–825, and the two drawings comprised in 1814–1504), were mounted on these three leaves. This remounting was presumably done by Lawrence since the brief description provided in 1830–81 seems to tally with that provided in 1836–82. There would, of course, be nothing unusual in three mountings carrying four drawings but against this in the present case is that the number of individual drawings as

described in 1836–82 would appear to total only three, and this figure is confirmed by 1842–64 and all subsequent catalogues. The difficulty therefore is to explain how four drawings in Ottley's collection (1814–824, 1814–825, 1814–1504 i, ii) could have become three drawings by 1830. This might be resolved by the conjecture that the two drawings connected with a *Pietà* (1814–825, 1814–1504i) were in fact fragments of the same sheet (Cat. 48), and that this was appreciated by Lawrence who rejoined them.

826. 1803–278. Probably not part of 1830–5. Not otherwise identified.

827. Perhaps identical with 1807–376 ii. Bought by William Roscoe, it was in his September 1816 sale as lot 68: "One, a Sketch for the upper part of the Picture of the Holy Family, in the Palazzo Buonarroti at Florence, one of his last works. Free pen and wash. Size 4 1/2 h. 6 w. The whole composition is engraved in the Etruria Pittrice, and the Print accompanies the Drawing. From Mr. Ottley's Collection." Bought by Watson (i.e., the London bookseller William Carey) £1.6.0. . . . Not subsequently identified.

828. Probably 1830–71/1836–51 (with the provenance given as Richardson)/1838–26/1850–179 bought Roos/ Leembruggen Sale, Amsterdam, 1866, lot 894/Malcolm 366/ BM PG 276.

829. 1830–57/1836–68/1842–34/1846–43/R.28/P.II 361/Cat. 91.

Thirteenth Day (pp. 129–30)

1500 i,ii. Unidentified. Presumably both were copied after the *Last Judgement*.

1501. Unidentified. It can be no more than conjectural but from the description this might have been a red chalk copy after Michelangelo's pen drawing Louvre 689/J12 verso.

1502. Conjecturally part of 1830–139/1836–98 (with the provenance given incorrectly as Buonarroti and Wicar, that from Gori omitted)/1838–57/1850–148 bought Brondgeest/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection/Phillips, London, 7 July 1999, lot 119, black chalk, 393 × 229 mm, as circle of Daniele da Volterra. See 1850–148 for further details.

1503. Probably 1830–123, as Battista Franco.

The price realised indicates the high quality of the drawing; nonetheless, it is probable that it was not an autograph Michelangelo, but the highly Michelangelesque drawing by Battista Franco, now in the British Museum (1895–9–15–855/GP 133; 241 × 205 mm, pen and ink heightened with white body-colour; the provenance given solely as Lawrence), in which staging and technique correspond.

1504 i,ii.

i. 1804–275 ii (where said to be from the Buonarroti Collection)/Part of 1831–81 i,ii,iii/1836–82 i,ii,iii/1842–64/1846–35 i,ii,iii/R.70 (3)/P.II 338 (all of which give the provenance as Ottley and Lawrence, that from Cicciaporci being omitted)/Cat. 45.

ii. 1804–275 i (where said to be from the Buonarroti Collection)/1836–82 i,ii,iii/1842–64 i,ii,iii/1846–35 i,ii,iii/R.70 (2) /P.II 339 (all of which give the provenance as Ottley and Lawrence, that from Cicciaporci being omitted)/Cat. 48.

For discussion of the complex issue raised by this lot and its probable combination with 1814–824 and 1814–825 see 1814–825.

It is quite understandable that P.II 338/Cat. 45 was thought by Ottley to be a sketch for the *Last Judgement*, since the figure is close in pose to one in that fresco, but it is in fact a sketch for Daniele da Volterra's *St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness*.

Fourteenth Day (p. 137)

1586. Unidentified. The low price suggests that this was not an autograph drawing.

1587 i,ii.

i. Probably identical with 1804–274 ii/then 1830–108 i/1842–28/1846–32/R.74/P.II 345 (all of which give the provenance as Buonarroti, Wicar, and Lawrence, Cicciaporci and Ottley omitted)/Cat. 50.

ii. 1830–108 ii/1842–75/1846–52/R.53 (1)/P.II 320 (all of which give the provenance solely as Ottley and Lawrence, Buonarroti and Ottley omitted)/Cat. 36.

1588. Probably identical with 1804–272; and with Michelangelo's drawing in Hamburg (Inv. 21094/Corpus 35), which bears Sir Peter Lely's stamp and has a provenance from William Esdaile, who probably acquired this lot.

1589. Bought by William Roscoe, in his sale September 1816, lot 69: "One, Design of a Draped figure of a Prophet sitting and turning over the Leaves of a Book, which was afterwards adapted to a female character in the Sybilla Erythraea in the Capella Sistina; a sketch with a free pen, remarkable for its simplicity and grandeur. *Size*, 11 1/2 h. 9 w. REVERSE, two Sitting Figures finely draped. Pen and washed. From the same Collection" (i.e., Mr. Ottley's). Not traced subsequently.

1590. The identification of this drawing is uncertain. If a good copy (as the price realised would suggest), it might be the – misidentified – drawing 1842–1/1846–46 /R.63/P.II 367 (in all these catalogues the provenance is given solely as Ottley, with no mention of Gori)/Cat. 100.

1591. 1830–21 ii, as by Giulio Clovio/1842–24/1846–33/R.73/ P.II 352 (in all these the provenance is given solely as Wicar and Lawrence, with Ottley omitted)/Cat. 67.

It is virtually certain that Ottley was mistaken in believing that the drawing that he owned was Michelangelo's original and mistaken also in thinking that it came from the King of Naples (unless the king also owned a duplicate). Furthermore, the price realised by the present drawing is very low for an original. The true *Christ on the Cross* was priced in the 1836 exhibition (1836–22) at £367, 10 shillings; in addition, the 1836 catalogue does not include Ottley in the provenance of the *Christ on the Cross*, whereas his name is included in that of the *Return from the Flight into Egypt* [1836–71/Cat. 21], which also came from the King of Naples. It is not certain that Ottley possessed Cat. 67 (rather than one of the other known copies), but it seems probable.

The history of Michelangelo's original *Christ on the Cross*, made for Vittoria Colonna and now in the British Museum seems to be: The King of Naples/Julien de Parme, his sale 21 and 22 February 1794, lot 21/Louis-Charles Brunet (1746–1825), the brother-in-law of Dominique-Vivant Denon, by whom he was presumably advised on his purchases/Woodburn/1830–21/1836–22, 1838–8/1850–105/1860–114/Bought Enson/ Brooks/Malcolm 67/BM W67.

1592. Unidentified.

Fifteenth Day (p. 145)

1677. Acquired by William Roscoe. In his sale September 1816, lot 78: "A Dream of Michelangelo, expressive of his resentment against the persons employed under him in building the Church of St. Peter's. A figure (marked *Gio. Scultore*) representing his own Portrait, is seen issuing, in great wrath from an Arcade; and five naked Figures, pursued by Serpents, are making their escape by different ways. At the bottom is written, in his own hand, '*Sognio fatto adi 16 di Aprile 1560, la notte della domenica seconda dopo pasqua*'. Spirited pen, VERY CURIOUS. 7h. 9.w. From Mr Ottley's collection." Bought Watson – i.e., the London bookseller William Carey – £2.4.0. This drawing may in fact have been bought in with Carey acting on Roscoe's behalf since it is the subject of a letter from Roscoe to Sir Thomas Lawrence of 1824, in which he insists, against Lawrence's better judgement, that it is by Michelangelo. It must, nevertheless, have been acquired by Lawrence since it appears in Woodburn's posthumous sale of drawings from the Lawrence collection, 1860, lot 978/Sir Thomas Phillipps/Phillipps-Fenwick/BM GP95, as by Giovanni Antonio Dosio. It is notable that the transcription of the inscription given in 1814–1677 and 1816–78 is incorrect: the date reads 1564.

1678. Acquired by William Roscoe; his sale September 1816, lot. 79: "A Design from the Collection of Mr. Ottley . . . (entry quoted). v. *Mr. Ottley's Catalogue No. 1678*. 9 h. 6w.; Notwithstanding the authority of so distinguished a judge of works of art, it is presumed that this Drawing is not by Michelangelo, but is the design for the principal front of the Catafalco, erected in the Church of San Lorenzo in Florence on the occasion of his funeral, which was attended by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and of which a very particular account is given by Vasari in his Life of Michelangelo; from which it appears, that all the principal artists of Florence united in honouring his memory, by erecting this immense, though temporary, structure; and in particular that the figure of the Tiber was executed in imitation of a Statue of Marble by *Giovanni Castello*, and that of the Arno by *Battista di Benedetto*; that the representation of Lorenzo de' Medici introducing Michelangelo when young into the Garden of the Medici, was painted in Chiaro Scuro by *Mirabello* and *Girolamo del Crocifissajo*; and that the figure of fame at the top was executed larger than life, by *Zanobi Lastricati*, the sculptor, who had the direction of the whole, and who, it is not improbable, was the designer of the present sketch. It further appears from Vasari, that the Catafalco was only suffered to remain a few weeks after the funeral, for the inspection of the public; so that this drawing is now probably the only remaining representation of a work intended to confer the highest honours on Michelangelo, and which employed the talents of the first artists of the time." Bought Ford, £2.3.0. In 2002 in the S. Stock Collection, London, attributed to Vincenzo Borghini: see A. Boström, 2002–3, no. 134.

1679 i,ii,iii. Acquired by William Roscoe. In his sale September 1816, lot 71: "One, a Design for the SYBILLA LIBICA in the Capella Sistina; a most elegant figure; fine Pen Sketch. Size 10 h. 6 1/2 w. REVERSE, a head in red chalk. From the Bonarotti Collection; since Mr. Ottley's." Bought by Hall £1.3.0. It must be assumed that Roscoe re-mounted this, presumably the most significant of the three drawings in Ottley's lot 1679, and that the "two pen sketches" were either not offered in his sale, or were included in another lot. The single drawing of the trio described in sufficient detail to be recognisable is, no doubt, the double-sided sheet by Battista Franco in the British Museum, GP135, 243 × 163 mm, with a pen drawing of *Venus and Cupid* on the recto and a female head in red chalk on the verso. Its true authorship must have been realised after 1816, probably while it was in Lawrence's collection, and it was correctly attributed to Franco when it appeared as part of 1860–403. Acquired by Sir Thomas Phillipps for 13s, it entered the British Museum with the Phillipps-Fenwick Collection.

1680. Acquired by William Roscoe; his sale of September 1816, as lot 60, "One, a study of Horses &c. free pen. A Sketch on the back for the Statue of Christ in the Minerva.

Red chalk, very Fine. Size 11 h. 7 1/2 w. From the same Collection (i.e., Mr. Ottley's)." Bought by Walker 17 s. Subsequently 1830-78/1836-47/1842-46/R.20/P.II 405 (all of which give the provenance solely as Richardson, with Ottley and Roscoe omitted)/Cat. 77.

1681. 1807-376 i?/1830-112?/1842-67/1846-18/R.17 /P.II 295 (all these give the provenance solely as Wicar, with Ottley omitted)/Cat. 6.

1682. 1830-104/1836-91/1842-32/R.2/P.II 327 (all of which give the provenance solely as Ottley)/Cat. 24.

Sixteenth Day (pp. 152-3)

1758. 1830-99/1836-55/1842-30/R.18 (all of which give the provenance solely as Ottley)/P.II 293 (Buonarroti and Ottley included in the provenance)/Cat. 4.

1759. 1830-106/1842-10/1846-23/R.16 (all of which give the provenance solely as Ottley)/P.II 294 (Buonarroti and Ottley included in the provenance)/Cat. 5.

1760. 1830-Not identified/1842-9/R.45/P.II 317 (all of which give the provenance as Buonarroti, Wicar, and Lawrence with Ottley omitted)/Cat. 30.

1761. Bought by William Roscoe, his sale 1816, lot 66 "Two Designs on one sheet for Groups in the Capella Sistina. A Charity &c. Black chalk. CAPITAL. Size 11 h. 17 w. From the Collection of Lamberto Gori, afterwards Mr Ottley's"/Bought by Slater for £2.14.0. for Blundell/Ince-Blundell/Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, 1995.204; Brooke, 1998-9, p. 183.

1762. Unidentified.

1763. 1830-55/1836-74/1838-42/1850-107/1860-134/J. C. Robinson/Malcom 74/BM W57.

1764. Probably bought by Dimsdale. 1804-276?/1807-375/1830-Not identified/Not exhibited in 1836/August 1838 purchase of William II of Holland?/1850-150, bought Brondgeest, 60 guilders/1860-118, bought Enson,

£8.18s.6d/Not further identified; untraced. See 1860-118 for further details.

1765. This is the copy of Michelangelo's *Fall of Phaeton* in the Royal Collection, now in the Woodner Collection, ascribed by the compiler (Joannides, 1995-6, no. 54) to Alessandro Allori. This drawing does not now bear an inscription, but Allori was in Rome between 1555 and 1560 and during his sojourn made copies after most – perhaps all – of Tommaso Cavalieri's Michelangelo drawings. It seems likely that as well as the famous drawings of allegories and mythologies, Michelangelo also made for Cavalieri drawings of Christ's Resurrection, which were also copied by Allori. The Woodner drawing bears the date 1814 and the initials of William Esdaile, who no doubt acquired this lot. It later passed to Sir J. C. Robinson, who thought it an original.

1766. 1830-68 i/1836-52/1842-44/1846-8/R.1/P.II 326 (all with the provenance given as Richardson/Spencer/Ottley)/Cat. 33.

1767. 1830-8/1836-77 (with the provenance given as Buonarroti, Wicar, and Ottley)/1838-44/1850-125/Sachsen-Weimar Collection/Count Antoine Seilern/London, Courtauld Institute of Art, the Prince's Gate Collection.

1768. 1830-60/1836-84 (with the provenance given as Ciciaporci, Cavaceppi, and Ottley)/1838-49/1850-119/1860-125/E. Galichon, his sale, May 1875, lot 10/Malcolm 80/BM W60.

1769. The nature of the inscription on this drawing suggests that it formed part of the Ciciaporci-Cavaceppi group. 1830-111/1836-48 (the provenance given solely as Ottley)/1838-25/1850-168/1860-140 bought Gasc/Vaughan/BM W91. The compiler is inclined to think that this copy is early and that it might have been made by Bachiacca.

Forty-nine lots containing seventy separate drawings.

THE LAWRENCE COLLECTION OF DRAWINGS BY AND AFTER MICHELANGELO

TEXTS

A

Inventory of the Collection of drawings by Old Masters formed by Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A., drawn up while the collection was still in his house.

Transcribed by the Committee of the Burlington Fine Arts Club from a MS in the Library of the Club, 1927

1. Drawings Framed and Glazed, Cartoons, etc.

1. 9. M. Angelo. One of the figures in the Last Judgment.
2. 12. M. Angelo. A Grisaille in black and white in oil, female and two children &c.

2. Drawings Framed and Cartooned

3. 36. M. Angelo. A superb Cartoon representing the Holy Family in black Chalk, formerly in the collection of Lucien Bonaparte.

3. M. A. Buonaroti

Case 3, Drawer 3

4. 1. David, with some beautiful studies on the reverse, fine pen.
5. 2. Five drawings, one [published?] by Mr. Ottley for the celebrated Pieta at Viterbo.
6. 3. Head of a Man of a Saturnine expression, red chalk, very fine.
7. 4. Superb Head looking upwards, on the reverse a Whole Length of himself – pen, fine.
8. 5. A Magnificent Drawing representing The Dream of M. Angelo.
9. 6. A Curious leaf, on one side it is a portrait of M. Angelo.
10. 7. A Capital Study for one of the Sybils in which the drapery is highly finished.
11. 8. Study for the figure of our Lord in the Attitude of resurrection – black chalk.

12. 9. Study for Part of the Crucifixion, The Virgin fainting – red chalk.

13. 10. Profile in red chalk of a youth in a helmet, highly finished.

14. 11. A Design for the Figure of our Lord in the Resurrection.

15. 12. The celebrated Anatomical drawing in which the Candle is placed in the Body. Copied in D'Argencourt's work.

16. 13. A Magnificent Model of our Lord for the Pieta, black and white chalk, capital.

17. 14. Small subject highly finished for the Dream, black chalk with some of his writing.

18. 15. One of the Figures in the lower part of the Last Judgement, black chalk.

19. 16. A Magnificent Head of Satan, free pen, very fine.

20. 17. Our Lord Rising from the tomb, black chalk, very fine.

21. 18. The Celebrated Crucifixion with the Angels weeping, the Skull at the bottom together with a copy by Julio Clovio.

22. 19. A magnificent sheet of Sporting Boys etc. for a bacchanalian subject, free pen on both sides the paper.

23. 20. A magnificent drawing highly finished of the Last Judgement executed in bistre, a most capital work. Another similar.

24. 21. A Splendid Drawing of a repose in Egypt, on the back some sketches of Children – capital.

22. No drawing listed.

25. 23. Another Magnificent Sheet with a pen on both sides the paper – one of the tombs of the Medici.

26. 24. Samson and Delilah, in red chalk. A most splendid drawing. With a copy.

27. 25. Head of an Evangelist. Black chalk.

28. 26. Head in red chalk, great expression. Portrait of the Poet Ariosto, red chalk, mounted by Zuccherro.

Case 5, Drawer 2

- 29.** 27. Jupiter with a Young Mercury with Various studies on the back with the pen, very fine.
- 30.** 28. An Old Female whole length, pen, highly finished.

4. Michael Angelo Buonaroti**Case 1, Drawer 1****Case 2, Drawer 4**

- 31.** 29. Study of Figures and hand and heel on each side of the paper, free pen and vigorously executed. Capital.
- 32.** 30. Five Various from the Sistine Chapel. Sheet of Studies of Various and a small head.

Case 3, Drawer 3

- 33.** 31. The Pieta in black Chalk by Julio Clovio.
- 34.** 32. The Holy family which was engraved by Bonasone, highly finished in red Chalk, a superb drawing.
- 35.** 33. Design for a Chimera, bold pen, on the reverse is a singular and interesting lesson which M. Angelo has given to Andrea Mini with Autograph Observation.
- 36.** 34. The Study for the famous Lazarus in the National Gallery, red Chalk, very fine.
- 37.** 35. Magnificent study for the Adam, on the reverse is a head also in red Chalk.
- 38.** 36. The taking down from the Cross with several figures in red chalk, beautiful composition.
- 39.** 37. Portrait of the Marchioness of Pesceiri, on the reverse a study for a lesson.
- 40.** 38. The famous Pieta which is engraved by J. Bonasone, highly finished.
- 41.** 39. The Virgin, Child, and St John or a Charity in black chalk, full of expression and beauty.
- 42.** 40. Study in red chalk for the celebrated Lazarus with variations.
- 43.** 41. A study on blue paper for the same picture in which S. del Piombo has inserted the head of the Virgin.
- 44.** 42. A most capital study for the Lazarus as it was adopted in the celebrated picture. In red chalk.
- 45.** 43. Our Lord's resurrection with the Soldiers surrounding the tomb, black chalk, superb, with copy by Clovio.
- 46.** 44. Cartoon for one of the figures in the Last Judgement rising to life executed in black chalk.
- 47.** 45. Our Lord on the Cross with the Virgin and a Saint, black and white chalk. Capital.
- 48.** 46. Another design for the same work in which the figures are near the Cross.

49. 47. Our Lord on the Cross, a single figure very highly finished black chalk on brown tinted paper, a splendid Drawing.

50. Another design, smaller, in which two figures are introduced.

51. A female probably intended for a witch with a Boy, bold pen, with a copy.

52. A Magnificent study for the Prophet copied in Mr. Ottley's Work.

53. A very interesting sheet composed of Four Sheets from his Sketch Book containing studies for the Sistine Chapel.

54. A sheet of studies in Pen and red chalk, on the reverse studies of a Leg.

55. A Magnificent study size of Life for the Head of St. Bartholomew, very capital.

56. One of the Figures in the Last Judgement, black chalk.

57. A Woman playing with a Child on her Knees, Black chalk.

58. A Crowd of persons looking at the Brazen Serpent, highly finished in red chalk, two different studies on the same leaf, very fine.

59. A Female Head in profile and an Anatomical.

60. A Magnificent sheet of Studies for the last Judgement, black chalk, annotated in Mr. Ottley's.

61. A Sheet of Four leaves of his Sketch Book containing designs of the Sistine Chapel and some words written by himself.

62. Study in black chalk for one of the figures in the last Judgement, on the reverse study of Legs.

63. A Magnificent study of the Crucifixion of Haman in red chalk, highly finished, very fine.

5. M. Angelo**Case 3, Drawer 3**

64. Three designs for the Driving of Money changers out of the Temple for the Picture in the Possession of Messrs. Woodburn.

65. Study for one of the Figures in the Corner part of the Last Judgment, black chalk with studies on the back. Capital.

66. An Architectural study for a Window on the reverse studies for part of the Figure.

67. A sleeping Figure probably intended for Adam, a singular Female Figure on the back.

68. Two Figures conversing, pen, with a copy by B. Franco, very capital.

69. Study for the upper part of the Last Judgement, black chalk, capital.
 70. The Three Crosses, with a group of Figures below, red chalk, a most noble composition.
 71. The Study of Christ scourged in the Church of St. Peter in the Montorio, black chalk.
 72. Studies of Figures small – black chalk.
 73. Study design for the Christ in the Picture of the Samaritan Woman, black chalk highly finished.
 74. A Figure Slightly sketched, on the reverse a plan.
 75. One of the Sybils in the Sistine Chapel. Copy, beautiful.
 76. Model, in red chalk for the celebrated scourging of our Lord in St. Peters, Montorio, Rome.
 77. The Upper part Torso of a Male figure, black chalk.
 78. Various pen sketches among others a Horse, and some slight sketches on the back.
 79. Design for the Pieta, the Dead Christ on one side and the Virgin on the other, red chalk.
 80. Anatomical Studies on which he has written Undici d'Augusto.
 81. Three Sheets of small figures, groups &c., in black chalk on the same leaf.
 82. Two small red chalk Studies on the same sheet.
 83. A beautiful profile in red chalk of a young Man.
 84. A magnificent sheet of Studies with a pen on each side the paper. Among others, the Virgin and Child.
 85. A young Man's head slightly sketched in chalk, an anatomical ornament on the reverse.
 86. Three studies from the same Female Torso, pen.
 87. The Restoration of the Celebrated Torso with a curious account at the back, anoted in Rogers.
 88. Beautiful study of the Virgin in the Celebrated Picture of the Annunciation, black chalk.
 89. Another different for the same Picture in the same manner.
 90. Architectural studies for a House – pen.
 91. Anatomical Studies in red chalk.
 92. A pen study for the restitution of the Torso.
 93. A Group for the lower part of the Crucifixion, black Chalk.
 94. A Design for a Window with some plans on the back.
 95. An interesting leaf of Studies for St. Peters Church with an Autograph of M. Angelo.
 96. Anatomical Studies of Arms, Legs. etc.
 97. Study for one of the Figures in the Cartoon of Pisa with red chalk studies on the back.
 98. Study on the back of a Figure, on the reverse is the same in small, with more of the Composition.
 99. A very singular sheet being studies for part of a Horse etc., on the back is a Sonnet by M. Angelo.
 100. Sheet of Anatomical Studies on the reverse some ideas of figures for Dante, pen, very fine.
 101. Two, a Winged Cupid, black Chalk highly finished, and a small Architectural Design of the tomb of the Medici.
 102. A sheet of Studies for the David and Goliath, black chalk highly finished, fine.
 103. Architectural and other Studies – pen.
 104. Two Apostles largely Draped, on the reverse a Head full of expression, pen.
 105. The Virgin, Child and St. Elizabeth, on the reverse various interesting studies. Fine pen.
 106. An idea for the Fighting of the Standard differently composed to that of L. da Vinci.
 107. A Beautiful sheet on which is the study for the David treading on the Goliath.
 108. Two studies in black Chalk, one a head in a Helmet, the other a representation of a Dog.
 109. Three leaves from his Sketch Book with his hand writing.
 110. Study of the head of a Faun highly finished red chalk, on the reverse is a slight sketch and his writing.
 111. The Head of Cleopatra, very highly finished in black chalk. Capital.
 112. Sketches for the Battle of the Standard.
 113. Study in black chalk for the Annunciation.
 114. Profile of a Warrior in a Rich helmet with a magnificent Dress, highly finished black chalk, superb.
 115. The Delphic Sybil, both [bold?] pen, very fine.
 116. A Magnificent sheet of studies for the famous Cartoon of Pisa, on the one side pen bistre heightened with white on the reverse red chalk.
 117. A splendid high finished Drawing in black chalk of the fall of Phaeton with MS account.
 118. Head of one of the Apostles, black chalk, on reverse some other sketches.
- Case 7, Drawer 3**
119. Study of Part of the Last Judgment, black chalk.
 120. The Almighty with Angels, Modern.

121. Portrait of the Angel [Michelangelo?] by Passarotti, pen.

II. Julio Clovio

Case 5, Drawer 2

122. Two in black Chalk from M. Angelo, one a Crucifixion.

26. B. Franco

Case 5, Drawer 3

123. A Woman with a Child &c. fine pen and wash, probably from M. Angelo.

52. P. P. Rubens

Case 7, Drawer 2

124. 6. Two leaves pasted together from the celebrated Last Judgment of M. Angelo.

56. P. P. Rubens

Case 5, Drawer 1

125. 22.27. Ganymede from a superb Drawing of M. Angelo.

59. F. Parmiggiano

Case 1, Drawer 2

126. Study from M. Angelo of a Sibyl, pen and bistre.

81.

Case 7, Drawer 3

p. 68 of typescript

127. Four, M. Angelo, Bronzino &c.

p. 69 of typescript

128. Two M. Angelo, one in red and one in black Chalk.

129. Six. Julio Romano, M. Angelo &c.

82.

Case 7, Drawer 1

130. Two small Studies in red Chalk, M. Angelo.

131. An outline of the whole composition of the Cartoon of Pisa from M. Angelo.

Varia

Case 7, Drawer 2

132. Fine [Five?] Various Stile of M. Angelo &c.

133. Five, M. Angelo and Raffaele.

83. Lud. Carrachi

Case 7, Drawer 1

134. A very curious Sheet of Anatomy and other subjects by M. Angelo Buonaroti.

135. Figure from the Judgement from M. Angelo.

84. Varia

Case 6, Drawer 1

136. Four: entombment by Raffaele the Statute [sic] of Hercules at Fontainebleau.

Case 7, Drawer 1

137. A beautiful Copy by M. Bossi of Milan from a Drawing by M. Angelo.

138. The Flagellation of our Lord from M. Angelo, by S. del Piombo, bistre, superb.

139. Five: Various Studies in Red Chalk &c. M. Angelo.

140. Four: Ditto some in pen and bistre.

89.

Case 11, Drawer 5

141. Two Study of a Figure M. Angelo and taking down from the Cross from Ditto.

91.

Case 11, Drawer 4

142. Three Studies from the Last Judgment &c. &c. Michael Angelo.

Case 11, Drawer 3

143. Two Ditto [i.e., in red chalk and by Andrea del Sarto] one of the Soldiers from the Cartoon of Pisa by M. Angelo.

144. Four Ditto [i.e., by Bandinelli] one from Michael Angelo.

Lower parts. Drawer 4, Case 1

PORTFOLIO G

145. Two Michael Angelo one in Chalk.

146. Seven F. Zucherro and School of Michael Angelo.

Case 12, Drawer 4

PORTFOLIO H

147. One an Elaborate Drawing of the whole of the Ceiling of the Sistine Chapel from M. Angelo.

148. One an interesting Sheet of Studies by M. Angelo.

149. One The Annunciation a very curious and interesting Drawing M. Angelo.

Case 6, Drawer 4

PORTFOLIO A

150. Two Julio Romano and Michael Angelo.

Case 12, Drawer 4

PORTFOLIO B

151. Seven copies from Michael Angelo.



B

A CATALOGUE

ETC. ETC.

Tenth Exhibition

MICHAEL ANGELO

1. A WINDOW – an architectural study, treated with great simplicity and grandeur. This drawing is executed in black chalk; and on the reverse is an arm, and some architecture.

Size, 16½ inches by 11 inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£21

2. FOUR LEAVES OF HIS POCKET BOOK – pasted together; on which he has drawn several small figures, which have served for his grand works in the Sistine Chapel. These first thoughts are particularly interesting; they show the progress of his method of art: slightly sketched from nature, merely as attitudes, and are executed in pen and black chalk.

Size of the four, 11¼ inches by 11 inches. From the Collection of W. Y. Ottley, Esq.

£52.10

3. MICHAEL ANGELO BUONAROTI – represented in a large cloak, formed in grand folds. He holds a globe in his hand, and has on his head somewhat between a helmet and a pontiff's cap. This most curious drawing is highly finished with the pen and bistre. He is at full length; and it is probably drawn at the time he obtained the honourable place of architect to St. Peter's; his dress approaches that of the Cardinal's, and his holding the globe in his hand may signify that he had obtained the extent of his wishes.

On the reverse is a head of a youth, executed in black chalk, and admirably touched with the pen.

Size, 13 inches by 8½ inches. From the Collections of Lempereur, B. Constantine, and T. Dimsdale, Esq.

£105

4. A MAN READING A PAPER – he is represented seated, and is dressed in a loose cloak and pantaloons. This fine study is evidently from nature; it is admirably drawn in red chalk,

and has served Michael Angelo for the *King Joram*, in the vault of the Sistine Chapel. Capital.

Size, 8¼ inches by 8 inches. From the Collection of Prince Borghese, at Rome.

£31.10

5. THREE FEMALE TORSOS – drawn with the pen from the antique, at the time Michael Angelo was studying in the garden of Lorenzo de Medici. This very interesting drawing is mentioned in a note at p. 25 of the *Italian School of Design*.

Size, 9½ inches by 8¼ inches. From the Collection of W. Y. Ottley, Esq.

£21

6. HEAD OF A YOUNG FAWN, OR CUPID – probably a study for the head of the celebrated statue which he had interred at Rome, in order to be discovered, and taken for antique workmanship. This head is perfectly in the Greek taste, and is executed in red chalk; on the reverse is a study of drapery, drawn with the pen, and also some of his handwriting respecting his accounts.

Size, 8 inches by 6¼ inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£63

7. THE HEAD OF A MAN – looking down; slightly marked in chalk, of a grey tone. Full of expression and character.

Size, 9½ inches by 8 inches. From the Collections of Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£21

8. A MAGNIFICENT MODEL – for one of the figures on the Tombs of the Medici. This splendid study is drawn with surprising energy, in the grandest style of his great Master. It is executed with the pen and bistre; and has several fine studies on the reverse, executed with the pen: engraved. Capital.

Size, 16 inches by 11 inches. From the Collections of M. Crozat, M. Mariette, Marquis Legoy, and Thomas Dimsdale, Esq.

£52.10

9. A CUPID – undraped; probably a design for the celebrated statue which he made and buried, to be dug up as an antique, and which deceived the antiquarians of Rome, and established the reputation of Michael Angelo.

This beautiful drawing is highly finished in black chalk; and is, in point of grace and classic feeling, equal to the best of the Greek sculptors. On the same sheet is a very

slight memorandum, in black chalk, for a compartment of the Medici Tombs.

Size, 6½ inches by 5 inches, — the other, 8¼ inches by 5¼ inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£52.10

10. A STUDY OF THREE HANDS — and the back of a male figure. This noble drawing is executed with the pen, with the utmost skill and knowledge; it far exceeds the very celebrated drawing of similar subject mentioned in Vasari, which is now in the Louvre. On the reverse side, are other models for the same hand, on a smaller scale, but equally fine. CAPITAL.

Size, 16¼ inches by 10½ inches. From the Collection of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£52.10

11. THE REPOSE — a noble composition of the Virgin, Infant Christ, St. John, and other figures. This superb study has some analogy with splendid basso relievo by Michael Angelo, which was left to the Royal Academy by the late Sir George Beaumont. It is executed in black and red chalk, and touched with the pen; it has several pentimentos, and on the reverse are many fine studies of sporting boys, admirably drawn with the pen. *Superb.*

Size, 15½ inches by 11¼ inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£262.10

12. STUDY FOR DRAPERY — probably for one of the figures in the Sistine Chapel. The whole figure is slightly marked in, and the drapery finished with the most laborious skill. This noble study is executed with the pen and bistre; on the reverse is a study for a sybil. Capital.

Size, 15½ inches by 10 inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£105

13. DAVID — a noble study for the body of this statue, which he executed at Florence, with the sling, in the act of throwing the stone to slay Goliath. This capital model is drawn with the pen and bistre; and on the reverse are several admirable studies for infants, treated with a grace worthy of Raffaele.

Size, 14½ inches by 9 inches. From the Collections of M. Crozat, Mariette, and Thomas Dimsdale, Esq.

£105

14. STUDY OF A BODY OF THE MALE SUBJECT — probably for one of the figures in the *Last Judgment*. This study is

drawn in black chalk, with great attention to the anatomy. On the reverse are several studies for arms, &c. in red chalk.

Size, 13¼ inches by 10¼ inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£105

15. PORTRAIT OF THE MARCHIONESS DE PESCARA — this matchless drawing is of the greatest beauty, uniting the grandeur of M. Angelo with the beauty and sweetness of Raffaele and L. da Vinci. She is represented in profile, and her hair dressed in the antique taste; it is carefully drawn in black chalk. SUPERB.

Size, 11¾ inches by 9½ inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£262.10

16. A SYBIL — a noble study for one of the figures in the Sistine Chapel. This fine drawing is executed with the pen, and possesses all the energy and grandeur of this great Master. Capital.

Size, 10¼ inches by 7¾ inches. From the Collection of the Baron de Non.

£105

17. A SHEET OF STUDIES — chiefly of sporting boys; most admirably drawn with the pen. This capital design is executed with great spirit; and on the reverse side are many other studies in the same manner. CAPITAL.

Size, 15½ inches by 11 inches. From the Collections of M. Crozat, Mariette, the Marquis Legoy and Thomas Dimsdale, Esq.

£157.10

18. PROFILE OF A MAN'S HEAD — cut off at chin. This admirable drawing is of the best time of this Master; nothing can exceed the grand character and expression of the whole. It is drawn with red chalk, and is worthy to class with the best Greek artists of sculpture.

Size, 5¾ inches by 3¾ inches. From the Collection of the Duke of Modena.

£52.10

19. A MALE TORSO — probably for the Lazarus; most admirably drawn with black chalk. Capital.

Size, 9 inches by 6½ inches. From the Collection of W. Y. Otley, Esq.

£21

20. STUDY FOR THE DEAD CHRIST — in the celebrated picture by Piombo, executed at Viterbo. This superb model is drawn

in red chalk; and on the reverse is a sketch for the figure of the Virgin, which is in the centre of the picture.

Size, 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. From the Collections of J. Richardson, Esq. and Sir Joshua Reynolds.

£21

21. A FEMALE PORTRAIT – of very expressive countenance. Her head is adorned with a singularly formed cap; she is in profile, looking down. This fine drawing is executed in red chalk.

Size, 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£84

22. THE CRUCIFIXION – the model for the renowned picture which he is said to have painted, now in the Collection of the king of Naples. This splendid drawing is finished with surprising care; and the body of the Saviour is probably the finest example existing of anatomy. Two angels lamenting, are slightly marked in the sky; and a skull is placed at the foot of the Cross. It is executed in black chalk. SUPERB.

Size, 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. From the Collections of the King of Naples at the Capo de Monte, and M. Brunet, of Paris.

£367.10

23. THE CRUCIFIXION – a very noble study, representing our Lord on the Cross, and two of the Apostles, one on each side. On the reverse is a study for the Saviour. This drawing is executed in black and white chalk, and has several pentimentos. *Capital.*

Size, 11 inches by 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£105

24. OUR LORD STEPPING FROM THE TOMB – this most admirable drawing is executed in black chalk, and is highly finished, with his usual attention to the anatomical parts of the body. The soldiers are represented sleeping, and are very slightly sketched in. SUPERB.

Size, 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£157.10

25. THE CRUCIFIXION – a most sublime and beautiful composition of three figures, treated with the utmost grandeur, and

replete with pentimentos. This splendid drawing is executed in black and white chalk. *Capital.*

Size, 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 11 inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£267.10

26. OUR SAVIOUR RISING FROM THE TOMB – an admirable study of the figure only, without the surrounding soldiers. This model is drawn in black chalk, with great care. SUPERB.

Size, 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 11 inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£157.10

27. THE CRUCIFIXION – a splendid design, in which the Cross is of a singular form, which he no doubt had made for the convenience of suspending his model. This subject, which evidently engaged, more than any other, this illustrious Master, as is proved by the great number of studies for it in this Collection, is here treated with great grandeur, and is remarkable for the curious pentimentos; the Virgin has three arms and two heads; the arms being folded together, and the head looking down, is an afterthought, and one of the most sublime character. *Superb.*

Size, 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£210

28. THE CRUCIFIXION – this sublime subject is here treated with the utmost grandeur, and appears to have been the result of all his studies for this most solemn subject. The Saviour is represented alone, in a barren rocky scene, with a dark sky; his head droops. Over the Cross is the inscription I.N.R.I. This superb drawing is highly finished in black chalk. *Capital.*

Size, 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£267.10

29. THE THREE CROSSES – a most superb study for a noble composition of more than twenty figures, treated with the utmost grandeur. The Crosses are represented much higher than they are drawn by other artists, and gives a much more affecting feeling of this awful subject. This capital drawing is executed in red chalk; the Saviour and the two thieves are highly finished, and the lower figures sketched with surprising spirit and sentiment.

Size, 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 11 inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£267.10

30. THE HOLY FAMILY – and various other Saints; a most noble Cartoon. The figures are the size of life, and the St.

Joseph is the portrait of Michael Angelo. This unique and valuable Cartoon is executed in black chalk, on several sheets of paper. The subject is executed in oil-colour, by one of the disciples of M. Angelo, and is in the Casa Buonaroti, from whence this magnificent Cartoon was purchased by Lucien Buonaparte.

Size, 7 feet 7 1/2 inches by 6 feet 1 inch. From the Collection of the Prince of Canino.

31. THE VIRGIN, CHILD, AND ST. ELIZABETH – a very spirited pen drawing, of a singular composition. The Virgin and Child are sitting on the knee of St. Elizabeth; on the reverse are some anatomical studies, and three heads of great expression.

Size, 10 inches by 7 inches. From the Collections of M. Crozat, the Marquis Legoy and T. Dimsdale, Esq.

£36.15

32. TWO GROUPS OF MANY FIGURES – being studies for a composition of the healing the Israelites by means of the brazen serpent, which Moses erected to try their faith by. This beautiful drawing is particularly interesting, on account of the number of small figures introduced. It forms part of the vault of the Sistine Chapel.

Size, 13 1/4 inches by 9 3/4 inches. From the Collection of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£105

33. HEAD OF A MAN – a sort of Phrygian cap, with his mouth open, as if singing. The expression and character of this head are truly surprising; it is drawn with red chalk, and his hand holds his cloak together. This beautiful drawing is evidently from nature, and is highly interesting, from its extreme finish and truth.

Size, 6 inches by 5 inches. From the Collection of the Duke of Modena.

£31.10

34. AN OLD MAN'S HEAD – in profile. This very admirable portrait is executed in black chalk, and is full of expression; on the reverse are some anatomical studies, drawn with the pen.

Size, 15 inches by 9 1/4 inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£52.10

35. STUDY OF A SLEEPING FEMALE – a design for the celebrated tombs of the Medici. This admirable model is drawn in the

grandest style of this illustrious master; it is executed in red chalk, and is truly capital.

Size, 15 1/2 inches by 10 3/4 inches. From the Collection of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£52.10

36. SATAN – a most surprising head; the character full of expression, and completely illustrative of his description by our immortal poet, Milton:

“– Care

Sat on his faded cheek, but under brows
Of dauntless courage, and considerate pride
Waiting revenge: cruel his eye, but cast
Signs of remorse and passion, to behold
The fellows of his crime, the followers rather
(Far other once beheld in bliss,) condemn'd
For ever now to have their lot in pain.”

Admirably drawn with the pen; most interesting.

Size, 5 1/4 inches by 5 1/4 inches. From the Collection of J. Richardson, Esq.

£31.10

37. THE HAMAN – in the vault of the Sistine Chapel. This is one of the finest drawings in existence, by this illustrious Master. It is evidently from the life and drawn with surprising truth, in red chalk. It is very remarkable that M. Angelo has drawn one of the legs over again, on which he has, by means of small round marks, indicated the exact place for the principal light. This admirable model is SUPERB.

Size, 16 inches by 8 1/4 inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£210

38. OUR LORD RECLINING – as represented on the cup of the Virgin, in the very splendid group in statuary, which he executed in Rome.

Nothing can exceed the beauty and correctness with which the torso is treated, in this capital drawing; it is of his very finest time.

Size, 12 1/2 inches by 10 1/4 inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£157.10

39. PORTRAIT OF ARIOSTO – this admirable head is of the utmost beauty, perfectly in the antique Greek taste, and was probably intended to be copied as a cameo. Nothing can exceed the profound knowledge of the human form, in this admirable and highly interesting drawing, which is finished with great care, in red chalk. It formerly belonged to Vasari,

who has mounted it in his usual manner, and adorned it with two whole-length figures in bistre. *Superb.*

Size, 10³/₄ inches by 9³/₄ inches. From the Collections of G. Vasari, and M. Dargenville.

£105

40. STUDIES – for figures in the *Last Judgment*. This capital study is executed in black chalk, and is admirable for the skill shown in the anatomy of figures, in the most difficult positions.

Size, 16 inches by 10³/₄ inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£52.10

41. A MAGNIFICENT SHEET OF STUDIES – for the Tombs of the Medicis, admirably drawn with the pen and bistre; full of knowledge in the anatomy. On the same side is a study of J. de Medici, in a helmit, slightly drawn in black chalk; and on the reverse are several studies. This capital sheet is of his best time. *Superb.*

Size, 17¹/₄ inches by 11¹/₄ inches. From the Collections of Crozat, Mariette, the Marquis Legoy, and Thomas Dimsdale, Esq.

£157.10

42. ONE OF THE BATHING FIGURES IN THE CARTOON OF PISA – this superb model is evidently drawn with great care, from nature; it is of his best time, and for one of his most celebrated works, which he executed in rivalry of L. da Vinci. On the reverse are some studies of figures, in red chalk. *SUPERB.*

Size, 16¹/₂ inches by 11¹/₄ inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£157.10

43. THE MARY – in the celebrated *Raising of Lazarus*, painted by Sebastian del Piombo. This very interesting and valuable drawing, in black chalk, on blue paper, illustrates, in a great degree, the idea always entertained of the share M. Angelo had in this grand picture. The present drawing has evidently been executed by S. del Piombo, probably from some sketch by M. Angelo, and has been shown him for his approval. He has left the head as it was; but has enlarged the style of the drapery, and sketched in, with wonderful energy, some heads in the background. *Highly interesting.*

Size, 11 inches by 9 inches. From the Collection of Sir Joshua Reynolds.

£52.10

44. A NOBLE STUDY FOR THE ADAM – in the Sistine Chapel; this drawing is executed in black chalk. *Véry capital.*

Size, 15 inches by 10 inches. From the Collection of Sir Joshua Reynolds.

£52.10

45. VARIOUS STUDIES – a leg, in which the bones are drawn with surprising truth to nature, and the sinews and flesh marked in red chalk. Also some heads of caricature, and an old man's portrait, with a long beard, full of character. On the reverse are other studies.

Size, 11¹/₄ inches by 8¹/₄ inches. From the Collections of M. Crozat, Mariette, and the Count de Fries.

£52.10

46. THE TAKING DOWN FROM THE CROSS – a grand composition of ten figures, admirably drawn in red chalk. *Véry capital.*

Size, 10¹/₂ inches by 6¹/₄ inches. From the Collections of J. Hudson, Esq., J. Richardson, Esq., and Sir Joshua Reynolds.

£21

47. A SHEET OF STUDIES – with horses and various trophies. Admirably drawn with the pen; and on the reverse are studies of architecture and figures.

Size, 11 inches by 7¹/₂ inches. From the Collection of J. Richardson, Esq.

£21

48. CLEOPATRA WITH THE ASP – an admirable drawing, highly finished in black chalk, probably a model to execute in marble. Engraved in the *Italian School of Design*.

Size, 9³/₄ inches by 6³/₄ inches. From the Collection of W. Y. Otley, Esq.

£52.10

49. A DOOR – a fine architectural study, with some writing. This drawing is executed in black chalk, and is washed with bistre.

Size, 16¹/₄ inches by 10¹/₄ inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£10.10

50. FOUR LEAVES FROM HIS POCKET BOOK – pasted together; on which he has sketched several small figures from nature, as first ideas for the prophets and sybils in the Sistine Chapel. These finely executed sketches are particularly interesting, as shewing from what trifling origin the finest work in the pictorial art was imagined. They are drawn with the pen, on

each side of the paper; and on two of them are memorandums.

Size of the four, 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. From the Collection of W. Y. Ottley, Esq.

£52.10

51. CHRIST FASTENED TO THE COLUMN – a study for the picture painted by Sebastian del Piombo. This fine model is drawn in black chalk.

Size, 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. From the Collection of J. Richardson, Esq.

£21

52. THREE FIGURES DISPUTING – one a soldier. This capital drawing is particularly interesting, from the observations of its former possessor; and it is most fortunate that the copy by B. Franco is also in this Cabinet, so that the comparison can still be readily made. Engraved in the *Italian School of Design*.

Size, 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 10 inches. From the Collections of J. Richardson, Esq., Lord Spencer, and W. Y. Ottley, Esq.

£262.10

53. A FRAGMENT OF THE CARTOON OF PISA – consisting of part of three of the figures in this very celebrated work. This highly interesting study is drawn in bistre, and is unfortunately much damaged.

Size, 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£52.10

54. AN OLD WOMAN AND A CHILD – she walks with a stick with a large top, and her drapery is cast in grand folds; she appears speaking with anger, and has the fingers of her left hand extended: this drawing is executed with a reed pen, and is full of expression; it is probably from life, but has a witch-like character. Capital.

Size, 13 inches by 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. From the Collections of M. Revil and W. Y. Ottley, Esq.

£157.10

55. HORSES, AND A SMALL STUDY FOR THE FIGHTING FOR THE STANDARD – this noble study is particularly interesting, the horses are evidently drawn from the life, with great attention, at the time he was undecided as to his subject for the cartoon of Pisa; on the reverse of this drawing are several poetical verses, in the handwriting of this illustrious master.

Size, 17 inches by 11 inches. From the Collection of W. Y. Ottley, Esq.

£105

56. CHRIST RISING FROM THE TOMB – a magnificent design; admirably drawn in black chalk.

Size, 14 inches by 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. From the Collection of M. Dargenville.

£52.10

57. OUR SAVIOUR FASTENED TO THE COLUMN TO BE SCOURGED – a first thought for the magnificent picture painted by Sebastian del Piombo in Rome; this admirable study is executed in red chalk; the Christ, and one or two of the surrounding figures, highly finished, and others in outline. A highly interesting drawing.

Size, 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£157.10

58. A GROUP – for the lower part of the crucifixion, the Virgin and the Maries lamenting; this very interesting Study is treated with the utmost sublimity and grandeur, and is of his highest style of art; it is drawn in black chalk. Capital.

Size, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. From the Collection of the Count de Fries.

£105

59. THE FALL OF PHÆTON – a most admirable model for the celebrated picture well known to the amateur from the engraving by M. Beatrice. This splendid design is executed in black chalk, and varies considerably from the engraving, it appears to have been a present from Michael Angelo to his friend Tommaso di Cavallieri, and he has written at the bottom of the drawing the following inscription:

“Ser Tommaso si questo schizzo non vi piace, ditelo a Urbino a cio ch io abbi tempo da averne facto un altro . . . come vi promessi, e si vi piace, e vogliate, ch io lo finisca.”

Size, 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. From the Collections of Crozat, Mariette, Marquis Legoy, and T. Dimsdale, Esq.

£157.10

60. THE VIRGIN – in the celebrated picture representing the Annunciation, which was painted by M. Venusti from his design for the Borghese Family; this fine drawing is executed in black chalk, with great care, and has some slight studies on the back.

Size, 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.

£105

61. THE VIRGIN AND CHILD – the Virgin is represented seated, and the infant Saviour is on her knees, with his head turned

from the spectator; this capital drawing is treated with great sublimity and is executed with the pen and bistre. Capital.

*Size, 14 1/4 inches by 9 3/4 inches. From the Collections of
M. Crozat, Mariette, De Claussen, and
T. Dimsdale, Esq.*

£157.10

62. OUR LORD ASCENDING FROM THE TOMB – surrounded by a group of affrighted soldiers: this most admirable drawing is of the finest quality, the Saviour is elongated in the style of Parmigiano, which gives a lightness to the body most judiciously and classically chosen for this subject by this illustrious master. SUPERB.

*Size, 12 3/4 inches by 11 1/4 inches. From the Collection of
M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.*

£210

63. ISAIAH – the celebrated first thought for the splendid figure in the Sistine Chapel: this magnificent study is one of the finest drawings existing by this great master; it is executed with the pen and bistre, and is engraved in the Italian School of Design. SUPERB.

*Size, 16 3/4 inches by 11 1/4 inches. From the Collections of
M. Ciciaporti, M. Cavaceppi, and W. Y. Ottley, Esq.*

£315

64. STUDY – for the celebrated Pieta engraved by Julio Bonasone; this most admirable drawing is of the first quality – the Saviour is reclining at the feet of the Virgin after his crucifixion, a part of the cross is above the head of the Virgin, and the arms of the Christ are supported by two angels; this capital model is executed in black chalk, and is full of character and expression. SUPERB.

*Size, 11 1/2 inches by 7 1/2 inches. From the Collection of
M. Brunet, of Paris.*

£262.10

65. THE VIRGIN AND THE ANGEL – a subject for the Annunciation, which was painted, with considerable variations, by Marcello Venusti, from the design of Michael Angelo: this interesting drawing is executed in black chalk, and is very capital.

*Size, 11 inches by 7 3/4 inches. From the Collections of
M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.*

£105

66. OUR LORD – at whole length; a study for the celebrated composition of Christ and the woman at the well: this admirable drawing is most carefully finished in black

chalk, and on the reverse is another smaller study for the same figure, and also some hands. Capital.

*Size, 10 3/4 inches by 6 1/2 inches. From the Collection of
M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.*

£105

67. VARIOUS STUDIES FOR A SAMSON SLAYING A PHILISTINE – tried in various attitudes; most admirably drawn in black chalk: although the figures are small, yet the expression and truth of the anatomy is perfect. Capital.

*Size, 9 3/4 inches by 8 1/2 inches. From the Collection of
M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.*

£157.10

68. A WOMAN SITTING PLAYING WITH A CHILD – who stands on her knees; evidently from life, and which he has made use of in the grand work of the Sistine Chapel; this drawing is executed in black chalk, washed with bistre of a grey tone, and is engraved in the Italian School of Design.

*Size, 7 inches by 5 1/4 inches. From the Collection of
W. Y. Ottley, Esq.*

£84

69. A FIGURE RISING FROM THE GRAVE – in the foreground of the 'Last Judgment'; this most admirable study is of the finest quality: the anatomy of the body, and the truth of the joints of the elbows, are equal to the Elgin marbles; this splendid drawing is executed in black chalk, and on the reverse are some other studies of arms, &c.

*Size, 11 1/2 inches by 9 1/4 inches. From the Collections of
M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.*

£105

70. ONE OF THE FIGURES IN THE *Last Judgment* – an admirable model; highly finished in black chalk, and touched with surprising truth to anatomical knowledge. Highly interesting.

*Size, 12 1/2 inches by 5 1/4 inches. From the Collection of
W. Y. Ottley, Esq.*

£52.10

71. THE RETURN OF THE HOLY FAMILY FROM EGYPT – a slight sketch in oil on board, highly interesting, as it shews his progress of work, he has drawn the figures unclothed, and has marked in some parts of the drapery over the naked figures. This curious and indisputable grisaille is probably unique.

*Size, 26 inches by 21 inches. From the Collection of the
King of Naples, at the Capo di Monti, and
W. Y. Ottley, Esq., it is mentioned in
the Italian School of Design, page 31.*

£105

72. THE HOLY FAMILY – well known to the amateurs from the pictures painted from it by M. Venusti: this splendid drawing

is one of the most important in this matchless collection; it is executed, with the greatest care, in red chalk, and is full of sublime character. *Superb.*

*Size, 15 1/2 inches by 11 inches. From the Collections of
M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.*

£525

73. THE VIRGIN, OUR LORD, AND ST. JOHN – this splendid composition is highly valuable, as proving his power when he executed works of an elegant description – the expression and taste of this divine drawing is equal to any work of Raffaele or Correggio; it is executed in black chalk, highly finished, and is one of the chief ornaments of this matchless collection. *Superb.*

*Size, 12 1/4 inches by 8 inches. From the Collections of
M. Buonaroti, and the Chevalier Vicar.*

£525

74. THE CELEBRATED HEAD OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW – in the *Last Judgment*. Mr Ottley, in his description of this splendid drawing, observes with truth, – that it possesses an energy and sublimity of character and expression, which we shall in vain look for in the works of other artists, and which, perhaps, no one but he ever conceived. Most capital. On the reverse are some studies.

*Size, 15 1/4 inches by 9 3/4 inches. From the Collection of
W. Y. Ottley, Esq., and engraved in his School of Design.*

£262.10

75. A NOBLE HEAD OF A WARRIOR – possibly an ideal portrait of himself, as it bears some resemblance to his character: it is very richly ornamented with an helmet of a singular form; admirably drawn in black chalk. *Superb.*

*Size, 16 inches by 10 1/2 inches. From the Collection of
Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A.*

£105

76. THE TAKING DOWN FROM THE CROSS – a very splendid composition, most important, as no picture is known of this subject. This grand design is of the first order; it is executed in red chalk. Most capital.

*Size, 14 3/4 inches by 11 inches. From the Collection of the
Baron de Non.*

£157.10

77. MICHAEL ANGELO'S DREAM – a model for the celebrated picture said to be at Dresden, and well known by the engravings from it: a most classic composition. A male figure, most admirably drawn, sits on a square seat, from which a curtain being drawn, shews a variety of masks; the figure rests on a

globe, with his head thrown back, and a winged angel, with a trumpet, appears to sound in his ears, and shew him, in several groupes of small figures, the various crimes and vices of mankind. This drawing is executed in black chalk, and is of such surprising excellence, that it may be ranked with the finest Greek sculpture – it is one of the finest drawings in the world.

*Size, 15 3/4 inches by 11 inches. From the Collections of
M. Buonaroti, Vicar, and W. Y. Ottley, Esq.*

£630

78. ONE OF THE FIGURES ON THE FOREGROUND OF THE 'LAST JUDGMENT' – this capital study is executed in black chalk; highly finished.

*Size, 6 3/4 inches by 6 inches. From the Collection of
J. Hudson, Esq.*

£84

79. THE ADAM – a most noble study for the celebrated work in the Sistine Chapel. This most admirable drawing is one of the finest examples existing of the surprising talents of this illustrious master; it is worthy the best of the Greek sculptors, and may compare with the Ilyssus in the British Museum. This capital study is drawn with red chalk, and on the reverse is a head of great character. Both these drawings are engraved in the Italian School of Design. *Superb.*

*Size, 10 1/2 inches by 7 3/4 inches. From the Collections of
J. Richardson, Esq., Sir J. Reynolds, and
W. Y. Ottley, Esq.*

£262.10

80. HEAD OF A MAN – strongly expressive of malevolence, evidently drawn from life. This fine drawing is executed in red chalk, the face highly finished, and the cap and drapery freely sketched. Capital. Engraved in the School of Design.

*Size, 11 inches by 8 inches. From the Collections of
M. Buonaroti, Chevalier Vicar, and W. Y. Ottley, Esq.*

£105

81. STUDIES FOR THE DAVID WITH THE SLING – this fine drawing is highly interesting, as it contains subjects on both sides the paper, and also the following inscription: –

“Davicte cholla fromba e io chollarche.”

Which signifies, – ‘David with his sling, and I with the chisel.’ This very interesting drawing is executed with the pen and bistre.

*Size, 10 inches by 7 inches. From the Collections of
M. Crozat, Mariette, Marquis Legoy,
and T. Dimsdale, Esq.*

£63

82. VARIOUS SMALL STUDIES OF FIGURES — on three sheets of paper; admirably drawn in black chalk; they are chiefly for subjects from the New Testament, the disciples asleep on the mount, and the Virgin supporting the body of our Saviour, &c.

Size, 13 1/4 inches by 13 inches. From the Collection of W. Y. Ottley, Esq.

£52.10

83. THE LAZARUS AND ANOTHER FIGURE — a design of part of the celebrated picture by Sebastian del Piombo, in the National Gallery, below are some studies for the foot of the Lazarus, one of which is marked through, as defective. This admirable study is executed in red chalk, and is finished with the utmost delicacy, with a profound knowledge of anatomy, and is most interesting, as proving the interest Michael Angelo took in the picture which was painted in rivalry of the *Transfiguration* of Raffaele.

Size, 10 inches by 4 3/4 inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti and the Chevalier Vicar.

£157.10

84. A NOBLE SHEET OF STUDIES FOR THE 'LAST JUDGMENT' — this most valuable, and highly interesting study, is executed in black chalk, it is engraved, and forms one of the principal ornaments in the Italian School of Design.

Size, 15 inches by 10 inches. From the Collections of M. Ciccaporci, M. Cavaceppi, and W. Y. Ottley, Esq.

£210

85. THE LAZARUS — two most interesting studies for the picture in the National Gallery: in one he is represented sitting on the tomb, in a different position to that which he adopted, in the other, the leg is thrown up similar to the action of the picture, but the idea of his pushing off the bandage of the leg, seems as yet not to have occurred to him. These most valuable and interesting studies are executed in red chalk; on the second model is another study, in which the figure is standing.

Size, 13 1/4 inches by 8 inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti and the Chevalier Vicar.

£105

86. THE UPPER PART OF THE 'LAST JUDGMENT' — this admirable study is most interesting, it is one of the very few designs which exists for this stupendous work, and varies considerably from the fresco; it is executed in black chalk. *Superb.*

Size, 13 3/4 inches by 11 1/4 inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti and the Chevalier Vicar.

£157.10

87. THE LAZARUS AND TWO OTHER FIGURES — a study for the finest portion of the celebrated picture by Sebastian del

Piombo, now in the National Gallery. This most valuable and superb study is most interesting, as it proves the correct judgement of the late Mr. Fuseli, in his opinion, that the figure of Lazarus was the work of Michael Angelo; this fine drawing is executed in red chalk. Capital.

Size, 10 inches by 7 1/4 inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti and the Chevalier Vicar.

£157.10

88. THE DRIVING THE MONEY CHANGERS FROM THE TEMPLE — which was painted by M. Venusti for the Borghese family. These most interesting models are of the highest quality, and are particularly important, as they are not engraved: it is very remarkable, that the middle drawing is upon several bits of paper pasted together.

Size, 18 1/4 inches by 14 3/4 inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti and the Chevalier Vicar.

£210

89. VARIOUS STUDIES — executed in red chalk and the pen, part of the male subject and a hand are admirably executed in red chalk, and several small figures are sketched with great spirit with the pen. This fine drawing has some studies on the reverse.

Size, 11 inches by 7 1/2 inches. From the Collections of M. Crozat, Mariette, and T. Dimsdale, Esq.

£52.10

90. PORTRAIT OF AN AGED MAN — of fine expression, with a beard; this fine drawing is executed with black chalk. Capital.

Size, 7 3/4 inches by 5 3/4 inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti and the Chevalier Vicar.

£31.10

91. TWO FIGURES — in large cloaks, one in an attitude of thought, with his head reclined; on the reverse is a head of a man in a singular cap; both these drawings are executed with the pen and bistre, and are engraved in the Italian School of Design.

Size, 10 3/4 inches by 7 inches. From the Collection of W. Y. Ottley, Esq.

£105

92. AN AGED FEMALE — probably a design for a witch or sybil; very highly finished with the pen, and full of character. Engraved in the work of Mr. Metz.

Size, 13 1/2 inches by 5 1/4 inches. From the Collection of Richard Cosway, Esq.

£21

93. MICHAEL ANGELO AND HIS FRIEND ANT. DELLA TORRE — dissecting a human figure, which lays extended on a table, the arms hang to the ground, and a lighted candle is fixed

in the stomach of the body. This very curious drawing is mentioned by several authors, and is executed with the pen and bistre in a most spirited manner.

Size, $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches. From the Collections of M. Mariette, the Marquis Legoy, and T. Dimsdale, Esq.

£52.10

94. THE TIBERTINE SYBIL – in the vault of the Sistine Chapel; this admirable model is highly finished in black chalk, and is slightly washed in bistre in the shadow.

Size, $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti and the Chevalier Vicar.

£21

95. THE LIBICA SYBIL – in the vault of the Sistine Chapel; this fine model is highly finished in black chalk, slightly washed with bistre.

Size, $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 10 inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti and the Chevalier Vicar.

£21

96. A DRAGON OR CHIMERÆ – a winged monster; most admirably drawn with the pen and bistre: on the reverse are some studies of eyes and a head, which appear to have been drawn by M. Angelo as a lesson for his scholar, Andrea Mini, who has copied them very indifferently. M. Angelo has written on this curious drawing his observation recommending patience to his disciple. Highly interesting. This curious drawing has been copied by A. Caracci, and is placed by the original.

Size, $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches. From the Collection of the Baron de Non.

£157.10

97. A FEMALE – seated: probably a design for one of the sybils; drawn in red chalk, evidently from nature: treated in a grand style.

Size, $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti and the Chevalier Vicar.

£52.10

98. THE VIRGIN – an admirable study for the Last Judgment; slightly executed in black chalk, and in his grandest style. Capital.

Size, $15\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 9 inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti and the Chevalier Vicar.

£21

99. TWO OF THE PRINCIPAL FIGURES IN THE 'LAST JUDGMENT' – very highly finished in black chalk, and drawn with the utmost anatomical skill. Very capital.

Size, $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 10 inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti and the Chevalier Vicar.

£21

100. A RECLINING SLEEPING MALE FIGURE – with a youth standing at his feet; probably a first thought for the celebrated dream. This beautiful drawing is executed in black chalk, and is of surprising delicacy of finish, with a correctness of anatomy which may class with the finest Greek Cameo; above the figures are three lines of writing by this illustrious artist.

Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 5 inches. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti and the Chevalier Vicar.

£52.10

Two other exhibitions held at the Lawrence Gallery contained relevant drawings:

I. RUBENS

17. A PROPHET – A highly finished study from Michael Angelo, one of the prophets from the Sistine Chapel. Red chalk heightened with white.

Size, $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches. From the Collections of Mariette and B. West P.R.A.

27. GANYMEDE AND THE EAGLE – An exquisitely finished drawing copied from Michael Angelo, black chalk and heightened with white.

Size, $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches. From the Collection of Mariette.

VII. Andrea del Sarto

79. A SOLDIER DRESSING – A superb study of the figure in Michael Angelo's famous work of the Cartoon of Pisa, red chalk highly finished.

Size, $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. From the Collections of Mr. Richardson and Sir Joshua Reynolds.

80. A SOLDIER – From Michael Angelo's Cartoon at Pisa, red chalk highly finished. Very fine.

Size, $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches. From the Collection of the Prince Borghese.



C

Drawings Purchased by William II, February 1838
Michael Angelo

1. 1836-3	M. Angelo w L.	£105	35. 1836-64	The Pieta engraved	£262.10
2. 1836-12	Study of drapery	£105	36. 1836-65	The Virgin and Angel	£78
3. 1836-13	David [sic].	£105	37. 1836-66	Our Lord whole length	£105
4. 1836-15	Marchioness of Pescara	£262.10	38. 1836-69	Figure rising from the grave	£105
5. 1836-18	Man's Head red chalk	£52.10	39. 1836-70	One of the figures in Judgement	£52.10
6. 1836-19	A Male torso	£21	40. 1836-72	Holy Family red chalk	£525
7. 1836-20	Study for dead Christ	£21	41. 1836-73	Virgin Child and St. John	£525
8. 1836-22	Crucifixion	£367.10	42. 1836-74	St. Bartholomew superb	£262.10
9. 1836-24	Our Lord rising	£157.10	43. 1836-75	Head of a Warrior	£105
10. 1836-25	Crucifixion	£267.10	44. 1836-77	M. Angelo's dream	£630
11. 1836-26	Our Lord rising	£157.10	45. 1836-78	Figure in Last Judgment	£84
12. 1836-27	Crucifixion	£210	46. 1836-79	The Adam superb	£262.10
13. 1836-28	Ditto	£267.10	47. 1836-81	David with the sling	£63
14. 1836-29	The Three Crosses	£267.10	48. 1836-83	The Lazarus	£105
15. 1836-34	Old Man's head profile	£52.10	49. 1836-84	Studies for the Last Judgement	£210
16. 1836-35	Study Sleeping female	£52.10	50. 1836-85	The Lazarus	£105
17. 1836-36	Satan	£31.10	51. 1836-86	Upper part of Judgement	£157.10
18. 1836-37	Haman	£210	52. 1836-87	The Lazarus	£157.10
19. 1836-38	Our Lord reclining	£157.10	53. 1836-88	Driving Money Changers; three drawings	£210
20. 1836-39	Ariosto	£105	54. 1836-90	Portrait of an aged man	£31.10
21. 1836-40	Study figure in last judgment	£52.10	55. 1836-94	The Tyburtine Sybil	£21
22. 1836-42	Figure in Cartoon of Pisa	£157.10	56. 1836-95	The Libaca Sybil	£21
23. 1836-43	The Mary in Lazarus by Sebastiano	£52.10	57. 1836-98	The Virgin	£21
24. 1836-44	The Adam	£52.10	58. 1836-99	Two Apostles	£21
25. 1836-48	Cleopatra	£52.10	59. 1836-100	A sleeping figure	£52.10
26. 1836-51	Christ at the Column	£21			
27. 1836-56	Christ rising	£52.10			
28. 1836-57	Our Lord at the Column	£157.10			
29. 1836-58	A group for Crucifixion	£105			
30. 1836-59	Fall of Phæton	£157.10			
31. 1836-60	The Virgin	£105			
32. 1836-61	Virgin and Child	£157.10			
33. 1836-62	Our Lord Ascending	£210			
34. 1836-63	The Isaiah Prophet superb	£315			

Following this purchase in February 1838, William II returned to Woodburn in August of the same year, and bought forty additional drawings. Lists of these are not available, but Woodburn's account, as published by Hinterding and Horsch, does specify that one very important drawing by Michelangelo was included among them: This is "the Large Cartoon M. Angelo," certainly 1836-41 the *Epifania* cartoon, which reappeared in William's sale in 1850 as lot 212. William bought further sheets by or attributed to Michelangelo on this occasion from among those not exhibited in 1836. What may have been two of the most important of these were 1850-150 and 1850-153.



D

Catalogue des Tableaux Anciens et Modernes de Diverses Ecoles, Dessins et Statues formant la Galerie de feu Sa Majesté Guillaume II, roi des Pays Bas. 12-20 August 1850 Dessins.

83. PIOMBO (SEBASTIEN DEL).

La flagellation de Notre Seigneur. Superb dessin d'un grand fini, lavé au bistre, sur papier bleu.
Bought Woodburn, 100 guilders.

101. MICHEL-ANGE (Attribué à).

Tête de femme, vue de profil.
Bought Woodburn, 70 guilders.

102. MICHEL-ANGE (Attribué à).

Tête de Satan. Dessin au bistre et à la plume.
Bought Woodburn, 40 guilders.

103. MICHEL-ANGE.

Esquisse à la pierre d'Italie, pour le tableau représentant le jugement dernier.
Bought Woodburn, 770 guilders.

- 104. MICHEL-ANGE?**
Figure académique à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Woodburn, 185 guilders.
- 105. MICHEL-ANGE.**
Christ crucifié, beau dessin à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Woodburn, 240 guilders.
- 106. MICHEL-ANGE.**
Figure académique, largement dessinée à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Weimar, 200 guilders.
- 107. MICHEL-ANGE.**
Etude de tête d'homme, largement exécutée à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Woodburn, 850 guilders.
- 108. MICHEL-ANGE (d'après).**
Dessin au bistre, d'après la peinture à fresque, "le jugement dernier."
Bought Enthoven, 210 guilders.
- III. MICHEL-ANGE.**
Tête d'homme, vue de profil, coiffée d'un casque.
Dessin à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Woodburn, 160 guilders.
- II2. MICHEL-ANGE (Attribué à).**
Une prophète. Beau dessin à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Weimar, 55 guilders.
- II4. INCONNU.**
Etude de tête d'après "le jugement dernier" de Michel-Ange
Bought Weimar, 80 guilders.
- II7. MICHEL-ANGE (Attribué à).**
Etude de Christ au tombeau; à la sanguine.
Bought Roos, A., 40 guilders.
- II8. MICHEL-ANGE.**
Même sujet, à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Van Luyck, Paris, 510 guilders.
- II9. MICHEL-ANGE.**
Etude pour la peinture à fresque, "le jugement dernier" à la pierre d'Italie; d'un faire superbe.
Bought Woodburn, 700 guilders.
- 120. MICHEL-ANGE (Attribué à).**
Figure académique d'une femme, à la sanguine.
Bought Brondgeest, 225 guilders.
- 122. MICHEL-ANGE.**
La résurrection de Jésus Christ, superbe étude à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Woodburn, 750 guilders.
- 123. MICHEL-ANGE.**
Fragment d'études, superbe page, exécutée à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Engelbert, 400 guilders.
- 124. MICHEL-ANGE.**
La mort de Phaeton, dessin superbe à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Woodburn, 910 guilders.
- 125. MICHEL-ANGE (Attribué à).**
Le songe de Michel-Ange, étude du tableau de la Galerie de Dresde.
Bought Woodburn, 1200 guilders.
- 126. PIOMBO (SEBASTIEN DEL).**
La flagellation de Notre Seigneur, belle étude de plusieurs figures, à la sanguine.
Bought Roos, A., 340 guilders.
- 127. MICHEL-ANGE.**
Les trois croix, superbe page à la sanguine.
Bought Woodburn, 350 guilders.
- 128. MICHEL-ANGE.**
Etude d'un torse d'homme, à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Brondgeest, N., 80 guilders.
- 129. VENUSTI (MARCO).**
Jésus-Christ chassant les marchands du temple, superbe dessin exécutée d'une belle manière à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Woodburn, 530 guilders.
- 130. PIOMBO (SEBASTIEN DEL).**
La résurrection de St. Lazare, belle étude à la sanguine, pour le tableau qui se trouve au Musée britannique.
Bought Woodburn, 160 guilders.
- 131. PIOMBO (SEBASTIEN DEL).**
Etude pour le même tableau, également traitée à la sanguine.
Bought Woodburn, 370 guilders.
- 132. VENUSTI (MARCO).**
Etude de la Vierge, d'un beau dessin, à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Woodburn, 130 guilders.
- 133. VENUSTI (MARCO).**
La Vierge et l'Ange, même conditions.
Bought Woodburn, 150 guilders.
- 134. MICHEL-ANGE.**
Portrait d'un homme âgé; superbe étude à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Roos, A., 180 guilders.
- 135. MICHEL-ANGE.**
Etude académique pour la statue de David, traitée à la plume.
Bought Woodburn, 230 guilders.

- I41.** MICHEL-ANGE.
Belle étude de diverses figures, à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Enthoven, 200 guilders.
- I42.** MICHEL-ANGE.
Etude d'un torse et de divers fragments, à la sanguine.
Bought Woodburn, 200 guilders.
- I43.** MICHEL-ANGE.
Etude académique, à la plume.
Bought Woodburn, 100 guilders.
- I44.** MICHEL-ANGE.
Même sujet, à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Woodburn, 330 guilders.
- I45.** MICHEL-ANGE (Attribué à).
Le Christ en croix. Belle étude à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Woodburn, 450 guilders.
- I46.** MICHEL-ANGE.
Etude de tête, largement croquée à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Brondgeest, 50 guilders.
- I47.** MICHEL-ANGE (Attribué à).
Etude d'homme, prise du tableau "le jugement dernier".
Roos, A., 115 guilders.
- I48.** MICHEL-ANGE (Attribué à).
Etude de Madonne, du même tableau.
Bought Brondgeest, N., 55 guilders.
- I49.** MICHEL-ANGE.
Etude de Christ. Belle page à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Woodburn, 50 guilders.
- I50.** MICHEL-ANGE (Attribué à).
Descente de croix, superbe étude d'un grand fini, à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Brondgeest, N., 60 guilders.
- I51.** MICHEL-ANGE.
La Vierge; belle étude à la pierre d'Italie, sur papier bleu.
Bought Engelbert, P., 85 guilders.
- I52.** MICHEL-ANGE.
Le Christ en croix; étude à la pierre d'Italie, sur papier brun.
Bought Woodburn, 500 guilders.
- I53.** MICHEL-ANGE (Attribué à).
L'enlèvement de Ganymède; belle étude à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Woodburn, 150 guilders.
- I54.** MICHEL-ANGE.
La Vierge avec l'Enfant Jésus; cette superbe page est dessinée à la plume.
Bought Woodburn, 850 guilders.
- I55.** MICHEL-ANGE.
Etude d'homme. Superbe dessin à la plume.
Bought Brondgeest, 400 guilders.
- I56.** MICHEL-ANGE (Attribué à).
Deux figures académiques. Dessin à la pierre noire.
Bought Brondgeest, N., 59 guilders.
- I57.** MICHEL-ANGE.
Figure académique d'homme. Dessin à la plume et d'un beau faire.
Bought Woodburn, 400 guilders.
- I58.** MICHEL-ANGE.
Madonne avec l'enfant Jésus et Saint Jean. Cette belle page est vigoureusement traitée à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Woodburn, 1800 guilders.
- I59.** MICHEL-ANGE (Attribué à).
Etude de figures académiques, à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Woodburn, 200 guilders.
- I60.** MICHEL-ANGE (Attribué à).
Etude de divers fragments, également à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Brondgeest, 100 guilders.
- I61.** MICHEL-ANGE.
Madonne avec un enfant. Superbe dessin à la sanguine d'un faire précieux.
Bought Brondgeest, 50 guilders.
- I62.** MICHEL-ANGE.
Figures académiques, et divers griffonnements. Belle étude à la sanguine.
Bought Woodburn, 750 guilders.
- I63.** MICHEL-ANGE.
Etude à la sanguine d'une tête de vieillard vue de profil, bien conditionnée.
Bought Woodburn, 110 guilders.
- I64.** MICHEL-ANGE.
Cette belle production représente deux femmes, entre lesquelles un médaillon avec le portrait en profil de l'Arioste. Ce beau dessin est en partie à la sanguine et en partie lavé au bistre.
Bought ? ?guilders.
- I65.** MICHEL-ANGE.
Figure académique. Dessin d'un grand fini à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Brondgeest, 75 guilders.

- 166. MICHEL-ANGE.**
Etude à la plume de divers fragments; d'une belle conservation.
Bought Vanluyck, 100 guilders.
- 167. MICHEL-ANGE.**
Croquis à la sanguine, pour le tableau de Sébastien del Piombo qui se trouve dans la galerie de Londres, d'un fort belle conservation.
Bought Woodburn, 550 guilders.
- 168. MICHEL-ANGE.**
Cléopâtre, le cou entouré d'une vipère. Cette superbe page est exécutée à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Woodburn, 180 guilders.
- 169. MICHEL-ANGE.**
Sainte Famille. Dessin d'un faire précieux, à la sanguine.
Bought Woodburn, 1300 guilders.
- 170. MICHEL-ANGE.**
La résurrection de Notre Seigneur, dessin à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Roos, A., 200 guilders.
- 171. MICHEL-ANGE.**
Le Christ en croix, avec la Ste Vierge et St Jean. Dessin d'un faire superbe, à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Woodburn, 800 guilders.
- 172. MICHEL-ANGE.**
La Vierge avec l'enfant Jésus; belle étude à la plume.
Bought Vanluyck, 625 guilders.
- 173. MICHEL-ANGE.**
Une sibille. Ce dessin, d'un fini précieux, est à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Weimar, 30 guilders.
- 179. MICHEL-ANGE.**
Etude d'un figure académique, représentant probablement la flagellation du Seigneur, à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Roos, A., 70 guilders.
- 180. MICHEL-ANGE.**
Le Christ et la Vierge; le Seigneur mort est supporté par des anges. Beau dessin à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Woodburn, 850 guilders.
- 212. MICHEL-ANGE.**
Ste Famille; composition de plusieurs figures de grandeur naturelle. Carton colossal à la pierre d'Italie.
Bought Woodburn, 650 guilders.
- 237. MICHEL-ANGE (d'après).**
Figure académique, dessin à la sanguine.
Bought Enthoven, 6 guilders.
- 238. MICHEL-ANGE (d'après).**
Même sujet, à la sanguine.
Bought Enthoven, 3 guilders.
- 241. PASSAROTTI.**
Portrait de Michel-Ange, dessin à la plume.
Bought Brondgeest, N., 4 guilders.
- 251. SARTO (Manière d'A DEL).**
Sainte Famille, d'après Michel-Ange. Dessin à la sanguine.
Bought Woodburn, 20 guilders.
- 257. PIOMBO (d'après SEB. DEL).**
Copie d'après un de ses tableaux.
Bought Roos, A., 3 guilders.



E

WOODBURN SALE, CHRISTIE'S LONDON, 1860

The Valuable and Important Collection of Drawings by the Old Masters formerly in the Collection of the late SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE, PRA, . . . Monday, June 4 1860, and following days.

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONAROTI

- 99. THE PORTRAIT OF MICHAEL ANGELO.** *A fine drawing, in pen, by PASSAROTTI.* I
Bought Colnaghi, £3. 15s

100. ADAM – A NOBLE STUDY FOR THE CELEBRATED WORK IN THE SISTINE CHAPEL. THIS MOST ADMIRABLE DRAWING IS ONE OF THE FINEST EXAMPLES OF THE MASTER. ON THE REVERSE IS A MAN'S HEAD, OF GREAT CHARACTER. BOTH IN RED CHALK. ENGRAVED IN THE *ITALIAN SCHOOL OF DESIGN*. SUPERB. *From the Collections of Richardson, Sir J. Reynolds, and Ottley.* I

Bought Tiffin £42

101. THE VIRGIN, IN THE CELEBRATED PICTURE OF THE ANNUNCIATION, PAINTED, WITH CONSIDERABLE VARIATIONS, BY MARCELLO VENUSTI FROM THE DESIGNS OF MICHAEL ANGELO. *On the back are some slight sketches – black chalk. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti (a descendant of the Painter), and the Chev. Vicar.* I

Bought Tiffin £6.10s

102. ANOTHER STUDY FOR THE SAME SUBJECT, TREATED DIFFERENTLY. *This interesting drawing is in black chalk and very fine. From the same Collections as the last.* I

Bought Vaughan £7.10s

103. ANOTHER STUDY FOR THE SAME PICTURE, MORE ELABORATELY CARRIED OUT, AND MORE IN CONFORMITY, IN DESIGN, WITH THE PAINTING – *black chalk*. SUPERB. *From the Collection of Charles I.* I

Bought Enson £8.15s

104. THE VIRGIN, THE INFANT CHRIST AND ST JOHN. THIS ELEGANT DRAWING HAS ALL THE EXPRESSION AND TASTE OF RAFFAELLE AND CORREGGIO, AND WAS ALWAYS CONSIDERED ONE OF THE CHIEF ORNAMENTS, IN THE MATCHLESS COLLECTION OF SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE, OF THE MASTER. – *black chalk, heightened with white. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti, and the Chev. Vicar.* I

Bought Tiffin £211.1s

105. THE HOLY FAMILY, THE INFANT SLEEPING IN THE LAP OF THE VIRGIN. THIS SPLENDID DRAWING IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THIS MASTER. *Executed with the greatest care in red chalk*. SUPERB. *From the same Collections as the last.* I

Bought Tiffin £39.18s

106. THE VIRGIN LEADING THE INFANT JESUS, with a figure of St. John slightly indicated. *An elegant composition in black chalk.* I

Bought Bloxam £2

107. OUR LORD, A WHOLE-LENGTH FIGURE. A study for the subject of Christ and the woman at the well. On the reverse, is another study for the same figure, and some hands. *Black chalk, heightened. Very fine. From the Collections of Buonaroti and Vicar.* I

Bought Roupell £4.15

108. A SHEET OF STUDIES OF VARIOUS SCRIPTURAL SUBJECTS – *in pen and bistre. In the centre, a draped female, in red chalk, of grand character.* I

Bought Daniel £4.4s

109. DRIVING OUT THE MONEY CHANGERS FROM THE TEMPLE. Four separate studies for the same subject, on three sheets, with others on the backs. *Very interesting. Drawn in black chalk.* 3

Bought Tiffin £13.10s

110. THE RAISING OF LAZARUS; TWO HIGHLY INTERESTING STUDIES ON ONE SHEET, FOR THE SUBJECT BY SEBASTIAN DEL PIOMBO, IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY, TENDING TO CONFIRM THE OPINION OF FUSELI, THAT THE FIGURE OF LAZARUS WAS

THE WORK OF MICHAEL ANGELO. *Admirably drawn, in red chalk. From the Collections of Buonaroti and the Chev. Vicar.* I

Bought Colnaghi £21

111. ANOTHER ADMIRABLE STUDY FOR THE SAME SUBJECT, WITH ADDITIONAL FIGURES. *Boldly drawn, in red chalk. From the same Collections as the last.* I

Bought Farrer £23.2s

112. ANOTHER STUDY FOR THE SAME, DIFFERING; WITH SEVERAL MODELS FOR THE FEET: THE ANATOMICAL PROPORTIONS OF THE FIGURE OF LAZARUS VERY CAREFULLY FINISHED – *red chalk. From the same Collections.* I

Bought Farrer £33.12s

113. CHRIST ON THE CROSS: THE MODEL FOR THE RENOWNED PICTURE, IN THE COLLECTION OF THE KING OF NAPLES, WHICH MICHAEL ANGELO IS SAID TO HAVE PAINTED. TWO ANGELS, LAMENTING, ARE SLIGHTLY MARKED IN THE SKY. *In black chalk, finished with the utmost care. SUPERB. From the Collections of the King of Naples, and M. Brunet.* I

Bought Enson £42

114. CHRIST ON THE CROSS. TREATED WITH THE UTMOST GRANDEUR, AND MOST CAREFULLY FINISHED. IN BLACK CHALK. *From the Collections of M. Buonaroti and the Chev. Vicar.* I

Bought Enson £18.18s

115. THE CRUCIFIXION, WITH FIGURES OF THE VIRGIN AND ST. JOHN. *The Cross is of a singular form, and the figures are remarkable for curious pementi, the Virgin having three arms and two heads – black chalk, heightened. From the same Collections.* I

Bought Colnaghi £25.4s

116. THE CRUCIFIXION: A COMPOSITION OF THREE FIGURES – *in black and white chalk. VERY FINE. From the same Collections.* I

Bought Colnaghi £16.5s.6d

117. THE THREE CROSSES: A SUPERB STUDY FOR A COMPOSITION OF ABOVE TWENTY FIGURES; THE CROSSES ARE OF HIGH ELEVATION, THE FIGURES BELOW SKETCHED WITH GREAT SPIRIT – *red chalk. From the same Collections.* I

Bought Tiffin £26.5s

118. THE DESCENT FROM THE CROSS: A DESIGN OF ABOUT TWENTY FIGURES. *Highly finished in black chalk. CAPITAL. From the Collections of Count Gelosi and Mr. Dimsdale.* I

Bought Enson £8.18s.6d

119. THE DEAD BODY OF CHRIST SUPPORTED ON THE KNEES OF THE VIRGIN, AT THE FOOT OF THE CROSS; TWO ANGELS SUSTAIN

THE ARMS. *A subject known by the engraving by J. BONASONI. Black chalk, highly finished. OF THE HIGHEST QUALITY. From the Collection of M. Brunet.* I

Bought Enson £52.10s

120. STUDY OF A GROUP OF THE VIRGIN AND MARIES LAMENTING AT THE FOOT OF THE CROSS. *Black chalk. VERY FINE. From the Collection of the Count de Fries.* I

Bought Tiffin £20.9s. 6d

121. OUR LORD ASCENDING FROM THE TOMB. A group of affrighted soldiers is admirably disposed. The figure of Christ is very carefully and highly finished. *Black chalk. From the Collections of Buonaroti and Vicar.* I

Bought Tiffin £28.7s

122. ANOTHER STUDY OF THE SAME SUBJECT, DIFFERENTLY TREATED. The figure of our Saviour is highly finished, while the soldiers are but slightly sketched in. *Black chalk. From the same Collections as the last.* I

Bought Tiffin £7.7s

123. OUR SAVIOUR RISING FROM THE TOMB. *An admirable study of the figure only, without the surrounding soldiers. Drawn in black chalk, with great care. From the same Collections.* I

Bought Robinson £10.10s

124. DAVID, IN THE ACT OF THROWING A STONE FROM THE SLING, a noble study for the body of the statue, by Michael Angelo, executed at Florence – *pen and bistre; on the reverse are several admirable studies of infants, also in pen. From the Collections of Crozat, Mariette, and Dimsdale.* I

Bought Vaughan £45.3s

125. A SHEET OF STUDIES FOR FIGURES IN THE LAST JUDGMENT. BEAUTIFULLY DRAWN, AND OF THE GREATEST INTEREST – *black chalk. ENGRAVED IN OTTLEY'S ITALIAN SCHOOL OF DESIGN. From the Collections of Ciccipocci, Cavaceppi, and W. Y. Ottley.* I

Bought Clement £22.6s

126. THE UPPER PART OF THE LAST JUDGMENT. THIS ADMIRABLE STUDY IS MOST INTERESTING, AS IT VARIES MATERIALLY FROM THE FRESCO – *black chalk. From the Collections of Buonaroti and Vicar.* I

Bought Colnaghi £12.12s

127. A FIGURE RISING FROM THE GRAVE IN THE FOREGROUND OF THE LAST JUDGMENT. *A study of the finest quality – in black chalk; on the reverse are some studies of arms, &c. From the same Collections as the last.* I

Bought Tiffin £7.7s

128. A SHEET OF STUDIES FROM THE LAST JUDGMENT – *black chalk, on both sides.* I

Bought Gasc £7.17s. 6d

129. A DEMON DRAGGING DOWN A MAN, AND ANOTHER FIGURE, a study for a group in the Last Judgment. *Highly finished, in red chalk.* I

Bought Roupell £3.15s

130. AN ADMIRABLE STUDY FOR PORTIONS OF THE LAST JUDGMENT; particularly a figure descending as in the act of flying. *Very carefully finished, in black chalk.* I

Bought Tiffin £14.3s.6d

131. A STUDY OF A HEAD IN ONE OF THE FIGURES IN THE LAST JUDGMENT. *A drawing of wonderfully fine character, highly finished, in black chalk. CAPITAL. From the Collections of Richardson, C. Rogers, and Hibbert.* I

Bought Clement £7.7s

132. A HEAD OF SATAN. *Full of diabolic expression, and drawn with great spirit, in pen and bistre. From the Collection of J. Richardson.* I

Bought Robinson £4

133. Various studies of figures in the Last Judgment – *pen and chalk.* 3

Bought Bloxam £1.5s

134. THE HEAD OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW, IN THE LAST JUDGMENT. *Engraved in the Italian School of Design, where Mr. Ottley justly observes, that "it possesses an energy and sublimity of character and expression which we shall in vain look for in other artists, and which, perhaps, no one but he ever conceived." On the reverse are a few studies – black and white chalk. SUPERB. From the Collection of W. Y. Ottley, Esq.* I

Bought Evans £13.13s

135. ONE OF THE PROPHETS, SEATED. *A grand study for a figure in the Sistine Chapel – black chalk. From the Collections of J. Richardson and Sir J. Reynolds.* I

Bought Clement £9.19s.6d

136. THE PROPHET ISAIAH. THE FIRST THOUGHT FOR THE MAGNIFICENT FIGURE IN THE SISTINE CHAPEL. *Executed in pen and bistre, and engraved in the Italian School of Design. SUPERB. From the Collections of Ciccipocci, Cavaceppi, and W. Y. Ottley.* I

Bought Vaughan £44.2s

137. JUPITER, IN THE FORM OF AN EAGLE, ASCENDING WITH GANYMEDE. *Most highly finished with black chalk. In the*

lower part the sheep and dogs of Ganymede are slightly indicated. A DRAWING OF THE HIGHEST QUALITY. I

Bought Enson £8.8s

138. THE FALL OF PHAETON. AN ADMIRABLE STUDY FOR THE CELEBRATED PICTURE, KNOWN TO THE AMATEUR, FROM THE ENGRAVING BY N. BEATRICIT. *From an inscription at bottom, in the handwriting of Michael Angelo, it appears to have been a present from the Artist to his friend Tomasso di Cavalieri. It is executed in black chalk, and varies considerably from the engraving. From the Collections of Crozat, Marietti, Legoy, and Dimsdale.* I

Bought Clement £45.3s

139. ONE OF THE FIGURES IN THE CARTOON OF PISA. *This superb model is drawn with great care, in pen and bistre, of the Artist's best time, and for one of his most celebrated works. On the reverse are some studies of figures in red chalk. SUPERB. From the Collections of M. Buonaroti and the Chev. Vicar.* I

Bought Tiffin £10.10s

140. CLEOPATRA, WITH THE ASP. A BEAUTIFUL DRAWING, HIGHLY FINISHED, IN BLACK CHALK. *Engraved in the Italian School of Design. From the Collection W. Y. Ottley, Esq.* I

Bought Gasc £16.16s

141. A FEMALE FIGURE RECLINING: A MODEL FOR THE TOMB OF THE MEDICI. *Exquisitely finished in black chalk, and of the highest quality. From the Collections of Buonaroti and Vicar.* I

Bought Colnaghi £18.18s

142. ANOTHER FEMALE FIGURE RECLINING, BUT DIFFERENTLY DISPOSED. *Beautifully finished in red chalk, and equal to the preceding. From the same Collections.* I

Bought Enson £15.15s

143. A NOBLE HEAD OF A WARRIOR, RICHLY ORNAMENTED WITH A HELMET OF A SINGULAR FORM. *Admirably drawn in black chalk. SUPERB. From the Collection of Sir J. Reynolds.* I

Bought Whitehead £29.8s

144. PROFILE OF A MAN'S HEAD, CUT OFF AT THE CHIN. *A drawing of great character, in red chalk. From the Collection of the Duke of Modena.* I

Bought Campana £2.15

145. A WHOLE-LENGTH FIGURE OF A MAN, BEARING A RESEMBLANCE TO MICHAEL ANGELO. He is represented in a long cloak, with a kind of helmet on his head, and holds a globe in his hand – *pen and bistre. On the back is the head of a young*

man, in black chalk. From the Collections of Lempereur, B. Constantine, and T. Dimsdale. I

Bought Robinson £5.15s.6d

146. STUDY FOR THE HAMAN IN THE VAULT OF THE SISTINE CHAPEL. *Drawn with surprising truth, in red chalk. Repetitions of parts of the figure occur in different attitudes, also some slight sketches on the back of the drawing. A SUPERB EXAMPLE. From the Collections of Buonaroti and Vicar.* I

Bought Robinson £11.11s

147. A STUDY FOR DRAPERY: *a female figure slightly sketched in, with the drapery of the lower part elaborately finished with the pen. On the reverse is another figure, in black chalk. From the same Collections as the last.* I

Bought Evans £5.5s

148. A MALE TORSO AND A LEG. *Admirably drawn, in red chalk and pen. From the Collection of R. Cosway.* I

Bought Farrer £3

149. ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS, WITH INSCRIPTIONS – pen, curious. 12

Bought Brett £3.5s

150. A Portrait Resembling M. ANGELO – in red chalk; and other studies from the Last Judgment, &c. 4

Bought Thorpe £0.7s

151. Various, in the School of MICHAEL ANGELO 5

Bought Thorpe £0.8s

152. THE LAST JUDGMENT: a large drawing of the whole subject, the size of the engraving by Julio Bonasoni, and perhaps by him. *Highly finished, in pen and bistre, heightened with white.* I

Bought Colnaghi £4.4s

153. A portion of the Last Judgment, Drawn By W. Y. OTTLEY; others from the same subject, &c. by various artists. 9

Bought Thorpe £0.13s

154. The angel Gabriel; Samson and Delilah, &c., from the subjects of M. ANGELO. 7

Bought Grüner £0.12s

155. Various drawings in the style of and copies from, M. ANGELO. 6

Bought Evans £0.10s

156. An architectural sketch; and various. 4

Bought Sir T.(homas) Phillipps £0.8

157. Studies of figures, in the school of M. ANGELO. 3
Bought Grüner £0.16s

158. Figures from the Last Judgment, &c. 4
Bought Bloxam £0.8s

159. The figure of a man rising from the grave, in the Last Judgment. *A cartoon, by MICHAEL ANGELO, the size of life, in black chalk, on a brown ground.* 1
Bought Ripp £1.15s

160. A LARGE CARTOON, BY M. ANGELO, REPRESENTING THE MADONNA AND CHILD, with St. John and other saints, the figures as large as life – *black chalk, in oak frame, and plate glass.* 1
Bought Robinson £11.0s.6d

161. AN INTERESTING DOCUMENT IN THE AUTOGRAPH OF M. ANGELO. *From the Collection of the Chev. Vicar, who obtained it from M. Buonaroti, the descendant of the painter.* 1
Bought Sir T.(homas) Phillipps £8.10s

162. A LONG AND INTERESTING LETTER, ADDRESSED TO M. ANGELO BY SEB. DEL PIOMBO, “Rome the 29th December, 1519.” *Of great rarity and interest.* 1
Bought? Boone £12.1s.6d

2nd day; Tuesday, June 5

270. CLOVIO (J.) – Our Saviour rising from the tomb, after the composition by M. Angelo. *Black chalk, delicately finished.* 2
Bought Col(naghi). £2

403. FRANCO (B.) – Abraham’s sacrifice; the Virgin and Child; and various studies of figures. 5

F

WOODBURN SALE, CHRISTIE’S LONDON, 1854

Comprising the entire collections with the exception of the Lawrence Drawings. 16 June 1854 and nine following days

3rd day; Monday, June 19

607. M. AGNOLO. A female head – *heightened with white. Very fine.*
Bought Tiffin, £1.10 (with 606)

4th day; Tuesday, June 20

853. M. Agnolo. Two figures – *pencil, &c.* 5
Bought Munro £0.8

404. FRANCO (B.) – Two figures arguing, after the drawing by M. Angelo engraved in the Italian School of Design – *pen; and a copy.* 2
Bought ? (bought in?) £0.6.

3rd day; Wednesday, June 6

611. PIOMBO (SEB. DEL.) – The entombment of Christ – *black chalk, heightened. From the Collections of Crozat, Calviere, Legoy, Dimsdale.* 1
Bought Clement £2.

4th day; Thursday June 7

669. The cartoon of Pisa, after M. ANGELO; others, after RAFFAELLE, &c. 12
Bought Sir T(homas) P(hillips) £11.6

677. An apostle preaching, AMANATI; St. John, CARACCI, others in the school of M. ANGELO &c.
Bought Sir T(homas) P(hillips) £0 14

SIR P. P. RUBENS

789. GANYMEDE AND THE EAGLE. *Exquisitely finished, in black chalk heightened with white, from the subject by M. ANGELO. From Mariette’s Collection.*

827. SARTO (A. DEL.) – The figure of a man fastening his clothes, in the cartoon of Pisa, by M. ANGELO – *red chalk. From the collections of Richardson and Sir. J. Reynolds.* 1
Bought Morant £5.5

830. SARTO (A. DEL.) – A youth receiving baptism; and a figure fastening his clothes, from M. Angelo’s cartoon of Pisa – *black chalk.* 1
Bought Ker £1.10s



866. M. AGNOLO. A prophetess – *pen. Very grand.*
Bought Bromley or Major? £0.7

5th day; Wednesday, June 21

1069. M. Agnolo, school of: The dead Christ, &c. 7
Bought Donadieu or Hamilton? £0.5.6 or £0. 4.6

1070. M. Agnolo, after: Slight studies. 12
Bought Col(naghi) £1.5

1071. M. Agnolo, school of: Slight studies. 6
Bought Munro £0. 5.

1072. M. Agnolo, after: The prophets, &c. – *small studies in pencil.* 15
Bought F. W. Mayor or Munro? £0.1.0

- 1073.** M. Agnolo, school of: Studies. 8
Bought d./-/ (written in – Donadieu?). Moon? 4
£0.12 Bought in?
- 8th day; Saturday, June 24
- M. AGNOLO**
- 1774.** The council of the gods – *bistre*. 2
Bought Donadieu £0.10
- 1775.** A study of part of the Last Judgment. 2
Bought in?
- 1776.** Studies of heads – *pen*. 13
Bought in?
- 1777.** Small studies of heads (cancelled).
Bought in?
- 1778.** Small studies of figures. 4
Bought in?
- 1779.** Two grand studies of figures – *black chalk* 2
Bought Munro £1
- 1780.** Ganymede and the eagle – *black chalk*.
Bought Pinti £0.14
- 1781.** NO LOT.
- 1782.** Small sketches. 4
Bought Munro £0.7
- 1783.** Two Titans – *chalks*.
Bought Col(naghi) £2.2
- 1784.** HEAD OF A FURY – *black chalk*. *Fine*.
Bought in? £0.15
- 1785.** ANATOMICAL SKETCH of an arm. *Fine*.
Bought in? £0.16
- 1786.** A faun carrying a satyr – *red chalk*.
Bought in? £0.5
- 1787.** PROMETHEUS – *black chalk*. *Fine*.
Bought in? £2.12.6
- 1788.** A pieta – *heightened with chalk*, &c. 2
Bought in? £2. 12.6
(It seems that 1787 and 1788 cost £2.12.6 together.)
- 1789.** Studies – *in red chalk*. From Sir J. Reynolds's collection. 4
Bought in?
- 1790.** A draped figure – *pen*. 2
Bought? £1.1
- 1791.** Slight studies. 5
Bought Hall £0.17
- Those drawings from Woodburn's own collection which remained on his legatee's hands after the sales of 1854 were disposed of following the sale of the Lawrence Collection in 1860: The Remaining Portion of the Collection of Drawings of Samuel Woodburn, Christie's London, 12 June, 1860, and two following days, which form days 8, 9, and 10 of the Lawrence sale.
- June 12**
- 1078.** Others [i.e., various drawings] after M. Angelo, &c. 30
- 1084.** Various, M. Angelo, Tintoretto and others 24
- 1145.** BUONAROTI (M. ANGELO)-JACOB'S DREAM – *black chalk*. 1
Bought Ker £3.3.0
- 1146.** BUONAROTI (M. A.) – The Virgin lamenting over the body of Christ; two females with a child; and another – *black chalk*. 3
Bought Evans £1.16.0
- 1147.** BUONAROTI (M. A.) – PROMETHEUS WITH THE VULTURE KNAWING HIS LIVER – *black chalk*. *Highly finished*. 1
Bought Roupell £4.4.0
- 1148.** BUONAROTI (M. A.) – A man carrying a fawn on his back – *red chalk*. 1
Bought Money £0.12.0
- 1149.** BUONAROTI (M. A.) – A study of a man's arm, with the corresponding skeleton – *bistre pen*. From Mariette's Collection. 1
Bought Gasc £15.10.0
- 1150.** BUONAROTI (M. A.) – Two figures wrestling – *pen*, with inscription at back: engraved in Ottley's Italian School of Design; and a figure, standing – *pen*. 2
Bought Gasc £4.0.0
- 1151.** BUONAROTI (M. A.) – The deposition from the cross – *red chalk*. From Lempereur's and Ottley's Collection. 1
Bought Gasc £0.16.0

II52. BUONAROTI (M. A.) – St. Mark and St. Luke – *a study in black chalk*; a sheet of heads – *pen, &c.* 4
Bought Cockburn £0.13.0

II53. BUONAROTI (M. A.) – Part of the Last Judgment; and various, in the School of M. Angelo. 4

II54. BUONAROTI (M. A.) – A figure of a faun with two children, and two figures on the reverse – *broad pen*; and an anatomical study – *red chalk.* 2
Bought Boone £2.4.0

COMMENTARY

A

The Lawrence Inventory

1. Drawings Framed and Glazed, Cartoons, etc.

1. 1842–51/1846–5/R.59/P.II 761 by Taddeo Zuccaro. Not included in the present catalogue.

2. 1836–71/1842–48/1846–2/R.76; Lloyd, 1977, A66c/Cat. 21.

2. Drawings Framed and Cartooned

3. In Giovanni Bottari's edition of Vasari, 1759–60, III, p. 352, it is noted: "Il cartone di questo quadro [i.e., the painting by Condivi in Casa Buonarroti] è stato gran tempo nel Palazzo Farnese, e ultimamente fu donato dal Re di Napoli al su Cardinale Silvio Valente, ed è certamente originale." repeated verbatim in the edition of Vasari edited by T. Gentili, 1767–75, VI, p. 381, n. 17. In the sale of Cardinal Valenti, Rome, April? 1809, acquired by Guillaume-Lethière, who wrote about it to Vivant Denon on 3 May 1809. Denon made a vague offer to purchase it, but nothing seems to have come of this, and it was presumably sold by Guillaume-Lethière to Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino. His sale London, 6 February, 1815, lot 37 (unsold); London, 14–16 May 1816, lot 175 (unsold); Paris, 25 December–10 January 1824, lot 1 (sold, 7200 francs, presumably to Woodburn); 1836–30/part of August 1838 purchase/1850–212/1860–160/Robinson/Malcolm 81/ BM W75.

3. M. A. Buonaroti

Case 3, Drawer 3

4. 1836–13/1838–3/1850–135/1860–124/BM W4.

5 i,ii,iii,iv,v.

The reference to Ottley as it stands is hard to accept because it is highly unlikely that a copy drawing by Ottley would have been included in this group of Michelangelo drawings. It seems more likely that a word has been lost and that the drawing referred to was one owned, reproduced, or

described by Ottley. It is tempting to connect the reference to the Viterbo *Pietà* with 1804–278 and 1814–826, but this seems to have been an impressive – and probably large – drawing, and it is unlikely that it would have been grouped as one of five in the inventory.

6. 1836–80/1842–4/R.9/P.II 316/Cat. 29.

7. 1836–3/1838–1/1850–155?/1860–145/Malcolm 61/BM W1. See 1850–155 for further details.

8. 1836–77/1838–44/1850–125 bought Woodburn/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection/Count Antoine Seilern/London, The Courtauld Institute of Art, Prince's Gate Collection. See 1850–125 for further details.

9. Probably 1836–45/1842–33/R.51/P.II 409/Cat. 111.

10. 1836–12/1838–2/1850–143?/Lawrence Gallery, 1853, pl. 21/1860–147/Vaughan/BM W10.

11. 1836–26?/1838–11/1850 – Not securely identifiable, perhaps 144/1860–123/J. C. Robinson/Malcolm 64 /BM W54.

12. 1842–36/R.38/P.II 376/Cat. 72.

13. 1836–21 (where described as female)/1842–27/ R.10/P.II 315/Cat. 31).

14. Probably 1836–56/1838–27/1850–170/Weimar, Sachsen Weimar Collection (Gotti, 1875, II, p. 210, *Gesù Cristo nell'atto di risorgere dalla tomba, con la mano sinistra alzata e la destra appena indicata. Bello studio, traciato leggermente a matita nera, per una Resurrezione. Collezione di S. A. R. la Granduchessa. Dalle Collezioni D'Argenville, Lawrence e Re dei Paesi Bassi.*)/Rotterdam, Boymans van Beuningen Museum, I.20, as after Michelangelo, attributed by Wilde, 1953a, p. 89, to Giulio Clovio; another candidate for the draughtsman would be Alessandro Allori.

15. 1836–93/1842–40/R.50/P.II 480 as Polidoro da Caravaggio. Not included in the present catalogue.

16. 1836–38/1838–19/1850–118/Lawrence Gallery, 1853, pl. 19/Louvre Inv. 746/J38 (with incorrect reference to the 1836 exhibition).

17. 1836–100/1838–59/1850–123?, bought Engelbert/Frankfurt, Städelches Kunstinstitut, Inv. 393/Corpus 332.

18. 1836-69/1838-38/1850-104/1860-127/ J. P. Heseltine/BM W63.

19. 1836-36/1838-17/1850-102/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 16/1860-132/Malcolm 58/BM W2.

20. 1836-24?/1838-9/1850-Not securely identifiable/1860-122/ Vaughan/BM W53.

21.

i. This is probably identical with the drawing in the Julien de Parme Sale, Paris, 21-22 February 1794, lot 11:

MICHEL-ANGE BUONAROTTI

Un Christ en Croix: deux anges sont aux deux côtés, & au bas une tête de mort, dessiné comme le précédent, ie precieusement à la pierre noire.

Julien de Parme is not listed in the provenance for this drawing in the 1836 catalogue, which is given as the King of Naples and Brunet. Even though it is uncertain how this information should be interpreted, in the compiler's view the most likely scenario is that the drawing had been acquired by Julien de Parme directly or indirectly from the Royal House of Naples, drawings from whose collection were evidently being dispersed before 1770. It was presumably acquired either directly or indirectly at his sale by Louis-Charles Brunet (1746-1825), the brother-in-law of Dominique-Vivant Denon, by whom he was presumably advised on his purchases. Brunet died in the same year as Vivant Denon, and his collection seems to have been acquired by Woodburn in Paris at around the same time as Woodburn acquired drawings from the collection of Vivant Denon himself, shortly after the latter's death, on 28 April 1825. Woodburn probably acquired it from one of Brunet's two sons, Baron Dominique-Vivant Denon's nephews, occasional purchasing agents and final beneficiaries, as well as – presumably – of their own father's estate. These brothers were Vivant-Jean Brunet (1778-1866), a General of the Empire, and Dominique-Vivant Brunet (1779-1846), who later took the name Brunet-Denon in honour of his uncle. 1836-22/1838-8/1850-145/1860-113/BM W67.

ii. 1814-1591/1842-24/JCR 73/P.II 352/Cat. 67.

22. 1836-17/1842-14/R.52/P.II 410/Cat. 66.

23.

i. 1842-50/JCR65/P.II 362/Cat. 93.

ii. Not exhibited in 1836/part of August 1838 purchase?/1850-108/1860-152/Chantilly, Musée Condé; Lanfranc de Panthou, 1995, no. 39.

24. 1836-11/J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

25. 1836-41/1842-15/R.43/P.II 406/Cat. 76.

26.

i. 1842-31/R. 55/P.II 319/Cat. 35.

ii. 1860-1084/BM W90.

27. 1814-259?/1836-90/1838-54/1850-134 bought Roos/Weimar, Sachsen Weimar Collection (Gotti, 1875, II, p. 209, *Testa di Vecchio con barba, voltà di profilo a destra. Weimar, Collezione di S. A. R. il Granduca. Dalle Collezioni Buonarroti, Wicar, Lawrence e Re dei Paesi Bassi.*)/Private Collection, Switzerland/Phillips, London, Sale 11 December 1996, lot 239, black chalk, 192 × 147 mm, as follower of Daniele da Volterra.

28. 1836-39/1838-20/1850-164/Weimar, Sachsen Weimar Collection (Von Ritgen photograph, 1865, no. 26 as Michelangelo; Gotti, 1875, II, p. 209: *Testa virile con barba appuntata, vòlta di profile a sinistra. Creduto il Ritratto dell'Ariosto. Bel disegno a matita rosso, dintornato in ovale e incorniciato da un disegno con due figure, fatto da Giorgio Vasari, al quale apparteneva. Collezione di S. A. R. la Granduchessa. Dalle Collezioni Vasari, d'Argenville, Lawrence e Re dei Paesi Bassi.*)/Koenigs Collection/Rotterdam, Boymans van Beuningen Museum, I.392 as Parmigianino.

Case 5, Drawer 2

29. 1842-80/R.57/P.II 407/Cat. 109.

30. 1836-92/1842-65/R.33/P.II 236; as by Battista Franco after Rosso. Not included in the present catalogue.

4. Michael Angelo Buonaroti

Case 1, Drawer 1

Case 2, Drawer 4

31. 1807-374?/1836-10/1842-85/R.4/P.II 452/Cat. 114.

32 i,ii,iii,iv,v. Unidentified.

Case 3, Drawer 3

33. Cavaliere Genovesino (L.545)/1860-268, bought by Ensen, £1.11s.6d/Malcolm 213/BM GP 70.

34. 1836-72/1838-40/1850-169/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 3/1860-105/Duke of Portland Collection.

In 1836 it was stated that this drawing came from the Buonarroti and Wicar Collections, and it was presumably among those acquired by Woodburn from Wicar in 1823.

It is worth noting that what must be an otherwise unrecorded copy of this drawing appeared in William Roscoe's sale of 1816 as lot 64: "One, the Holy Family with St. John. The Child asleep on the knee of the Virgin, St. John with his finger on his lips. Red chalk, highly finished. Size, 11 h. 9 1/2 w. This design of Michlangeli is well known both from the pictures and prints of it, in which there are several slight variations. The subject is the same as that of the celebrated Picture belonging to Mr. Dawson, of Manchester." It was bought by a Mr. Du? Piet for £1.7.0., a

low price which strongly suggests that it was recognised as a copy.

- 35. 1836-96/1842-22/ R.13/P.II 323/Cat. 28.
- 36. 1836-83/1838-48/1850-130, as Sebastiano del Piombo/1860-112/BM W16.
- 37. 1836-79/1838-46/1850-142?/1860-100 bought Tiffin/Locker[-Lampson]/BM W11.
- 38. 1836-76/1842-28 [sic, for 29]/ R.37/P.II 342/Cat. 40.
- 39. 1836-15/1838-4/1850-101/BM W42.
- 40. This drawing is no doubt identical with that in the Julien de Parme Sale of 21-22 February 1794, lot 10:

MICHEL-ANGE BUONAROTTI

Une Descente de Croix, composition de quatre figures precieusement dessinées à la pierre noire; on y joindra l'estampe gravée par Bonasone.

According to the 1836 catalogue, which does not mention Julien de Parme, this drawing was subsequently owned by Brunet (For discussion of the Brunet issue, see commentary to 1830-21). 1836-64/1838-35/1850-180/1860-119, bought by Enson, £52.10s/Brooks Collection/F. T. Palgrave Collection, sold Christie's, 4 June 1886, bought by J. C. Robinson/Agnews, London/Acquired by Mrs. Gardner in 1902 for the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.

- 41. 1836-73/1838-41/1850-158/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 4/1860-104/BM W58.
- 42. 1836-85/1838-50/1850-167/1860-110/Bayonne Musée Bonnat, Bean 65.
- 43. 1836-43/1838-23/1850-151, bought Engelbert/Frankfurt, Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Inv. 399, by Sebastiano del Piombo. Malke, 1980, no. 87, established the pre-Richardson provenance of this sheet as Padre Resta whose number k67 it bears.
- 44. 1836-87/1838-52/1850-130, as Sebastiano del Piombo/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 12/1860-111, bought Farrer/BM W17.
- 45.
 - i. 1836-62/1838-33/1850-122/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 11/1860-121/BM W52.
 - ii. 1860-270/Probably Frankfurt, Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Inv. 3975. Perhaps by Alessandro Allori rather than Clovio.
- 46. This item is puzzling. It would be easy to assume that it was a drawing made for the *Last Judgement*, but no other instance can be found in the 1830 inventory of the word "cartoon" used to describe a preparatory drawing. The

present work cannot be the Taddeo Zucaro cartoon, already described as 1830-1. There remains the possibility that it may be 1860-159, bought by Ripp for £1.15s. If so, the facts that it did not appear in the 1836 exhibition, cannot be traced in the collection of William II of Holland, and presumably was not sold to him, and was not offered to Oxford, suggests that it was soon judged to be much less significant than its 1830 listing would suggest. This would also be borne out by the low price that it realised in 1860.

- 47. Probably 1836-27/1838-12/1850-105/1860-115/Malcolm 73/BM W81.
- 48. 1836-25/1838-10/1850-171/1860-116/Malcolm 73/BM W82.
- 49. 1836-28/1838-13/1850-152/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 9/1860-114/Count Antoine Seilern/London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Prince's Gate Collection.
- 50. 1836-23/1842-38/R.72/P.II 343/Cat. 57.
- 51.
 - i. 1836-54/1842-39/R.31/P.II 324/Cat. 23.
 - ii. Sotheby's, 18 February 1991, lot 159.
- 52. Reproduced by Ottley, *Italian School*, f.p. 32/1814-262, bought by Roscoe/1836-63/1838-34/1850-154 (the subject misidentified as the Virgin and Child)/1860-136/Vaughan/BM W29. See 1814-262 and 1850-154 for further details.
- 53. **i,ii,iii,iv.** 1836-50/1842-66/R.25/P.II 303-306/Cats. 13-16.
- 54. 1836-89/1842-21/R.23/P.II 297/Cat. 18.
- 55. 1836-74/1838-42/1850-107/1860-134/BM W57.
- 56. Probably 1836-70/1838-39/1850-147, bought by Roos, 115 guilders/Weimar, Sachsen Weimar Collection (Von Ritgen photograph, 1865, no. 6 as Michelangelo; Brinckmann, 1925, no. 97)/Present whereabouts unknown.
- 57. 1814-829/1836-68/1842-34/R.28/P.II 361/Cat. 91.
- 58. 1836-32/1842-11/R.29/P.II 318/Cat. 34.
- 59. 1842-68/R.68/P.II 357/Cat. 87.
- 60. Reproduced by Ottley, *Italian School*, f.p. 33/1814-1768/1836-84/1838-49/1850-103/1860-125/E. Galichon, his sale, May 1875, lot. 16/Malcolm 80/BM W60.
- 61. **i,ii,iii,iv.** 1814-264/1814-265/1836-2/1842-47/R.24/P.II 299-302/Cats. 9-12.
- 62. 1842-78/R.58/ P.II 330/Cat. 42.
- 63. 1836-37/1838-18/1850-162/1860-146/Robinson/Malcolm 60/BM W13.

5. M. Angelo

Case 3, Drawer 3

64 i,ii,iii. 1836-88/1838-53/1850-129, as Marcello Venusti/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 7/1860-109/BM W76-78.

65. 1836-78?/1838-45/1850-165?; bought Brondgeest, 75 guilders/Weimar, Sachsen Weimar Collection/Not further identified; untraced.

66. 1814-254/1836-1/1842-43/1846-11/R.81/P.II 333 (all these include Wicar in the provenance but omit Ottley)/Cat. 55.

67. 1836-44/1838-24/1850-106/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection (Gotti, 1875, II, p. 210: *Figura d'uomo nudo, seduto in terra in atto di dormire, posando la testa sul braccio sinistro. A matita nera. A tergo: Studio del corpo nudo di una donna, mancante della testa e del braccio sinistro. Collezione di S. A. R. il Granduca. Dalle Collezioni Reynolds, Lawrence e re dei Paesi Bassi.*)/National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (see Franklin, 2005)/By Jacopo Pontormo, c. 1540.

68.

i. 1814-1766/1836-52/1842-44/R.1/P.II 326/Cat. 33.

ii. 1860-404 [where accompanied by a second copy, more likely that formerly in the Payne-Ott Collection than that now in Portsmouth].

69. 1836-86/1838-51/1850-119/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 14/1860-126/Thibaudeau/Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, Bean 67.

70. 1836-29/1838-14/1850-127/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 8/1860-117/BM W32.

71. Probably 1814-828 (with the provenance given as Cicciaporci)/1836-51 (with the provenance given as Richardson)/1838-26/1850-179 bought by Roos/Leembruggen sale, 1865, lot 894/Malcolm 366/BM not in Wilde, but later accepted by him/PG 276, placed as W.15a.

72. Not identified.

73. 1836-66/1838-37/1850-149/1860-107/Clarke Collection/Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum.

74. 1842-77/R.49/P.II 311/Cat. 38.

75. 1836-94 or -95/1838-55 or -56/1850-112 or 1850-173/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection (Von Ritgen photograph 1865, no. 2 or no. 50, both as Michelangelo)/Phillips, London, 7 July 1999, lot 120; black chalk, heightened with white, 395 × 256 mm, or lot 121; black chalk, heightened with white, 398 × 261 mm, both as Roman School, sixteenth century. See 1850-112 and 1850-173 for further details.

76. 1836-57/1838-28/1850-126, as Sebastiano, bought by Roos/Leembruggen sale 1866, lot 920, as Sebastiano/Malcolm 63/BM W15.

77. 1836-19?/1838-6/1850-128?. Not identified, untraced.

78. 1814-1680/1836-47/1842-46/R.20/P.II 405/Cat. 77.

79. 1836-20 (although not recorded by Woodburn, this sheet also bears the stamp of Sir Peter Lely on the recto and Gibson's inscription *M. Angelo* and his price code 8.3 on the verso)/1838-7/1850-117/Santa Barbara, California, Alfred Moir Collection. See 1850-117 for further details.

80. 1842-71/R.5/P.II 341/Cat. 49.

81 i,ii,iii. Probably a combination of 1814-824, 1814-825, and 1804-275 i,ii/1814-1540 i,ii Subsequently 1836-82 i,ii,iii/1842-64 i,ii,iii/1846-35 i,ii,iii/R.70 (1,2,3)/P.II 338,339,340 (all of which give the provenance as Buonarroti, Wicar, and Lawrence, the Cicciaporci-Cavaceppi provenance omitted)/Cats.45, 48, 47.

82 i,ii. 1842-57/R.12/P.II 370,374/Cats. 68, 71.

83. 1836-18/1838-5/1850-163/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 27/1860-144/Untraced.

84. 1836-61/1838-32/1850-172/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 6/Paris, Louvre, Inv. 715/J55, as Raffaello da Montelupo.

85. 1814-257/1836-7/1842-58/R.75/P.II 337/Cat. 44.

86. 1836-5/1842-63/R.3/P.II 412/Cat. 58.

87. 1804-27 i/1842-62/R.86/P.II 82/Cat. 113.

88. 1836-60/1838-31/1850-132, as Venusti/1860-101/Miss K. Radford/BM W71.

89. 1836-65 (the provenance is given in 1836 as Buonarroti and Wicar, but because the drawing bears the *Bona Roti* inscription, it may not have come from Casa Buonarroti)/1838-36/1850-133, as Marcello Venusti/1860-102/BM W72.

90. Not identified.

91. 1842-79/R.8/P.II 314 /Cat. 20.

92. 1804-27 ii/1842-74/1846-49/R.66/P.II 373/Cat. 70.

93. Pierre Crozat?; his number? 396 at lower left/Count Moritz von Fries (L.2903)/1836-58/1838-29/1850-141?, bought Enthoven, 200 guilders/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 10/1860-120/BM W69.

94. 1814-253/1836-49/1842-42/1846-12/R.80/P.II 332 (all these include Wicar in the provenance but omit Ottley)/Cat. 56.

95. 1814-260, leaf 2, iii/1842-56/R.82/P.II 344/Cat. 54.

96. 1842-53/R.44/ P.II 408/Cat. 78.

97. ?1836-45/1842-33/R.51/P.II 409/Cat. 111.

98. 1842-5/R.19/P.II 296/Cat. 7.

99. 1814-1758/1836-55/1842-30/1846-40/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pls. 29 and 31 /R.18/P.II 293/Cat. 4.

100. Not identified.

101.

i. 1836-9/1842-17/R.42/P.II 372/Cat. 69.

ii. 1836-9/1842-17/R.42/P.II 307/Cat. 25.

102. 1836-67/1842-37/R.69/P.II 328/Cat.46.

103. 1842-72/R.48.1,2,3 /P.II 312,313,378*/Cats. 19, 3, 75.

104. 1814-1682/1836-91/1842-32/R.2/P.II 327/Cat. 24.

105. 1836-31/1842-18/R.22/P.II 291/Cat. 1.

106. 1842-10/R.16/P.II 294/Cat. 5.

107. 1836-81/1838-47/1850-166/Louvre Inv. 714/J4.

108.

i. 1842-75/R.53.2/P.II 348/Cat. 62.

ii. 1842-75/R.53.1/P.II 320/Cat. 36.

109 i,ii,iii. Not identified.

110. 1836-6/1842-26/R.39/P.II 42 and 375/Cat. 8.

111. 1814-1769; the nature of the inscription on this drawing suggests that it came from the Cicciaporci-Cavaceppi group. /1836-48 (the provenance given solely as Ottley)/1838-25/1850-168/1860-140 bought Gasc/Vaughan/BM W91.

112. 1807-376i?/1814-1681/1842-67/1846-18/R.17/P.II 295 (all give the provenance solely as Wicar, with Ottley omitted)/Cat. 6.

113. 1804-274ii/1814-1587ii/1842-28/R.74/P.II 345/Cat. 50.

114. 1836-75/1838-43/1850-111/1860-143/BM W87.

115. 1836-16/1842-41/R.30/P.II 325/Cat. 22.

116. 1836-42/1838-22/1850-157?/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 18/1860-139/Vaughan/BM W6.

117. Moselli Collection Verona before that of Pierre Crozat/1836-59/ 1838-30/1850-124/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 24/1860-138, bought by Clement/ Emile Galichon, his sale, May 1875, lot 15/Malcolm 79/BM W55.

118. Perhaps 1836-34/1838-15/1850-146, bought by Brondgeest, 50 guilders/1860-131?. Not further identified; untraced. See 1860-131 for further details.

Case 7, Drawer 3

119. Not exhibited in 1836/August 1838 purchase/1850-unidentified/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection/Phillips, London, 7 July 1999, lot 122, 406 × 387 mm, as Roman School, sixteenth century.

120. Not identified.

121. Not exhibited in 1836/part of August 1838 purchase of William II of Holland?/1850-241? bought by Brondgeest, 4 guilders/1860-99?/ Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection (Von Ritgen photograph, 1865, no. 39 as Passerotti); Gotti, 1875, II, p. 209: *Ritratto di Michelangelo Buonarroti. Bel disegno fatto a penna da B. Passerotti. Collezione di*

S. A. R. il Granduca. Proveniente dalle Collezioni Cosway, Lawrence e Re de'Paesi Bassi; reproduced by Steinmann, 1913, pl. 67A)/With Thomas le Claire, Hamburg in 1990 (advertisement in the *Burlington Magazine* January 1990, p. v). It is not clear whether or not the ex-Weimar drawing is identical with the present number (in which case Woodburn must have acquired it from Brondgeest between 1850 and 1853) and which would, therefore, presumably have been acquired for the Sachsen-Weimar Collection directly or indirectly at the 1860 sale. An alternative is that the ex-Weimar example went directly to the Sachsen-Weimar Collection from Brondgeest, from which it would follow that 1860-99 is a second – but otherwise unidentified – portrait drawing of Michelangelo by Passerotti owned by Lawrence. Passerotti made several drawn portraits of Michelangelo (see Cat. 107).

11. Julio Clovio**Case 5, Drawer 2****122.**

i. It may be that the Crucifixion was a second copy by Clovio of that drawn for Vittoria Colonna (see the description at 1830-21 i), but none of those known to the compiler bears the Lawrence dry stamp.

ii. Not identified.

26. B. Franco**Case 5, Drawer 3**

123. Probably 1814-1503, as Michelangelo. Probably identical with the highly Michelangesque drawing by Battista Franco, now in the British Museum, GP 133; the provenance given solely as Lawrence.

52. P. P. Rubens**Case 7, Drawer 2**

124. P. H. Lankrink (L.2090)/Not exhibited in Woodburn's Rubens exhibition of 1835/Part of August 1838 purchase/1850-unidentified/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection (Von Ritgen photograph, 1865, no. 12 as Rubens)/Phillips, London, 7 July 1999, lot 115, black and red chalk, 467 × 690 mm.

56. P. P. Rubens**Case 5, Drawer 1**

125. P.-J. Mariette (L.1852), his sale 1875, part of lot 1022/Woodburn's 1835 Rubens exhibition, no. 27/1860-789 bought by Farrer/E. Galichon, his sale Paris, 10-14 May 1875, lot 18, bought in/L. Galichon, his sale Paris, 4-9 March 1895, lot 12. Bequest of Jacques Petithory to the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, Inv. CMNI 3147. The technique and dimensions as given in Woodburn's 1835 Rubens

exhibition catalogue correspond precisely with those of the drawing now in Bayonne: black chalk heightened with white body colour, the contours reworked with pen and ink, 186 × 242 (enlarged to 285 × 242 mm).

59. F. Parmiggiano

Case, Drawer 2

126. Not identified.

81.

Case, Drawer 3

127. One of these four might be the variant in Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland (Inv. RSA 981; black chalk and brown wash, 258 × 200 mm) of Michelangelo's *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* in the J. Paul Getty Museum, attributed by the compiler (Joannides, 1998) to Agnolo Bronzino.

128 i,ii. Not identified.

129. Not identified.

82.

Case 7, Drawer 1

130 i,ii. These are not to be confused with 82 i,ii.

131. This seems to have been retained by Woodburn; 1860–669 (one of twelve in that lot) £1.11.6d to Sir Thomas Phillipps/BM W85).

Varia

Case 7, Drawer 2

132. Not identified.

133 i,ii,iv,v. All not identified.

Lud. Carrachi

Case 7, Drawer 1.

134. Not identified.

135. Not identified.

84. Varia

Case 6, Drawer 1

136 i,ii,iii,iv. The "Hercules at Fontainebleau" is presumably 1842–39 (Raphael)/R.151/P.II 644/Cat. 81.

Case 7, Drawer 1

137. 1842–20/R.14/ P.II 351/Cat. 65.

138. Not exhibited in 1836/August 1838 purchase?/1850–83? as Sebastiano; not further traced.

139 i,ii,iii,iv,v.

i. Perhaps 1814–1502, as from the collection of Lamberto Gori/1836–98 (with the provenance given incorrectly as Buonarroti and Wicar, that from Gori omitted.)/1838–57/1850–148 bought by Brondgeest/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection/Phillips, London, 7 July 1999, lot 119, black chalk, 393 × 229 mm, as circle of Daniele da Volterra. See 1850–148 for further details.

ii. Perhaps part of 1860–153/Brussels, E. Wauters Collection, red chalk, 270 × 190 mm (K. Frey, 1909–11, pl. 250)/Sold Christie's, London, 8 April 1986, lot 23/Seen by the compiler in a French private collection c. 1992, bearing the Lawrence dry stamp. See 1860–153 for further details.

It must be stressed that these two identifications are entirely conjectural. No suggestion can be offered about the remaining three drawings.

140 i,ii,iii,iv. Not identified.

89.

Case 11, Drawer 5

141.

i. Not identified.

ii. 1836–46/1842–8/R.83 as Jacopo Sansovino/P.II 415 as Naldini/Cat. 112 as Muziano.

91.

Case 11, Drawer 4

142 i,ii,iii. Probably 1860–133 i,ii,iii, bought by Bloxam, £1.5s. One of these copies must be the drawing after *Adam and Abel*, black chalk, 250 × 403 mm, in Rugby School, Inv. R/S II 18. The others are not currently identifiable.

Case 11, Drawer 3

143 i,ii. This entry probably included two copies after the same figure, one in red chalk, the other in black.

i. Richardson/Sir J. Reynolds/William Young Ottley, 1804–279ii/Woodburn's seventh exhibition as Andrea del Sarto, no. 79/1860–827, bought by Morant, £5.5s/The Marquess of Northampton, Castle Ashby, Northampton; his sale at Christie's London, 1 May 1959, lot 6/P.&D. Colnaghi, London/N. Embiricos, London/Christie's, New York, 24 January 2001, lot 8, as Salviati; 2003 with Jean-Luc Baroni, London; red chalk, 422 × 211 mm. See 1804–279ii for further details.

ii. Probably Richardson/Sir J. Reynolds?/William Young Ottley, 1804–279iii/1860–830ii as Andrea Del Sarto, bought Sir Robert Ker £1.10s/Admiral Sir George King-Hall, 1930, Mrs B. McLeod; sale at Sotheby's, London, 27 October 1948, lot 67/Bought by de Bellerocche, £36/Untraced. See 1804–279iii for further details.

144 i,ii,iii,iv. Not identified.

Lower parts. Drawer 4, Case 1

Portfolio G

145 i,ii. Not identified.

146 i,ii,iii,iv,v,vi,viii. Not identified.

Case 12, Drawer 4

Portfolio H

147. 1842-52/R.36/P.II 356/Cat. 86.

B

Woodburn's 1836 Exhibition

1. 1814-254/1830-66/1842-43/1846-11/R.81/P.II 333 (all these include Wicar in the provenance but omit Ottley)/Cat. 55.

2. 1814-264, 1814-265/1830-61 i,ii,iii,iv/1842-47/R.24/P.II 299-302/Cats. 9-12.

3. 1830-77/1838-1/1850-155/1860-145/Malcolm 61/BM W1. See 1850-155 for further details.

4. 1830-Not identifiable/1842-83/1846-47/R.27/P.II 298/Cat. 17.

5. 1830-86/1842-63/R.3/P.II 412/Cat. 58.

6. 1830-110/1842-26/R.39/P.II 42 and 375/Cat. 8.

7. 1814-257/1830-85/1842-58/1846-26/R.75/P.II 337/Cat. 44.

8. Probably 1842-14/R.87/P.II 237/Cat. 110.

9. 1830-101/1842-17/R.42/P.II 372/Cat. 69.

10. 1807-374/1830-31/1842-85/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 28/R.4/ P.II 452/Cat. 114.

11. 1830-24/J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

12. 1830-10/1838-2/1850-143/1850-143/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 21/1860-147/Vaughan/BM W10.

13. 1830-4/1838-3/1850-135/1860-124/Vaughan/BM W4.

14. 1842-13/R.6/P.II 309/Cat. 27.

15. 1830-39/1838-4/1850-101/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 17/Wellesley Sale, 1866, lot 2417/Malcolm 56/BM W42.

16. 1830-115/1842-41/1846-15/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 20/R.30/ P.II 325/ Cat. 22.

17. 1830-22/1842-14/R.52/P.II 410/Cat. 66.

148. Not identified.

149. *Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, no. 2/1860-103 as from collection of Charles I/bought by Enson, £8. 15s/J. C. Robinson/Morgan Library, IV.7, Corpus 399. See 1860-103 for further details.

Case 6, Drawer 4

Portfolio A

150. i,ii. Not identified.

Case 12, Drawer 4

Portfolio B

151 i,ii,iii,iv,v,vi,vii. None identified.



18. 1830-83/1836-18/1838-5/1850-163/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 27/1860-144. Untraced.

19. 1830-77/1838-6/1850-128?. Not identified, untraced.

20. Although not recorded by Woodburn, this sheet also bears the stamp of Sir Peter Lely on the recto and Gibson's inscription M. Angolo and his price code 8.3 on the verso/1830-79/1838-7/1850-117 /Santa Barbara, California, Alfred Moir Collection. See 1850-117 for further details.

21. 1830-13/1842-27/1846-24/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl.19/R.10/P.II 315/ Cat. 31.

22. 1830-21 (with further details)/1838-8/1850-145/1860-113/Malcolm 67/ BM W67.

23. 1830-50/1842-38/R.72/P.II 343/Cat. 57.

24. 1830-20/1838-9/1850-Not securely identifiable/1860-122/Vaughan/BM W53.

25. 1830-48/1838-10/1850-171/1860-116/Malcolm 73/BM W82.

26. 1830-11/1838-11/1850-Not securely identifiable, perhaps 144/1860-123/J. C. Robinson/Malcolm 64/BM W54.

27. Probably 1830-47/1838-12/1850-105/1860-115/Malcolm 73/BM W81.

28. 1830-49/1838-13/1850-152/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 9/1860-114/Count Antoine Seilern/London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Prince's Gate Collection.

29. 1830-70/1838-14/1850-127/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 8/1860-117/BM W32

30. 1830-3(with account of previous history)/1836-30/August 1838 purchase/1850-212/ 1860-160/Robinson/Malcolm 81/BM W75.

31. 1830-105/1842-18/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 5/R.22/P.II 291/Cat. 1.

32. 1830-58/1842-11/R.29/P.II 318/Cat. 34.
33. 1830-Not identifiable/1842-6/1846-53/R.11/P.II 322/Cat. 32, £31.10s.
34. 1830-118?/1838-15/1850-146, bought by Brondgeest, 50 guilders/1860-131?. Not further identified; untraced. See 1860-131 for further details.
35. 1830-Not identified/1838-16/1850-120?, bought by Brondgeest, 225 guilders/ 1860-142?/ bought by Enson/Vaughan?/BM W102. See 1850-120 for further details.
36. 1830-19/1838-17/1850-102/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl.16/1860-132/Robinson/Malcolm 58/BM W2.
37. 1830-63/1838-18/1850-162/1860-146/Robinson/Malcolm 60/BM W13.
38. 1830-16/1838-19/1850-118/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853 pl. 19/ Louvre Inv. 746/J38 (with incorrect reference to the 1836 exhibition).
39. 1830-28/1838-20/1850-164/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection/Koenigs Collection/Rotterdam, Boymans van Beuningen Museum, I.392 as Parmigianino. See 1830-28 for further details.
40. 1830-Not identified/1838-21/1850-159/1860-130/BM W61.
41. 1830-25/1842-15/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 28/R.43/P.II 406/ Cat. 76
42. 1830-116/1838-22/1850-157?/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 18/1860-139/Vaughan/BM W6.
43. 1830-43/1838-23/1850-151 bought by Engelbert/Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Inv. 399 as Sebastiano. Malke, 1980, no. 87, establishes the pre-Richardson provenance of this sheet as Padre Resta whose number k67 it bears.
44. 1830-67/1838-24/1850-106/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection/National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. By Jacopo Pontormo, c. 1540. See 1830-67 for further details.
45. 1830-9?/1842-33/R.51/P.II 409/Cat. 111.
46. 1830-141ii/1842-8/R.83 as Jacopo Sansovino/P.II 415 as Naldini/ Cat. 112 as Muziano.
47. 1814-1680/1830-78/1842-46/R.20/P.II 405/Cat. 77. See 1814-1680 for further details.
48. 1814-1769 (The nature of the inscription on this drawing suggests that it came from the Cicciaporci-Cavaceppi group.)/1830-111/1838-25/1850-168/1860-140 bought Gasc/Vaughan/BM W91.
49. 1814-254/1830-94/1842-42/1846-12/R.80/P.II 332 (All these include Wicar in the provenance but omit Ottley.)/Cat. 56.
50. 1830-53 i, ii, iii, iv/1842-66/R.25/P.II 303-06/Cats. 13-16.
51. Although the provenance is given here as Richardson, this drawing is probably 1814-828 (with the provenance given as Cicciaporci)/1830-71/1838-26/1850-179 bought by Roos/Leembruggen sale, 1865, lot 894/Malcolm 366/BM not in Wilde, 1953a, but later accepted by him/PG, no. 276, placed as W.15a.
52. 1814-1766/1830-68 i/1842-44/1846-8/R.1/P.II 326/Cat. 33.
53. 1842-45/1846-41/R.78/P.II 369/Cat. 103.
54. 1830-51i/1842-39/1846-7/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 25/R.31/P.II 324/ Cat. 23.
55. 1814-1758/1830-99/1842-30/1842-30/1846-40/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pls. 29 and 31 /R.18/P.II 293/Cat. 4.
56. Probably 1830-14/1838-27/1850-170/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection/Rotterdam, Boymans van Beuningen Museum I.20, as after Michelangelo, attributed by Wilde, 1953a, p. 89 to Giulio Clovio; another candidate would be Alessandro Allori. See 1830-14 for further details.
57. 1830-76/1838-28/1850-126, as Sebastiano, bought by Roos/Leembruggen sale 1866, lot 920, as Sebastiano/Malcolm 63/BM W15.
58. Pierre Crozat?; his number? 396 at lower left/Count Moritz von Fries (L.2903)/1830-93/1838-29/1850-141? bought by Enthoven, 200 guilders/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 10/1860-120/BM W69.
59. Moselli Collection, Verona, before that of Pierre Crozat/ 1830-117/1836-59/1838-30/1850-124/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 24/1860-138 bought Clement/Emile Galichon, his sale May 1875, lot 15/Malcolm 79/BM W55.
60. 1830-88/1838-31/1850-132, as Venusti/1860-101/Miss K. Radford/BM W71.
61. 1830-84/1838-32/1850-172/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 6/ Paris, Louvre, Inv. 715/J55, as Raffaello da Montelupo.
62. 1830-45i/1838-33/1850-122/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 11/1860-121/BM W52.
63. Reproduced by Ottley, *Italian School*, f.p. 32/1814-262, bought by Roscoe/1830-52/1838-34/1850-154 (the subject misidentified as the Virgin and Child)/1860-136/Vaughan/BM W29. See 1814-262 and 1850-154 for further details.
64. 1830-40/1838-35/1850-180/1860-119, bought by Enson, £52.10s/Brooks Collection/F. T. Palgrave Collection, sold Christie's 4 June 1886, bought by J. C. Robinson/Agnew's, London. Acquired by Mrs. Gardner in 1902 for the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston. See 1830-40 for further details.
65. 1830-89/The provenance is given here as Buonarroti and Wicar, but because the drawing bears the *Bona Roti* inscription, it may not have come from Casa Buonarroti./1838-36/1850-133, as Marcello Venusti/1860-102/BM W72.

66. 1830-73/1838-37/1850-149/1860-107/Clarke Collection/Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum.
67. 1830-102/1842-37/1846-22/R.69/P.II 328/Cat. 46.
68. 1814-829/1830-57/1842-34/1846-43/R.28/P.II 361/Cat. 91.
69. 1830-18/1838-38/1850-104/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 15/1860-127/J. P. Heseltine/BM W63.
70. Probably 1830-56/1838-39/1850-147; bought by Roos, 115 guilders/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection (Von Ritgen photograph, 1865, no. 6 as Michelangelo; Brinckmann, 1925, no. 97)/Present whereabouts unknown.
71. 1830-2/1842-48/R.76/Lloyd, 1977, A66c/Cat. 21.
72. 1830-34/1838-40/1850-169/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 3/1860-105/Duke of Portland Collection. See 1830-34 for further details.
73. 1830-41/1838-41/1850-158/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 4/1860-104/BM W58.
74. 1830-55/1838-42/1850-107/1860-134/Malcolm 74 /BM W57.
It should be noted that this sheet does not bear the Lawrence dry stamp (L.2445), which was presumably inadvertently omitted.
75. 1830-114/1838-43/1850-111/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 22/1860-143/BM W87.
76. 1830-38/1842-28 [sic for 29]/1846-34/R.37/P.II 342/Cat. 40.
77. 1830-8/1838-44/1850-125, bought by Woodburn/Sachsen Weimar/Count Antoine Seilern/London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Prince's Gate Collection. See 1850-125 for further details.
78. 1830-65?/1838-45/1850-165?, bought Brondgeest, 75 guilders/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection/Not further identified; untraced.
79. 1830-37/1838-46/1850-142?/1860-100/Gasc/Locker[-Lampson] /BM W11.
80. 1830-6/1842-4/R.9/P.II 316/Cat. 29.
81. 1830-107/1838-47/1850-166/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 13/Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. 714/J4.
- 82 i, ii, iii. Probably a combination of 1814-824, 1814-825, and 1804-275 i,ii/1814-1540 i,ii. Subsequently 1830-81 i, ii, iii/1842-64 i,ii,iii/1846-35 i,ii,iii/R.70 (1,2,3)/P.II 338, 339, 340 (all of which give the provenance as Buonarroti, Wicar, and Lawrence, the Ciciaporci-Cavaceppi provenance omitted)/Cats. 45, 48, 47.
83. 1830-36/1838-48/1850-130, as Sebastiano del Piombo/1860-112/BM W16.
84. Reproduced by Ottley, *Italian School*, f.p. 33/1814-1768/1830-60/1850-103/1860-125/E. Galichon, his sale, May 1875, lot 16/Malcolm 80/BM W60.
85. 1830-42/1838-50/1850-167/1860-110/Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, Bean 65.
86. 1830-69/1838-51/1850-119/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 14/1860-126/Thibaudeau/Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, Bean 67.
87. 1830-44?/1838-52/1850-130, as Sebastiano del Piombo/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 12/1860-111 bought Farrer/BM W17.
88. 1830-64 i,ii,iii/1838-53/1850-129, as Marcello Venusti/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 7/1860-109/BM W76-78.
89. 1842-21/1846-51/R.23/P.II 297/Cat. 18.
90. 1814-259?/1830-27/1838-54/1850-134/bought by Ross/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection Private Collection, Switzerland/Phillips, London, 11 December 1996, lot 239, black chalk, 192 × 147 mm as follower of Daniele da Volterra. See 1830-27 for further details.
91. 1814-1682/1830-104/1842-32/R.2/P.II 327/Cat. 24.
92. 1830-28/1842-65/R.33/P.II 236; as by Battista Franco after Rosso. Not included in the present catalogue.
93. 1830-15/1842-40/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 23/R.50/P.II 480 as Polidoro da Caravaggio. Not included in the present catalogue.
94. 1830-75?/1838-55/1850-173/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection (Von Ritgen photograph 1865, no. 2 as Michelangelo)/Phillips, London, 7 July 1999, lot 120; black chalk, heightened with white, 395 × 256 mm, as Roman School, sixteenth century. See 1850-173 for further details.
95. 1830-75?/1838-56/1850-112/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection (Von Ritgen photograph 1865, no. 50 as Michelangelo)/Phillips, London, 7 July 1999, lot 121; black chalk, heightened with white, 398 × 261 mm, as Roman School, sixteenth century. See 1850-112 for further details.
96. 1830-35/1842-22/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 29/R.13/P.II 323/Cat. 28.
97. 1830-Not identified/1842-7/1846-14/R.26/P.II 360/Cat. 90.
98. 1814-1502, as from the collection of Lamberto Gori/part of 1830-139?/1838-57/1850-148, bought by Brondgeest/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection/Phillips, London, 7 July 1999, lot 119, black chalk, 393 × 229 mm, as circle of Daniele da Volterra. See 1850-148 for further details.
99. 1830-Not identified/1838-58/1850-156, bought by Brondgeest, 59 guilders. Not further identified; untraced. The price asked in 1836 and that realised in 1850 suggest that this was recognised as a copy.
100. 1830-17/1838-59/1850-123?, bought by Engelbert/Frankfurt, Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Inv. 393/Corpus 332.
Of the one hundred drawings exhibited in 1836, four cannot at present be identified (1836-19, 1836-34, 1836-78, 1836-99); one other, 1836-18, although illustrated in *The Lawrence Gallery* of 1853 as plate 27, cannot now be traced. All five were among the drawings sold to William II of

Holland. Two other exhibitions of selections from Lawrence's collection contained relevant drawings:

I. Rubens

17. Not further identified.

27. P.-J. Mariette (L. 1852), his sale, 1775, part of lot 1022/1830-25/1860-789. Bought by Farrer/E. Galichon, his sale, Paris, 10-14 May 1875, lot 18, bought in/L. Galichon, his sale, Paris, 4-9 March 1895, lot 12. Bequest of Jacques Petithory to the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, Inv. CMNI 3147. See 1830-25 for further details.



C

Drawings Purchased by William II, February 1838 Michael Angelo

1. 1830-7/1836-3/1850-155?/1860-145/Malcolm 61/BM W1. See 1850-155 for further details.

2. 1830-10/1836-12/1850-143?/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 21/1860-147/Vaughan/BM W10.

3. 1830-4/1836-13/1850-135/1860-124/Vaughan/BM W4.

4. 1830-39/1836-15/1850-101/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 17/Wellesley Sale, 1866, lot 2417/Malcolm 56/BM W42.

5. 1830-83/1836-18/1850-163/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 27/1860-144. Untraced.

6. 1830-77?/1836-19/1850-128?. Unidentified, untraced.

7. 1830-79/1836-20 (although not recorded by Woodburn, this sheet also bears the stamp of St. Peter Lely on the recto and Gibson's inscription *M. Angelo* and his price code 8.3 on the verso)/1850-117/Santa Barbara, CA, Alfred Moir Collection. See 1850-117 for further details.

8. 1830-21/1836-22/1850-145/1860-113/Malcolm 67/BM W67. See 1839-21 for further details.

9. 1830-20?/1836-24/1850-Not securely identifiable/1860-122/Vaughan/BM W53.

10. 1830-48/1836-25/1850-171/1860-116/Malcolm 73/BM W82.

11. 1830-11?/1836-26/1850-Not securely identifiable, perhaps 144/1860-123/J. C. Robinson/Malcolm 64/BM W54.

12. Probably 1830-47/1836-27/1850-105/1860-115/Malcolm 73/BM W81.

13. 1830-49/1836-28/1850-152/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 9/1860-114/Count Antoine Seilern/London, Courtauld Institute, Prince's Gate Collection.

VII. Andrea del Sarto

79. Richardson/Sir J. Reynolds/William Young Ottley, 1804-279ii/1830-143i/1860-827, bought by Morant, £5.5s/The Marquess of Northampton, Castle Ashby, Northampton; his sale at Christie's London, 1 May 1959, lot 6/P. & D. Colnaghi, London/N. Embiricos, London/Christie's, New York, 24 January 2001, lot 8, as Salviati; 2003 with Jean-Luc Baroni, London; red chalk, 422 × 211 mm. See 1804-279ii for further details.

80. Unidentified and untraced. Not to be confused with the copy after this figure in black chalk: 1804-279iii/1830-143ii/1860-830ii. See 1804-279iii for further details.

14. 1830-70/1836-29/1850-127/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 8/1860-117/BM W32

15. Perhaps 1830-118/1836-34/1850-146, bought by Brondgeest, 50 guilders/1860-131?. Not further identified; untraced. See 1860-131 for further details.

16. 1836-35/1850-120? bought by Brondgeest 225 guilders/? 1860-142/bought by Enson/Vaughan?/BM W102. See 1850-120 for further details.

17. 1830-19/1836-36/1850-102/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 16/1860-132/Robinson/Malcolm 58/BM W2.

18. 1830-63/1836-37/1850-162/1860-146/Robinson/Malcolm 60/BM W13.

19. 1830-16/1836-38/1850-118/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 19/Louvre Inv. 746/J38 (with incorrect reference to the 1836 exhibition).

20. 1830-28/1836-39/1850-164/Weimar, Sachsen Weimar Collection/Koenigs Collection/Rotterdam, Boymans van Beuningen Museum, I.392 as Parmigianino. See 1830-28 for further details.

21. 1830-Not identified/1836-40/1850-159/1860-130/BM W61.

22. 1830-116/1836-42/1850-157?/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, *Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 18/1860-139/Vaughan/BM W6.

23. 1836-43/1850-151 bought by Engelbert/Frankfurt, Stadelches Kunstinstitut, Inv. 399, by Sebastiano del Piombo. Malke, 1980, no. 87, established the pre-Richardson provenance of this sheet as Padre Resta whose number k67 it bears.

24. 1830-67/1836-44/1850-106/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection/National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. By Jacopo Pontormo, c. 1540. See 1830-67 for further details.

25. 1814-1769; the nature of the inscription on this drawing suggests that it came from the Ciciaporci-Cavaceppi

- group. 1830-111/1836-48 (the provenance given solely as Ottley)/1850-168/1860-140 bought by Gasc/Vaughan/ BM W91.
- 26.** Probably 1814-828 (with the provenance given as Ciciaporci)/1830-71/1836-51 (with the provenance given as Richardson)/1850-179 bought by Roos/Leembruggen sale, 1865, lot 894/Malcolm 366/BM, not in Wilde, but later accepted by him/PG 276, placed as W.15a.
- 27.** Probably 1830-14/1836-56/1850-170/Weimar, Sachsen Weimar Collection/Rotterdam, Boymans van Beunigen Museum L.20, as after Michelangelo, attributed by Wilde, 1953a, p. 89, to Giulio Clovio; another candidate would be Alessandro Allori. See 1830-14 for further details.
- 28.** 1830-76/1836-57/1850-126, as Sebastiano, bought by Roos/Leembruggen sale 1866, lot 920, as Sebastiano/Malcolm 63/BM W15.
- 29.** Pierre Crozat?; his number? 396 at lower left/Count Moritz von Fries (L.2903)/1830-93/1836-58/1850-141?, bought by Enthoven, 200 guilders/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 10/BM W69.
- 30.** Moselli Collection, Verona, before that of Pierre Crozat/1830-117/1836-59/1838-30/1850-124/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 24/1860-138 bought by Clement/Emile Galichon, his sale, May 1875, lot 15/Malcolm 79/BM W55.
- 31.** 1830-88/1836-60/1850-132, as Venusti/1860-101/Miss K. Radford/BM W71.
- 32.** 1830-84/1836-61/1850-172/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 6/Paris, Louvre, Inv. 715/J55, as Raffaello da Montelupo.
- 33.** 1830-45 i/1836-62/1850-122/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 11/1860-121/BM W52.
- 34.** Reproduced by Ottley, *Italian School*, f.p. 32/1814-262, bought by Roscoe/1830-52/1836-63/1850-154 (the subject misidentified as the Virgin and Child)/1860-136/Vaughan/BM W29. See 1814-262 and 1850-154 for further details.
- 35.** 1830-40/1836-64/1850-180/1860-119, bought by Enson, £52.10s/ Brooks Collection/F. T. Palgrave Collection, sold Christie's, 4 June, bought by J. C. Robinson/Agnew's, London. Acquired by Mrs. Gardner in 1902 for the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston. See 1830-40 for further details.
- 36.** 1830-89/1836-65/1850-133, as Marcello Venusti/1860-102/BM W72.
- 37.** 1830-73/1836-66/1850-149/1860-107/Clarke Collection/Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum.
- 38.** 1830-65/1836-69/1850-104?/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 15/1860-127/J. P. Heseltine/BM W63.
- 39.** Probably 1830-56/1836-70/1850-147; bought by Roos, 115 guilders/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection (Von Ritgen photograph, 1865, no. 6 as Michelangelo; Brinckmann, 1925, no. 97)/Present whereabouts unknown.
- 40.** 1830-34/1836-72/1850-169/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 3/1860-105/Duke of Portland Collection. See 1830-34 for further details.
- 41.** 1830-41/1836-73/1850-158/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 4/1860-104/BM W58.
- 42.** 1830-55/1836-74/1850-107/1860-134/Malcolm 74/BM W57.
- 43.** 1830-114/1836-75/1850-111/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 22/1860-143/BM W87.
- 44.** 1830-8/1836-77/1850-125, bought by Woodburn/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection/Count Antoine Seilern/London, The Courtauld Institute of Art, Prince's Gate Collection. See 1850-125 for further details.
- 45.** 1830-65?/1836-78/1850-165?, bought by Brondgeest, 75 guilders/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection/Not further identified; untraced.
- 46.** 1830-37/1836-79/1850-142?/1860-100 bought by Tiffin/Locker[-Lampson]/BM W11.
- 47.** 1830-107/1836-81/1850-166/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 13/Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. 714/J4.
- 48.** 1830-36/1836-83/1850-130, as Sebastiano del Piombo/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 12/1860-112/BM W16.
- 49.** Reproduced by Ottley, *Italian School*, f.p. 33/1814-1768/1830-60/1836-84/1838-49/1850-103/1860-125/E. Galichon, his sale, May 1875, lot 16/Malcolm 80/BM W60.
- 50.** 1830-42/1836-85/1850-167/1860-110/Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, Bean 65.
- 51.** 1830-69/1836-86/1850-119/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 14/1860-126/Thibaudeau/Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, Bean 67.
- 52.** 1830-44/1836-87/1850-130, as Sebastiano del Piombo/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 12/1860-111, bought by Farrer/BM W17.
- 53.** 1830-64 i,ii,iii/1836-88/1850-129, as Marcello Venusti/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 7/1860-109/BM W76-78. This annotation establishes that all three drawings now in the BM were included under the same number.
- 54.** 1814-259?/1830-27/1836-90/1850-134 bought by Roos/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection/Private Collection, Switzerland/Phillips, London, Sale 11 December 1996, lot 239, black chalk, 192 × 147 mm, as follower of Daniele da Volterra. See 1830-27 for further details.
- 55.** 1830-75?/1836-94/1850-173/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection (Von Ritgen photograph, 1865, no. 2 as Michelangelo)/Phillips, London, 7 July 1999, lot 120; black chalk, heightened with white, 395 × 256 mm, as Roman School, sixteenth century. See 1850-173 for further details.

56. 1830-75?/1836-95/1850-112/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection (Von Ritgen photograph, 1865, no. 50 as Michelangelo; Delacre, 1938, p. 315)/Phillips, London, 7 July 1999, lot 121; black chalk, heightened with white, 398 × 261 mm, as Roman School, sixteenth century. See 1850-112 for further details.

57. 1814-1502, as from the collection of Lamberto Gori/part of 1830-139?/1836-98 (with the provenance given incorrectly as Buonarroti and Wicar, that from Gori omitted)/1850-148 bought by Brondgeest/Weimar Sachsen-Weimar Collection/Phillips, London, 7 July 1999, lot 119, black chalk, 393 × 229 mm, as circle of Daniele da Volterra. See 1850-148 for further details.

58. 1830-119?/1836-99/1850-156, bought by Brondgeest, 59 guilders. Not further identified; untraced.

59. 1830-17/1836-100/1838-59/1850-123?, bought by Engelbert/Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Inv. 393/ Corpus 332.

Two of these drawings 1836-24/1838-9 and 1836-26/1838-51 cannot be identified in William II's posthumous sale of 1850.

The August 1838 Purchase

Following this purchase of February 1838, William II returned to Woodburn in August of the same year and bought an additional forty drawings by various artists. Lists of these are not available, but Woodburn's account of this transaction, as published by Hinterding and Horsch (1989), does specify that one very important drawing by Michelangelo was included among them: this is "the Large Cartoon M. Angelo," the *Epifania* cartoon (1836-30), which appeared

in William's sale in 1850 as lot 212. It is likely that William bought further drawings by or attributed to Michelangelo on this occasion, although none of the remaining drawings exhibited in 1836 were among them. Ten further drawings by or after Michelangelo in William's sale cannot be connected with the 1836 exhibition. What may have been two of the most important of these were 1850-150, 1850-153.

The Sale to Oxford University

At the end of 1838 therefore forty of the one hundred drawings included in the 1836 catalogue remained in Woodburn's hands: of these one, the *Repose* (1836-11) must have been sold to an unidentified client between 1838 and 1842, leaving thirty-nine: 1836-1, 1836-2, 1836-4, 1836-5, 1836-6, 1836-7, 1836-8, 1836-9, 1836-10, 1836-14, 1836-16, 1836-17, 1836-21, 1836-23, 1836-31, 1836-32, 1836-33, 1836-41, 1836-45, 1836-46, 1836-47, 1836-49, 1836-50, 1836-52, 1836-53, 1836-54, 1836-55, 1836-67, 1836-68, 1836-71, 1836-76, 1836-80, 1836-82, 1836-89, 1836-91, 1836-92, 1836-93, 1836-96, 1836-97. All of these were in the group sold to Oxford.

However, Oxford actually received eight-seven plus one, that is eighty-eight mountings (several of which bore more than one drawing) of drawings attributed to Michelangelo. The 1842 prospectus in fact listed eighty-seven mountings, but one must be added since two were given the same number, no. 28, to make eighty-eight. Five of these eighty-eight came from Jeremiah Harman's collection and had never formed part of Lawrence's series. The remaining eighty-three mountings of drawings given to Michelangelo therefore contained thirty-nine mountings that had been exhibited in 1836 and forty-four that had been owned by Lawrence but had not been exhibited.



D

Catalogue des Tableaux Anciens et Modernes de Diverses Ecoles, Dessins et Statues formant la Galerie de feu Sa Majesté Guillaume II, roi des Pays Bas, 12-20 August 1850

Dessins

83. 1830-138/Not exhibited in 1836/August 1838 purchase?/Untraced.

101. 1830-39/1836-15/1838-4/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 17/Wellesley Sale, 1866, lot 2417/Malcolm 56/BM W42.

102. 1830-19/1836-36/1838-17/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 16/1860-132/Robinson/Malcolm 58/BM W2.

103. Reproduced by Ottley, *Italian School*, f.p. 33/1814-1768/1830-60/1836-84/1838-49/1860-125/E. Galichon, his sale, May 1875, lot 16/Malcolm 80/BM W60.

104. Probably 1830-65/1836-69/1838-38/1860-127/J. P. Heseltine/BM W63.

105. Probably 1830-47/1836-27/1838-12/1860-115/Malcolm 73/BM W81.

106. 1830-67/1836-44/1839-24/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection/National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. By Jacopo Pontormo, c. 1540. See 1830-67 for further details.

107. 1830-55/1836-74/1838-42/1860-134/Malcolm 74/BM W57.

108. 1830-23 i/Not exhibited in 1836/part of August 1838 purchase?/1860-152/Chantilly, Musée Condé; Lanfranc de Panthou, 1995, no. 39.

III. 1830-III/1836-75/1838-43/1860-143/J. C. Robinson/Malcolm 55/BM W87.

112. 1830-75?/1836-95/1838-56/Weimar, Sachsen Weimar Collection (Von Ritgen photograph 1865, no. 50 as Michelangelo; Gotti, 1875, II, p. 210: *La Sibilla Libica, accompagnata da due Angeli. Disegno di sorprendente bellezza, accuratamente condotto a matita nera e acquerello leggerissimo, tratto dall'affresco della Sistina. Potrebbe essere che sotto il finito della matita esistesse già un leggiro schizzo originale del Buonarroti. Collezione di S. A. R. il Granduca. Dalle Collezioni Buonarroti, Wicar, Lawrence e Re de' Paesi Bassi.* Delacre, 1938, p. 315)/Phillips, London, 7 July 1999, lot 121; black chalk, heightened with white, 398 × 261 mm, as Roman School, sixteenth century.

114. Perhaps part of 1830-135/Not exhibited in 1836/August 1838 purchase?/Not further identified; untraced.

117. 1830-79/1836-20 (although not recorded by Woodburn, this sheet also bears the stamp of Sir Peter Lely on the recto and Gibson's inscription M. Angolo and his price code 8.3 on the verso)/1838-7. It later appeared in a sale, *Handzeichnungen des XV bis XVIII Jahrhunderts*, 9-10 May 1930, C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, lot 331, recto illustrated pl. XXXIV, as by Sebastiano, recto: Study for Christ in the Viterbo Pietà; verso: half-length figure of the Virgin. Red chalk, 192 × 285 mm, with the provenance given as Lely, Richardson Sr., Reynolds, Liphart, and Hasse but omitting Lawrence; Santa Barbara, California, Alfred Moir Collection, attributed to Francesco Salviati by A. Moir and N. Turner, a view shared by the compiler.

118. 1830-16/1836-38/1838-19/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 19/Louvre, Inv. 746/J38 (with incorrect reference to the 1836 exhibition).

119. Probably 1830-69/1836-86/1838-51/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 14/1860-126/Thibaudeau/Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, Bean 67.

120. 1830-Not identified / 1836-35 / 1838-16 / 1860-142? / bought by Enson/Vaughan?/BM W102.

This sequence presents two problems. It supposes that the drawing acquired by Brondgeest in 1850 passed to Woodburn before the latter's death in 1853 and that the sheet now in the BM, which does not bear the Lawrence stamp, has been trimmed at the bottom by some 50 mm. On the other hand, the price paid by Brondgeest implies that the drawing was of high quality, which is certainly true of W102. It was first attributed to Francesco Salviati by M. Hirst, 1961, a judgement accepted by most critics, including the compiler.

122. 1830-45 i/1836-62/1838-33/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 11/1860-121/BM W52.

123. Probably 1830-17/1836-100/1838-59, bought by Engelbert/Frankfurt, Stedelsches Kunstinstitut, Inv. 393/Corpus 332.

The high price reached by this drawing is surprising and might throw the identification in doubt. But Engelbert

seems to have acquired exclusively for Frankfurt in this sale, and the compiler is aware of no alternative candidate.

124. Moselli Collection Verona before that of Pierre Crozat/1830-117/1836-59/1838-30/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 24/1860-138 bought by Clement/Emile Galichon, his sale, May 1875, lot 15/Malcolm 79/BM W55.

125. 1830-8/1836-77/1838-44/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection (Gotti, 1875, II, p. 210: *Il Sogno della Vita umana. Disegno maestrevolmente condotto a matita nera. La figura centrale dormente è molta finita. Collezione di S. A. R. la Granduchessa. Dalle Collezione Lawrence e Re dei Paesi Bassi.*)/Count Antoine Seilern/London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Prince's Gate Collection.

126. 1830-76/1836-57/1838-28/Leembrugen sale 1866, lot 920, as Sebastiano/Malcolm 63/BM W15.

127. 1830-70/1836-29/1838-14/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 8/1860-117/BM W32.

128. 1830-77?/1836-19?/1838-6. Unidentified, untraced.

129. 1830-64 i,ii,iii/1836-88/1838-53/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 7/1860-109/BM W76-78.

130. 1830-44/1836-87/1838-52/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 12/1860-111, bought by Farrer/BM W17.

131. 1830-36/1836-83/1838-48/1860-112/BM W16.

132. 1830-88/1836-60/1860-101/Miss K. Radford/BM W71.

133. 1830-89/1836-65 (the provenance is given in 1836 as Buonarroti and Wicar, but because the drawing bears the *Bona Roti* inscription, it probably did not come from Casa Buonarroti)/1838-36/1850-133, as Marcello Venusti/1860-102/BM W72.

134. 1814-259?/1830-27/1836-90/1838-54/Weimar, Sachsen Weimar Collection/Private Collection, Switzerland/Phillips, London, Sale 11 December 1996, lot 239, black chalk, 192 × 147 mm, as follower of Daniele da Volterra. See 1830-27 for further details.

135. 1830-4/1836-13/1838-3/1860-124/BM W4.

141. Perhaps: Pierre Crozat?; his number? 396 at lower left/Count Moritz Von Fries (L.2903)/1836-58/1838-29/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 10/1860-120/BM W69.

If the identification suggested here is correct, the drawing would have passed from Enthoven to Woodburn between 1850 and 1853.

142. Probably 1830-37/1836-79/1838-46/1860-100 bought by Tiffin/Locker[-Lampson]/BM W11.

143. Probably 1830-10/1836-12/1838-2/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 21/1860-147/Vaughan/BM W10.

144. Perhaps 1830-11?/1836-26/1838-11/1860-123/J. C. Robinson/Malcolm 64/BM W54.

145. 1830-21 (with further details)/1836-22/1838-8/1860-113/Malcolm 67/BM W67.

146. Perhaps 1830-118/1836-34/1838-15/1860-131?. Not further identified; untraced. See 1860-131 for further details.

147. 1830-56?/1836-70/1838-39/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection (Von Ritgen photograph, 1865, no. 6 as Michelangelo; Brinckmann, 1925, no. 97)/Present whereabouts unknown.

148. 1814-1502, as from the collection of Lamberto Gori/part of 1830-139?/1836-98 (with the provenance given incorrectly as Buonarroti and Wicar, that from Gori omitted.)/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection (Gotti, 1875, II, p. 210: *Schizzo, a matita nera, della figura della Vergine nell'affresco del Giudizio finale. Attribuito a Michelangelo.*)/Phillips, London, 7 July 1999, lot 119, black chalk, 393 × 229 mm, as circle of Daniele da Volterra.

149. 1830-73/1836-66/1838-37/1860-107/Clarke Collection/Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum.

150. Probably 1807-375/1814-1764/bought by Dimsdale?/1830-Not identified /Not exhibited in 1836/August 1838 purchase?/1860-118; untraced.

If this drawing is identical with 1860-118 as seems likely, it would have to be assumed that it passed from Brondgeest to Woodburn between 1850 and 1853. See 1860-118 for further details.

151. 1836-43/1838-23/Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Inv. 399, by Sebastiano del Piombo. Malke, 1980, no. 87, established the pre-Richardson provenance of this sheet as Padre Resta whose number k67 it bears.

152. 1830-49/1836-28/1838-13/Lawrence Gallery, 1853, pl. 9/1860-114/Count Antoine Seilern/London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Prince's Gate Collection.

153. 1830-Not identified/not exhibited in 1836/August 1838 purchase?/1860-137/J. C. Robinson/Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Museum of Art, Inv. 1955-75.

It is surprising that this drawing should not be found in the 1830 inventory and was not exhibited in 1836: As a Presentation Drawing of a famous design, it should in principle have been among Woodburn's more valuable drawings. Since Rubens' copy of the *Ganymede* was shown as no. 27 of the Rubens series in 1835, the putative original can hardly have been concealed from prudence.

The Fogg *Ganymede* (black chalk, 361 × 275 mm) was attributed to Michelangelo by M. Hirst, 1975, a view accepted by many scholars; after much uncertainty, the compiler is inclined to think it a copy – a thought comforted by the prices it realised in 1850 (150 guilders, 30 guilders less than the *Cleopatra* copy, no. 168) and 1860 (8 guineas, half that of the *Cleopatra* copy).

Another *Ganymede and the Eagle* in black chalk was no. 1780 in Woodburn's posthumous sale of non-Lawrence drawings in June 16 and following days in 1854.

154. Reproduced by Ottley, *Italian School*, f.p. 32/1814-262, bought by Roscoe/1830-52/1836-63/1838-34/1860-136/Vaughan/BM W29. See 1814-262 for further details.

Although the subject is misidentified as the Virgin and Child in the 1850 sale, there can be no doubt that it is the *Isaiah*, the only pen drawing in the sale sufficiently dramatic and famous to have attained so high a price.

155. Perhaps 1830-7/1836-3/1838-1/1860-145/Malcolm 61/BM W1.

Although this drawing is not clearly described, it may be the study of a draped man, BM W1, obviously *superbe* and likely to realise a high price. This drawing was certainly acquired by William II, and because it cannot be found elsewhere in the 1850 sale catalogue, lot 155 is the best candidate for it. The fact that it was bought by Brondgeest in principle counts against it being the same drawing that appeared in Woodburn's posthumous sale of 1860, but several other drawings in the 1850 sale that were acquired by Brondgeest seem to reappear in Woodburn's possession, and some transaction may have occurred between them following the sale. Perhaps Woodburn exchanged the *Dream* (lot 125) against several lesser drawings acquired by Brondgeest.

156. 1830-119?/1836-99/1838-58. Not further identified; untraced. The price asked in 1836 and that realised in this sale indicate a copy.

157. Probably 1830-116/1836-42/1838-22/Lawrence Gallery, 1853, pl. 18/1860-139/Vaughan/BM W6.

158. 1830-41/1838-41/Lawrence Gallery, 1853, pl. 4/1860-104/BM W58.

This lot fetched by far the highest price among the Michelangelo drawings in this sale.

159. Probably 1836-40/1838-21/1860-130/BM W61.

160. Unidentified in the 1830 inventory/Not exhibited in 1836/August 1838 purchase?/Not further identified; untraced.

161. Unidentified in the 1830 inventory/Not exhibited in 1836/August 1838 purchase?/Not further identified; untraced.

162. 1836-37/1838-18/1860-146/Robinson/ Malcolm 60/BM W13.

163. 1830-83/1836-18/1838-5/Lawrence Gallery, 1853, pl. 27/1860-144/Untraced.

164. 1830-28/1836-39/1838-20/Weimar, Sachsen Weimar Collection/Koenigs Collection/Rotterdam, Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, I.392 as Parmigianino. See 1830-28 for further details.

- 165.** 1830-65?/1836-78/1838-45/Weimar, Sachsen Weimar Collection/Not further identified; untraced.
- 166.** 1830-107/1836-81/1838-47/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 13/Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. 714/J4.
- 167.** 1830-42/1836-85/1838-50/1860-110/Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, Bean 65.
- 168.** 1814-1769; the nature of the inscription on this drawing suggests that it came from the Ciciaporci-Cavaceppi group./1830-111/1836-48 (the provenance given solely as Ottley)/1838-25/1860-140 bought by Gasc/Vaughan/ BM W91.
- 169.** 1830-34/1836-72/1838-40/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 3/1860-105/Duke of Portland Collection. See 1830-34 for further details.
- 170.** Probably 1830-14/1836-56/1838-27/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection/Rotterdam, Boymans-van Beuningen Museum L20, as after Michelangelo, attributed by Wilde, 1953a, p. 89, to Giulio Clovio but perhaps by Alessandro Allori. See 1830-14 for further details.
- 171.** 1830-48/1836-25/1838-10/1860-116/Malcolm 73/BM W82.
- 172.** 1830-84/1836-61/1838-32/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl.6/Paris, Louvre, Inv. 715/J55, as Raffaello da Montelupo.
- 173.** 1830-75?/1836-94/1838-55/Weimar, Sachsen Weimar Collection (Von Ritgen photograph, 1865, no. 2 as Michelangelo; Gotti, 1975, II, p. 210: *La Sibilla Delfica, senza gli angeli. Dall'affresco del Giudizio [sic]. Disegno finito a matita nera Collezione di S. A. R. il Granduca.*)/ Phillips, London, 7 July 1999, lot 121; black chalk, heightened with white, 398 × 261 mm, as Roman School, sixteenth century.
- 179.** Probably 1814-828 (with the provenance given as Ciciaporci)/1830-71/1836-51 (with the provenance given as Richardson)/Leembruggen sale, 1865, lot 894/Malcolm 366/BM not in Wilde, but later accepted by him/PG no. 276, placed as W15a.
- 180.** 1830-40/1836-64/1838-35/1860-119, bought by Enson, £52.10s/Brooks Collection/F. T. Palgrave Collection, sold Christie's, 4 June 1886, bought by J. C. Robinson/Agnew's, London. Acquired by Mrs. Gardner in 1902 for the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston. See 1830-40 for further details.
- 212.** 1830-3/1836-30/August 1838 purchase/1860-160/J. C. Robinson/Malcolm 81/BM W75.
- 237.** Not identified in 1830 inventory/Not exhibited in 1836/August, 1838 purchase?/Not further identified.
- 238.** Not identified in 1830 inventory/Not exhibited in 1836/August, 1838 purchase?/Not further identified.
- 241.** 1830-121?/Not exhibited in 1836/August 1838 purchase?/1860-99?/Weimar, Sachsen Weimar Collection/With Thomas le Claire, Hamburg in 1990 (advertisement in the *Burlington Magazine*, January 1990, p. v). See 1830-121 for further details.
- 251.** Not identified in 1830 inventory/Not exhibited in 1836/August 1838 purchase?/Not identified in 1860 sale/Possibly J. C. Robinson/Malcolm 102/BM W94, after the composition of the triangle of the *Zorobabel-Abiud-Eliachim* ancestor group?
- 257.** Not identified in 1830 inventory/Not exhibited in 1836/August 1838 purchase?/Not further identified; untraced.

Ten of the drawings by or attributed to Michelangelo in this sale do not seem to have been among those exhibited in 1836. These are 1850-108, 1850-114, 1850-150, 1850-153, 1850-160, 1850-161, 1850-165, 1850-237, 1850-238, 1850-251. An eleventh, 1850-128, may have been shown in 1836, but the identification is uncertain.

Of the fifty-nine drawings by or attributed to Michelangelo from the 1836 exhibition acquired from Woodburn by William II in February 1838, to which must be added the *Epifania* acquired in August 1838, to total sixty, two cannot securely be identified in the 1850 sale. These are 1836-24, and 1836-26. Given the sparse and sometime demonstrably inaccurate descriptions in the 1850 sale catalogue, the identification of several others must be approximate.



E

WOODBURN SALE, CHRISTIE'S, LONDON, 1860

The Valuable and Important Collection of Drawings by Old Masters formerly in the Collection of the late SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE, PRA, Monday, June 1860, and following days.

1st day: Monday June 4

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONAROTI

- 99.** 1830-121?/Not exhibited in 1836/part of August, 1838 purchase of William II of Holland?/1850-241? bought by Brondgeest, 4 guilders/Weimar, Sachsen-Weimar Collection/With Thomas le Claire, Hamburg in 1990

(advertisement in the *Burlington Magazine*, January 1990, p. v). See 1830-121 for further details.

100. 1830-37/1836-79/1838-46/1850-142?/Locker [-Lampson]/BM W11

101. 1830-88/1836-60/1838-31/1850-132, as Venusti/Miss K. Radford/BM W71.

102. 1830-89/1836-65 (the provenance is given in 1836 as Buonarroti and Wicar, but because the drawing bears the *Bona Roti* inscription, it probably did not come from Casa Buonarroti)/1838-36/1850-133, as Marcello Venusti/BM W72.

103. 1830-149?/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, no. 2/J. C. Robinson/Morgan Library, IV.7; Corpus 399.

The highly finished Morgan *Annunciation* presents a problem. It is probable but not certain that it is identical with no. 149 in the Inventory of 1830, but it is puzzling that so important a drawing was not exhibited in 1836. Nor does it appear to have been among the drawings sold to William of Holland, although he certainly purchased the two associated sketches now in the British Museum, W71 and W72. The Morgan drawing was illustrated as plate 2 in Woodburn's *Lawrence Gallery* of 1853, and seems to be alone among the thirty drawings included in that publication not to have been exhibited in 1836, which is again puzzling. Whether it was a drawing that Woodburn retained, or sold privately and subsequently re-purchased, or whether it passed through William's hands but somehow escaped separate identification in his sale catalogue is conjectural.

The price that this drawing realised in 1860 suggests that it was not believed to be autograph. It was re-attributed to Michelangelo by Wilde, 1959, and his view has been followed by most later scholars, including the compiler.

104. 1830-41/1836-73/1838-41/1850-158/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 4/BM W58.

105. 1830-34/1836-72/1838-40/1850-169/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 3/Duke of Portland Collection.

106. Not identified in the 1830 inventory/Not exhibited in 1836/Not sold to William II of Holland/William Bloxam/His gift to Rugby School, Inv. R/S II 13; black chalk, 199 × 278 mm.

107. 1830-73/1836-66/1838-37/1850-149/Clarke Collection/Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum.

108. Taddeo Zuccaro. Ottley sale, 1814-1492 as Taddeo Zuccaro/Sir Thomas Lawrence/1830-Not identified/Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago, 1928-196 (McCullagh and Giles, 1997, no. 350).

109. 1830-64 i,ii,iii/1836-88/1838-53/1850-129, as Marcello Venusti/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 7/BM W76-78.

110. 1830-42/1836-85/1838-50/1850-167/Bayonne, Bean 65.

111. 1830-44/1836-87/1838-52/1850-130, as Sebastiano del Piombo/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 12/BM W17.

112. 1830-36/1836-83/1838-48/1850-130, as Sebastiano del Piombo/1860-112/BM W16.

113. 1830-21 (with further details)/1836-22/1838-8/1850-145/ Brooks/Malcolm 67/ BM W67.

114. 1830-49/1836-28/1838-13/1850-152/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 9/Count Antoine Seilern/London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Prince's Gate Collection.

115. 1830-47/probably 1836-27/1838-12/1850-105/Malcolm 73/BM W81.

116. 1830-48/1836-25/1838-10/1850-171/Malcolm 73/BM W82.

117. 1830-70/1836-29/1838-14/1850-127/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 8/1860-117/BM W32.

118. 1807-375/1814-1764, bought by Dimsdale?/1830-Not identified/Not exhibited in 1836/part of August, 1838 purchase of William II of Holland?/1850-150, bought by Brondgeest, 60 guilders/Untraced.

If this drawing is identical with 1850-150 as seems likely, it would have to be assumed that it passed from Brondgeest to Woodburn between 1850 and 1853. Perhaps it was a black chalk copy of Michelangelo's red chalk *Deposition* in Haarlem, Teyler Museum, VT60/Corpus 89.

119. 1830-40/1836-64/1838-35/1850-180/bought by Enson, £52.10s/Brooks Collection/F. T. Palgrave Collection, sold at Christie's, 4 June 1886, bought by J. C. Robinson/Agnew's, London. Acquired by Mrs. Gardner in 1902 for the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston. See 1830-40 for further details.

120. Pierre Crozat?; his number? 396 at lower left/Count Moritz von Fries (L.2903)/1830-93/1836-58/1838-29/1850-141?, bought by Enthoven, 200 guilders/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 10/BM W69.

121. 1830-45 i/1836-62/1838-33/1850-122/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 11/BM W52.

122. 1830-20/Probably 1836-24/1838-9/1850-Not identified/Vaughan/BM W53.

123. 1830-11?/1836-26/1838-11/1850-not securely identifiable, perhaps 144/J. C. Robinson/Malcolm 64/BM W54.

124. 1830-4/1836-13/1838-3/1850-135/BM W4.

125. Reproduced by Ottley, *Italian School*, f.p. 33/1814-1768/1836-84/1838-49/1850-103/E. Galichon, his sale, May 1875, lot 16/Malcolm 80/BM W60.

126. 1830-69/1836-86/1838-51/1850-119/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 14/Thibaudeau/Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, Bean 67.

127. 1830-18/1838-38/1850-104?/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 15/J. P. Heseltine/BM W63.

128. Not identified.

129. Not identified.

130. 1830-Not identified/1836-40/1838-21/1850-159/BM W61.

131. Perhaps 1830-118/1836-34/1838-15/1850-146, bought Brondgeest, 50 guilders. Not further identified; untraced.

The relatively low price asked for this drawing in 1836 and realised in the sales of 1850 and 1860 suggests it was not autograph. If the identity of this drawing and 1850-146 is accepted, it must have passed from Brondgeest to Woodburn between 1850 and 1853.

132. 1830-19/1838-17/1850-102/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 16/ Malcolm 58/BM W2.

133. i,ii,iii. Perhaps 1830-142 i,ii,iii. One of these copies must be the drawing after *Adam and Abel*, black chalk, 250 × 403 mm, at Rugby School, Inv. R/S II 18. The others are not currently identifiable.

134. 1830-55/1836-74/1838-42/1850-107/1860-134/BM W57.

135. Not identified; untraced.

136. Reproduced by Ottley, *Italian School*, j.p. 32/1814-262, bought by Roscoe/1830-52/1836-63/1838-34/1850-154 (the subject misidentified as the Virgin and Child)/Vaughan/BM W29. See 1814-262 and 1850-154 further details.

137. 1830-Not identified/not exhibited in 1836/part of August 1838 purchase of William II?/1850-153/J. C. Robinson/Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Museum of Art, Inv. 1955-75. See 1850-153 for further details.

138. Moselli Collection Verona before that of Pierre Crozat/1830-117/1836-59/1838-30/1850-124/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 24/ Emile Galichon, his sale, May 1875, lot 15/Malcolm 79/BM W55

139. 1830-116/1836-42/1838-22/1850-157?/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 18/Vaughan/BM W6.

140. 1814-1769; the nature of the inscription on this drawing suggests that it came from the Ciciaporci-Cavaceppi group. /1830-111/1836-48 (the provenance given solely as Ottley)/1838-25/1850-168/Vaughan/ BMW91.

141. Perhaps identical with a fine copy of Michelangelo's *Dawn* that appeared in a sale at Christie's, New York, 30 January 1997, lot 16, black chalk, 197 × 296 mm. However, no Lawrence dry stamp is recorded on that sheet.

142. 1830-Not identified/1836-35/1838-16?/1850-120 bought by Brondgeest 225 guilders/Vaughan?/BM W102. See 1850-120 for further details.

143. 1830-114/1836-75/1838-43/1850-111/J. C. Robinson/Malcolm 55/BM W87.

144. 1830-83/1836-18/1838-5/1850-163/ *Lawrence Gallery*, pl. 27/Untraced.

145. 1830-7/1838-1/1850-155?/ Malcolm 61/BM W1. See 1850-155 for further details.

146. 1830-63/1836-37/1838-18/1850-162/1860-146/Malcolm 60/ BM W13.

147. 1830-10/1836-12/1838-2/1850-143?/*Lawrence Gallery*, 1853, pl. 21/1860-147/Vaughan/BM W10.

148. Not identified.

149. 1814-260 i,ii/Phillipps-Fenwick/BM W38 and W84.

Presumably these two drawings were regarded by Woodburn as scraps and so were not offered to Oxford. There is no indication of what other drawings might have been in this lot of twelve items

150. Not identified.

151. Not identified.

152. Not exhibited in 1836/part of August 1838 purchase?/1850-108 bought by Enthoven, 200 guilders/1860-152/Chantilly, Musée Condé; Lanfranc de Panthou, 1995, no. 39.

153. Among these may have been 1830-139ii. Subsequently Brussels, Wauters Collection (Lees, 1917, pp. 24-5, Fig. 32 as Michelangelo; red chalk, 265 × 188 mm)/Sold Christie's London, 8 April, 1986, lot 23/Seen by the compiler in a French private collection c. 1992, bearing the Lawrence dry stamp.

The three drawings carried by this page – studies of a head, a left foot, and a left arm – are inspired by the Cross-bearing figure in the *Last Judgement*, but they do not copy them exactly. The page does not seem to the compiler plausible as a copy of a lost page by Michelangelo, and it is probably a suite of variants upon this figure by an artist working in Rome c. 1550. It might be by Passerotti.

154. The *Samson and Delilah* may be Phillipps-Fenwick (Popham, 1935b, p. 65, no. 3)/BM W90; however, Wilde identifies this as part of lot 1860-1084.

155. Not identified.

156. Not identified.

157. Not identified.

158. Not identified.

159. 1830-46?. See 1830-46 for further details.

160. 1830-3 (with account of previous history)/1836-30/part of August 1838 purchase/1850-212/1860-160/Malcolm 81/BM W75.

161. Not identified.

162. BM Add Ms. 23744, C. I. Carteggio CDXLVIII.

2nd day; Tuesday, June 5

270. 1830-45ii/Probably Frankfurt, Städelches Kunstinstitut, Inv. 3975. Perhaps by Alessandro Allori rather than Clovio.

403. Among these was 1814-1679i/ bought by William Roscoe; his sale, September 1816, lot 71/Sir Thomas Phillipps-Fenwick-BM GP 135 as Battista Franco. See 1814-1679i for further details.

404. These are presumably:

i. 1830-68 ii.

ii. A second copy, more likely that formerly in the Payne-Ott Collection, than that now in Portsmouth.

3rd day; Wednesday, June 6

611. Not identified.

4th day; Thursday, June 7

669. The copy after *Cascina*: Phillipps-Fenwick Collection (Popham, 1935b, p. 65, no. 2)/BM W85.

677. Not identified.

789. P.-J. Mariette (L.1852), his sale, 1775, part of lot 1022/1830-125/Woodburn's Rubens exhibition, 1835, no. 27/bought by Farrer/E. Galichon, his sale, Paris, 10-14 May 1875, lot 18, bought in/L. Galichon, his sale, Paris 4-9 March 1895, lot 12. Bequest of Jacques Petithory to the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, Inv. CMNI 3147. See 1830-25 for further details.

827. Richardson/Sir J. Reynolds/William Young Ottley, 1804-279ii/Woodburn's seventh exhibition as Andrea Del Sarto, no. 79/The Marquess of Northampton, Castle Ashby, Northampton; his sale at Christie's London, 1 May 1959, lot 6/P. & D. Colnaghi, London/N. Embiricos, London/Christie's, New York, 24 January 2001, lot 8, as Salvati; 2003 with Jean-Luc Baroni, London; red chalk, 422 × 211 mm. See 1804-279ii for further details.

830.

i. Not identified.

ii. Probably Richardson/Sir J. Reynolds?/William Young Ottley, 1804-279iii/1830-143ii/ bought by Sir Robert Ker £1.10s/Admiral Sir George King-Hall, 1930/Mrs B. McLeod; sale at Sotheby's, London, 27 October, 1948, lot 67/bought by de Belleruche, £36/Untraced. See 1804-279iii for further details.



F

WOODBURN SALE, CHRISTIE'S LONDON, 1854

Comprising the entire collections with the exception of the Lawrence Drawings. 16 June 1854 and nine following days.

3rd day; Monday, June 19

607. Not identified.

4th day; Tuesday, June 20

853. Not identified.

866. Not identified.

5th day; Wednesday, June 21

1069. Not identified.

1070. Not identified.

1071. Not identified.

1072. Not identified.

1073. Not identified.

8th day; Saturday, June 24

M. AGNOLO

1774. Not identified.

1775. Not identified.

1776. Not identified.

1777. Not identified.

1778. Not identified.

1779. Not identified.

1780. Not identified.

1781. Absent.

1782. Not identified.

1783. Not identified.

1784. Not identified. Presumably a copy after Michelangelo's Presentation Drawing for Gherardo Perini, Uffizi 601E/B187/Corpus 306.

1785. 1860-1149?. The discrepancy in price between 1854 and 1860 is surprising if the two items are identical.

1786. 1860-1148.

1787. 1860-1147/Perhaps identical with the copy of the *Tityus*, sold Christie's, London, 18 April 1967, lot 109 and again on 8 April 1986, lot 6 as by a Follower of Michelangelo,

black chalk, 190 × 220 mm, from the collections of N. Lanier (L.2886), Sir Joshua Reynolds (L.2364), Unknown French? collector (L.1729), and Victor Koch.

1788. 1860-1146.

It seems that 1787 and 1788 cost £2.12.6. together.

1789. Not identified.

1790. Not identified.

1791. Not identified.

Those drawings from Woodburn's own collection remaining with his legatee after the sales of 1854 were disposed of following the sale of the Lawrence Collection in 1860: The Remaining Portion of the Collection of Drawings of Samuel Woodburn, Christie's, London, 12 June 1860, and two following days, which form days 8, 9, and 10 of the Lawrence sale.

June 12

1078. Not identified.

1084. Not identified.

1145. A puzzling reference; Michelangelo is not known to have treated this subject.

1146. 1854-1788?

1147. 1854-1787. See 1854-1787 for further details.

1148. 1854-1786.

1149. 1854-1785?. From the price realised, this must have been an impressive sheet. The discrepancy in price between 1854 and 1860 is surprising if the two items are identical.

1150. Ottley, *Italian School*, plate facing p. 27/Unidentified in the 1830 inventory/ Unexhibited in 1836/J. C. Robinson/Malcolm 66/BM W34.

Because this drawing does not bear Lawrence's stamp, cannot be identified in the 1830 inventory, was unexhibited in 1836, and cannot be traced in the King of Holland's collection, it is one of very few drawings by Michelangelo or his studio owned by Ottley that did not pass to Lawrence. It was presumably acquired by Woodburn directly or indirectly from whomever acquired it from Ottley.

1151. Not identified.

1152. Not identified.

1153. Not identified.

1154. Not identified.

LIST OF FORMER OWNERS

References are to catalogue numbers

- Dezzio Azzolini**, 1623–1689: 1?, 2?, 26.
- John Barnard**, 1709–1784: 80.
- Filippo Baldinucci**, 1625–1696: 95, 102.
- Ralph Bernal**, fl. twentieth century?: 82.
- Alfred Beurdeley**, 1847–1919 (L.421): 63.
- The Bona Roti Collector**, late sixteenth century: 1?, 2, 5, 20?, 26, 44, 45, 47, 57.
- The Borghese Family**: 17.
- Giuseppe Bossi**, 1777–1815: 65.
- The Buonarroti Family**: 1?, 3, 4, 5?, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31, 34?, 35, 36, 37?, 38, 39, 41, 42, 49, 54, 55, 56, 57?, 69?, 73, 75, 84?, 90?, 93?, 101?, 114?.
- Bernardo Buontalenti**, c. 1531–1608: 55, 56.
- Hans Calmann**, 1899–1982: 105, 106.
- William Carey** (pseudonym Watson), fl. c. 1820: 51, 52, 53, 108.
- Bartolommeo Cavaceppi**, 1716–1799: 22?, 34?, 45?, 46?, 47, 48, 50?, 51?, 52?, 53?, 90?, 103.
- Pseudo-Caylus** (L.474): 92.
- Giuseppe Cesari**, called *Il Cavaliere d'Arpino*, 1568–1640: 22?, 34?, 45?, 46?, 48?, 50?, 51?, 52?, 53?.
- Arthur Harington Champenowne**, 1769–1819: 33.
- Queen Christina of Sweden**, 1626–1689: 1?, 2?, 26.
- Filippo Ciciapporci**, fl. mid eighteenth century: 22?, 34?, 45?, 46?, 47, 48, 50?, 51?, 52?, 90?, 103.
- Count Leopoldo Cicognara**, 1767–1834: 65.
- Richard Cosway**, 1740–1821 (L.628): 78, 96.
- C. M. Cracherode**, 1730–1799: 80.
- Pierre Crozat**, 1665–1740 (no stamp; but his drawings often bear an inventory number): 1, 2, 18, 26?, 66?, 70?, 76, 110?, 111.
- D. Daulby**, late eighteenth century (L.736a) (without stamp): 80.
- Baron Dominique-Vivant Denon**, 1747–1825 (L.779): 22, 28, 40.
- Thomas Dimsdale**, 1758–1823 (L.2426): 1, 66, 76, 110.
- Francis Douce**, 1757–1834 (L.689): 94, 95, 102, 104.
- Rev. Robert Finch**, 1783–1830: 92.
- Graf Moritz von Fries** (le comte de Fries), 1777–1826 (L.2903): 101, 111.
- William Gibson**, ?–1703: 7.
- Lamberto Gori**, 1730–1801: 100?
- The Greek Inscrubber**, fl. later sixteenth century: 62, 70.
- Chambers Hall**, 1786–1855 (L.551): 97.
- Lord Hampden**, 1749–1824 (L.2837): 59.
- Jeremiah Harman**, 1764–1844 (no stamp): 60, 89, 98, 99.
- F. W. Hope**, 1797–1862 (L.Supp.1266b): 107.
- Richard Houlditch**, ?–1736 (L.2214): 87.
- Thomas Hudson**, 1701–1779 (L.2432): 112.
- The Irregular Numbering Collector**, fl. later sixteenth century?: 1?, 2?, 5?, 20, 26?, 45, 57.
- Everard Jabach**, 1610–1695: 18?, 66?
- Gerhard Michael Jabach**, ?–1751: 66?
- William Kent**, 1685–1746 (or **William Kent**), fl. 1742–1761: 70, 113.
- Le Marquis de Lagoy**, 1764–1829 (L.1710): 18, 110. Without stamp: 1, 66, 76, 111.
- Nicholas Lanier**, 1588–1666 (L.2885): 59?.
- Sir Thomas Lawrence**, PRA, 1769–1830 (L.2445): 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 22, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 72, 75, 77, 78, 79, 81, 84, 85, 86, 88, 90, 100, 103, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114. Without stamp: 17, 20, 21, 23, 24, 28, 33, 41, 45, 47, 58, 68, 70, 71, 73, 74, 76, 87, 91, 93, 96, 101, 112.
- Sir Peter Lely**, 1618–1680 (L.2092): 87; without stamps: 7?, 113?, 114?.
- Pierre-Jean Mariette**, 1694–1774 (L.1852): 1, 18, 66, 76, 110, 111.
- Antonio Mini**, 1506–1533/34: 18?, 28?
- The Dukes of Modena**: 32.
- The King of Naples**: 21.
- Don Livio Odescalchi**, Duke of Bracciano, 1657–1713: 1, 2?, 26.
- William Young Ottley**, 1771–1836: 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 21, 23, 24, 29, 30, 33, 36, 37, 41, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59?, 62, 67, 70, 74, 75, 77, 81, 86, 91, 93, 100, 103, 108?, 109, 113?, 114?
- Paignon-Dijonval**, 1708–1792: 64, 72.
- Dr E. Peart**, 1756/8–1824: 80.
- Carlo Prayer**, 1826–1900: 63.
- Francesco Primaticcio**, 1504–1570: 18?
- Uvedale Price**, 1747–1829: 113.
- Padre Sebastiano Resta**, 1635–1714: 104.
- Narcisse Revil**, ?–1844 (L.2138): 23.
- Sir Joshua Reynolds**, PRA, 1723–1792 (L.2364): 20, 26, 43, 70, 71, 85, 87, 88, 94, 109, 112, 113. Without stamp: 68.
- Daniele Ricciarelli**, called **Daniele da Volterra**, 1511–1566: 22?, 34?, 44?, 45?, 46?, 47?, 50?, 51?, 52?, 53?
- Jonathan Richardson, Senior**, 1665–1745 (L.2183): 78, 112. (L.2184): 33, 43, 80, 86, 87, 113. Without stamp: 7, 77, 104.
- Jonathan Richardson, Junior**, 1694–1771, Without stamp: 104, 113?.
- J. van Rijmsdijk**, fl. c. 1770 (L.2167): 92.
- Giacomo Rocca**, fl. c. 1560–c. 1595: 22?, 34?, 46?, 50?, 51?, 52?, 53?.
- The Roman Numeral Collector**: fl. late sixteenth century: 56.
- William Roscoe**, 1753–1831: 51, 52, 53, 77, 108.
- Mrs. R. A. Ryall**, fl. mid-twentieth century: 80.
- Joachim Sandrart**, 1606–1688: 1?, 2?, 26.
- Pieter Spiering van Silfvercroon**, ?–1653: 1, 2, 26.
- John, Second Earl Spenser**, 1734–1783 (L.1531): 33.
- John Talman**, 1677–1726 (L.2462): 105, 106.
- Henry Trench** 1685–1726: 33?
- Antonio Tronsarelli**, 1520s–1601: 5?, 17.
- Unidentified Collector** (L.1418): 70.
- Unidentified Collectors**: 57, 59, 92, 94.
- Unrecorded**: 83.

Giorgio Vasari , 1511–1572: 80.	Jean-Baptiste Wicar , 1762–1834: 2?, 3?, 4?, 6, 8, 19, 25, 27, 29, 30?, 31, 34, 35, 37?, 38, 39, 41?, 42, 44?, 49, 54, 55?, 56?, 57, 69?, 73, 75?, 79, 84, 90, 114?.	29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 93, 96, 98, 99, 100, 101, 103, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114.
Marcello Venusti , 1512–1579: 47?		
Lord Vernon , fl. later eighteenth century?: 80.	Samuel Woodburn , 1786–1853: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28,	
? Walker , fl. c. 1820: 77.		
Benjamin West, PRA , 1738–1820 (L.419): 7.		

 CONCORDANCE TO THE MAJOR CATALOGUES
 OF MICHELANGELO'S DRAWINGS

Parker II	Robinson	Berenson	Frey	Thode	Dussler	Hartt	Tolnay	Cat.
42	39	1565	223b	44	—	—	7	8
82	86	—	—	—	—	—	—	113
90	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	107
237	87	—	—	—	—	—	—	110
291	22	1561	—	406	193	9/16	17	1
292	21	1560	—	405	192	17/18	18	2
293	18	1558	141	402	191	30	102	4
294	16	1556	132	400	190	31	103	5
295	17	1557	142	401	603	34	39	6
296	19	1559	201/2	403	344	35/32	41	7
297	23	1562	3/156	407	194	89/54	157	18
298	27	1563	—	416	612	—	161	17
299	24	1702	151/2	408	604	121/117	166	9
300	24	1702	151/2	409	605	119/122	167	10
301	24	1702	151/2	410	606	110A/114	168	11
302	24	1702	151/2	411	607	123/110	169	12
303	25	1703	153/4	412	608	120/113	170	13
304	25	1703	153/4	413	609	118/123A	171	14
305	25	1703	153/4	414	610	115/116	172	15
306	25	1703	153/4	415	611	111/112	173	16
307	42.2	1709	213a/4a	425	621	158/219	187	25
308	40	1566	143	423	345	222/286	191	39
309	6	1548	216/7	390	598	228/293	213	27
310	7	1549	218	391	599	227	212	26
311	49	1713	135/6	432	199	347	260	38
312	48.2	1567	138c	430	197	196	522	19
313	48.3	1567	138b	431	198	166	249b	3
314	8	1550	193/4	392	340	294/295	295	20
315	10	1552	172b	394	342	363	323	31
316	9	1551	—	393	341	161/303	328	29
317	45	1712	144/5	428	196/622	302/312	237	30
318	29	1564	51	417	195	257/412	266	34
319	55	1718	—	(434)	624	466	297	35
320	53.1	1568	178	433	346	188	304	36
321	71	1573	279c	445	350	170	83b	37
322	11	1553	—	395	600	310	310	32
323	13	1555	133/4	398	343	191/311	96	28
324	31	1705	—	p. 210	614	155	100	23
325	30	1704	—	418	613	160	98	22
326	1	1545	197	387	596	—	9	33
327	2	1546	—	388	597	—	8	24
328	69	1571	157/8	441	200/630	456C/473	374	46

Parker II	Robinson	Berenson	Frey	Thode	Dussler	Hartt	Tolnay	Cat.
329	67	1570/1724	195/6	440	629	382/71	362	41
330	58	1568A	148/9	435	625	380/381	361	42
331	77	1577	200a	450	631	400	383	43
332	80	II, p. 204 n. 2	271	452	633	382/494	605	56
333	81	II, p. 204 n. 2	272/3	453	634/352	495/483	589	55
334	60.1	1569/1	—	436	347	505/506	430	53
335	60.2	1569/2	—	437	348	508	428	51
336	60.3	1569/3	—	438	349	507	427	52
337	75	1576	225/6	449	351	289/397	402	44
338	70.3	1572B	—	444	203	469/470	369	45
339	70.1	1572	239	442	201	459	433	48
340	70.2	1572A	240	443	202	448	404	47
341	5	1547	201b/203	389	189	401/411	381	49
342	37	2491	150	420	616	456	431	40
343	72	1574	180	446	204	426/427	415	57
344	82	II, p. 204 n. 2	168/9	454	207	501/519	601	54
345	74	1575	140	448	205	435	400	50
346	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	59
347	32	1706	—	(419)	—	—	—	60
348	53.2	—	—	sub394	—	—	—	62
349	—	—	—	424)	—	—	—	63
350	41	1708A	—	(424)	—	—	—	64
351	14	2490A	—	—	—	—	—	65
352	73	1724A	—	(447)	—	—	—	67
353	172	—	—	—	158	—	303b	61
354	47	—	—	—	—	—	—	84
355	46	—	—	—	—	—	—	85
356	36	—	—	—	—	—	—	86
357	68	—	—	—	—	—	—	87
358	34	—	—	—	—	—	—	88
359	35	—	—	—	—	—	—	89
360	26	—	—	—	—	—	—	90
361	28	—	—	—	—	—	—	91
362	65	—	—	—	—	—	—	93
363	64	—	—	—	—	—	—	96
364	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	97
365	62	—	—	—	—	—	—	98
366	61	—	—	—	—	—	—	99
367	63	—	—	—	—	—	—	100
368	60.4	—	—	—	627	—	365	101
368*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	104
369	78	—	—	—	—	—	—	103
370	12.1	1554a	155a	396	601	—	150	68
371	85	—	—	—	—	—	—	108
372	42.1	Sub1709	p. 104	426	620	—	—	69
373	66	1723	—	—	—	—	—	70
374	12.2	1554b	—	397	602	—	129	71
375	39	1565	222	422	618	—	7	8
376	38	—	—	(421)	617	—	88	72
377	60.5	1722	—	(439)	—	—	—	73
378	79	1725	138a	(451)	623	—	—	74
378*	48.1	1567/1	—	429	—	—	—	75
405	20	1701	—	—	—	—	—	77
406	43	1710	—	—	—	—	—	76
407	57	1720	—	—	—	—	—	109

Parker II	Robinson	Berenson	Frey	Thode	Dussler	Hartt	Tolnay	Cat.
408	44	1711	—	—	—	—	—	78
409	51	1715	—	—	—	—	—	111
410	52	1618	—	—	—	—	—	66
411	54	1717	—	—	—	—	—	79
412	3	—	—	(388A)	—	—	—	58
413	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	80
415	83	—	—	(455)	—	—	—	112
452	4	1699	—	—	—	—	—	114
624	151Raph.	—	—	—	—	—	—	81
App. A, fol. 7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	105
App. A, fol. 174/68	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	106
Macandrew								
A23	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	90
A24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	94
A25	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	102
A26	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	95
355A	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	82
Blayney Brown								
1814	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	83
Lloyd								
A66C	76	1725A	—	—	—	—	389b	21

 CONCORDANCE OF ASHMOLEAN INVENTORY NUMBERS
 WITH THE PRESENT CATALOGUE

Inventory	Cat.	Inventory	Cat.	Inventory	Cat.
1846.22	113	1846.77	43	1846.121	8
1846.33	110	1846.78	56	1846.122	72
1846.37	1	1846.79	55	1846.123	73
1846.38	2	1846.80	53	1846.124	74
1846.39	4	1846.81	51	1846.125	75
1846.40	5	1846.82	52	1846.126	77
1846.41	6	1846.83	44	1863.127	76
1846.42	7	1846.84	45	1846.128	109
1846.43	18	1846.85	48	1863.129	78
1846.44	17	1846.86	47	1863.130	111
1846.45	9	1846.87	49	1846.131	66
1846.46	10	1846.88	40	1846.132	79
1846.47	11	1846.89	57	1846.133	58
1846.48	12	1846.90	54	1846.134	112
1846.49	13	1846.91	50	1846.136	114
1846.50	14	1846.92	59	1846.259	81
1846.51	15	1846.93	60	1846.309	21
1846.52	16	1846.94	62	1855.128	97
1846.53	25	1846.95	64	1863.657	104
1846.54	39	1846.96	65	1863.769	94
1846.55	27	1846.97	67	1863.770	102
1846.56	26	1846.98	61	1863.771	95
1846.57	38	1846.99	84	WA 1942.55.686	106
1846.58	19	1846.100	85	WA 1944.102.7	105
1846.59	3	1846.101	86	1944.133	107
1846.60	20	1846.102	87	1953.138	80
1846.61	31	1846.103	88	1954.68	68
1846.62	29	1846.104	89	1963.22	82
1846.63	30	1846.105	90	1976.254	92
1846.64	34	1846.106	91	WA OA977	83
1846.65	35	1846.107	93		
1846.66	36	1846.108	96		
1846.67	37	1846.109	98		
1846.68	32	1846.110	99		
1846.69	28	1846.112	100		
1846.70	23	1846.113	101		
1846.71	22	1846.114	69		
1846.72	33	1846.115	103		
1846.73	24	1846.116	68		
1846.74	46a,b	1846.117	108		
1846.75	41	1846.119	70		
1846.76	42	1846.120	71		



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INDEX 1

DRAWINGS BY AND AFTER MICHELANGELO AND HIS CLOSE ASSOCIATES IN COLLECTIONS OTHER THAN THAT OF THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM; OTHER WORKS OF ART AND ARCHITECTURE BY MICHELANGELO AND WORKS EXECUTED BY OTHER ARTISTS TO HIS DESIGNS (EXCLUDING APPENDICES)

The numbers in bold type refer to catalogue entries, the others refer to pages

Lost works

- David* in bronze, last recorded in 1795 at the Château de Villeroy **2, 25**
The Fall of Phaeton (coloured copy after Michelangelo by Francesco Salviati) **24**
Ganymede (copy after Michelangelo by Daniele da Volterra). **29**
Hercules (statue in marble carved in 1493; last recorded at Fontainebleau in the eighteenth century) **3**
Hercules and Antaeus (wax model presented by Michelangelo to Leone Leoni) **23**
Leda (painting taken to France by Antonio Mini and destroyed in the seventeenth century) **8, 26**

AMSTERDAM

Historical Museum

- A18115: *The Entombment with Five Figures* (by an unidentified draughtsman, perhaps from the circle of Daniele da Volterra, probably after a lost drawing by Michelangelo) **51**

Rijksmuseum

- 53:140/Corpus 435: *Study for the Equestrian Statue of Henri II and Its Base* **55, 52**

AREZZO

Casa Vasari

- Cod.12, cap. 22/Corpus 593: *First Diagram of the Vault Construction of the Cappella del Re de Francia in St. Peter's* **48**
 Cod.12, cap. 24/Corpus 594: *Second Diagram of the Vault Construction of the Cappella del Re de Francia in St. Peter's* **48**

BASSANO ROMANO

San Vincenzo Martire

- The Risen Christ* (first version of Michelangelo's *The Risen Christ* in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, re-worked by another hand) **19**

BAYONNE

Musée Bonnat

- Inv. 650 verso/Bean 69/Corpus 337: *Study for the Bacchanal of Infants* **34**
 Inv. 680/Bean 65/Corpus 75: *Sketches for the Raising of Lazarus for Sebastiano del Piombo* **35, 47**
 Inv. 1216/Bean 70: *Fragment of an Order Sheet for Marble Blocks* **23**
 Inv. 1217/Bean 67/Corpus 346: *Compositional Sketch for the Last Judgement* **53**
 Inv. 595/Bean 73: *Portrait of a Young Man (Tommaso de' Cavalieri?)* **33, 42**

BERLIN

Kupferstichkabinett

- Inv. 1363/Corpus 27: *Various Sketches and a Study for the Head of a Madonna* **1**
 Inv. 15305 recto/Corpus 55: *Modello for the Tomb of Pope Julius II* **52, 18, 35, 63, 76**
 Inv. 15305 verso/Corpus 55: *Studies of Legs* **18, 81**
 Inv. 20976: *The ground plan of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini* (After Michelangelo's lost model by an unidentified seventeenth-century draughtsman) **105**

Collection Dr. W. Kreis (Formerly)

- Modello for the Tomb of the Magnifici* (Indirect copy after Paris, Louvre 837/J26/Corpus 194 by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) **63**

BESANÇON

Musée des Beaux-Arts

- D3117/Corpus 319: *Studies of Facial Details* (after Michelangelo by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) **20, 40**

BOSTON

Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum

- Hadley no. 7/Corpus 426: *Pietà* **7, 38, 54, 56, 57**
 Hadley p. 67: *Copy of Michelangelo's Study for Haman* (BM W13/Corpus 163; Perhaps indirect, after Windsor PW 450) **36**

BRUGES

Notre Dame

- Madonna* **1, 2, 21**

BRUSSELS

Emile Wauters Collection (Formerly)

- Frey 1909–11, 249a recto: *Figure Sketches* (after Michelangelo by an unidentified associate or pupil) **43, 59**
 Frey 1909–11, 249a recto: *A Letter* **43, 59**

BUDAPEST

Museum of Fine Arts

- Inv. 1959 recto: *The Brazen Serpent* (copy of upper episode on Cat. 34 by Raffaello da Montelupo) **34**
 Inv. 1959 verso: *Figures from Michelangelo's Modello for a Ducal Tomb* (partial, after Louvre Inv. 837/J27/Corpus 186 by Raffaello da Montelupo) **34**
 Inv. K67.35: *Christ on the Cross* (After British Museum W67/Corpus 411, by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) **67**

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

The Fogg Art Museum

Paintings

- The Resurrection* (painting by Marcello Venusti after Michelangelo's drawing BM W52/Corpus 258) **38**

Drawings

- 1932–152 recto/Corpus 438: *Design for a Hanging Lamp and Other Studies* **30, 77**
 1998–194: *A Window for Palazzo Farnese* (Copy of Cat. 55 recto, by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) **55**

CAMBRIDGE, UK

The Fitzwilliam Museum

- 3056 recto/Corpus 401: *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother* **50**

3056 verso/Corpus 401: *Christ Appearing to His Mother on the Morning of the Resurrection?* or *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother* 50
 1070-2, fol. 8 recto: *An Antique Statue of Venus* (part copy of Cat. 58 by Sir Edward Burne-Jones) 58
 1070-2, fol. 9 recto: *The Brazen Serpent* (part copy of Cat. 34 by Sir Edward Burne-Jones) 34
 1070-2, fol. 11 recto: *A Beckoning Nude Man* (part copy of Cat. 59 by Sir Edward Burne-Jones) 59
 1070-2, fol. 16 recto: *The Brazen Serpent* (part copy of Cat. 34 by Sir Edward Burne-Jones) 34
 1070-2, fol. 17 recto: *The Brazen Serpent* (part copy of Cat. 34 by Sir Edward Burne-Jones) 34
 1070-2, fol. 26 recto: *Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar* (copy after Cat. 29 verso by Sir Edward Burne-Jones) 29
 1070-2, fol. 39 recto: *A Groom Assisting a Cavalryman to Mount a Horse* (copy after Cat. 7 verso by Sir Edward Burne-Jones) 7
 1070-2, fol. 40 recto: *Details from the tomb of the Magnifici* (part copy of Cat. 64) 64
 1070-2, fol. 40 verso: *Partial copy of Cat. 5*, by Sir Edward Burne-Jones 5
 1070-2, fol. 41 recto: *Partial copy of Cat. 5*, by Sir Edward Burne-Jones 5
 PD 122-1961: *A Standing Male nude in Left Profile* (adapted from the wax model Casa Buonarroti Inv. 521 after Michelangelo, by Bartolommeo Passerotti) 114

CHANTILLY

Musée Condé

Lanfranc de Panthou 28 recto/Corpus 24: *Studies of Nude and Draped Figures, in Part After the Antique* 40, 58
 Lanfranc de Panthou 39: *Copy after the Last Judgement* (indirect copy, by a draughtsman in the circle of Adamo Scultori) 93
 Lanfranc de Panthou 48 recto and verso: "Prudentia" (copy of a lost drawing by Michelangelo, by Raffaello da Montelupo) 66

CUMBERLAND

G. McKay Collection (in 1955)

Christ on the Cross (after British Museum W67/Corpus 411, by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) 67

DETROIT

Detroit Institute of Arts

27.2 recto/Corpus 120: *Sketch for the Layout of the Sistine Ceiling and for Figural Details* 40
 27.2 verso/Corpus 120: *Studies of Seated Figures and Arms* 40

DONNINGTON PRIORY

Gathorne-Hardy Collection (formerly)

Corpus 382 recto: *Study of a Torso* 33, 49

Corpus 382 verso: *Architectural Sketches* 49
 See Christie's, New York, 24 January 2006, lot 18
 Unnumbered recto: *The Entombment with Five Figures* (by an unidentified draughtsman [sometimes attributed to Jacomo del Duca] probably a facsimile of a lost drawing by Michelangelo) 33, 51
 Unnumbered verso: *Ground plans of several buildings, some perhaps related to San Giovanni dei Fiorentini* (by an unidentified draughtsman [sometimes attributed to Jacomo del Duca] probably a facsimile of a lost drawing by Michelangelo). See Christie's, New York, 25 January 2005, lot 26 33, 51
 See also Washington 1991-217

DRESDEN

Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstichkabinett

C.49 recto/Corpus 276: *Modello for a Monumental Altar?* 52
 C.49 verso/Corpus 276: *Ground Plan for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini* (after a lost drawing by Michelangelo by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) 54
 1989-106, *Christ on the Cross* (after British Museum W67/Corpus 411, perhaps by Giulio Clovio) 67
 C.54 *Copy of Two Standing Men* (After Cat. 24 verso by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) 24

DUBLIN

National Gallery of Ireland

Inv. 2666: *Various Copies After Lost and Surviving Drawings by Michelangelo* (by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) 59

DUSSELDORF

Museum Kunst Palast

FP 138: *Attack of the Serpents* 34
 FP 139: *Attack of the Serpents* 34
 FP 151 recto: *The Brazen Serpent* (indirect copy of upper episode on Cat. 34 via Uffizi 606E recto, by Raffaello da Montelupo; by Guglielmo della Porta or Giovanni Antonio Dosio) 34
 FP 151 verso: *Figures from a Lost Drawing by Michelangelo for the Magnifici Tomb* (indirect copy after Uffizi 607E by Raffaello da Montelupo; by Guglielmo della Porta or Giovanni Antonio Dosio) 34

EDINBURGH

National Gallery of Scotland

Department of Drawings

RSA256: *Copy of a Section of the Last Judgement* (by William Young Ottley) 11
 RSA970: *Copy after CB11F/B73/Corpus 209* (by an unidentified seventeenth-century draughtsman) 22, 35

FLORENCE

Museums and Galleries

Galleria dell'Accademia

Sculpture

David 2, 3, 108
Saint Matthew 1, 3
The Four Prigioni 18
 Comprising *The Young Slave* 20
 The Bearded Slave 8, 20
 The Atlas 20
 The Awakening Slave 20
The Palestrina Pietà 48

Painting

Venus and Cupid (painting after Michelangelo's design by Jacopo Pontormo) 110

Museo Nazionale del Bargello

Bacchus 8, 74
Apollo? 28

Archivio Buonarroti (now housed in Casa Buonarroti)

II-III, fol. 3 verso/B287/Corpus 15: *Sketches of a Male Nude* 1
 V, 66 fol. 239 verso/B353/Corpus 200: *Sketches of Pilasters*, 38
 VI, 24 verso/B346/Corpus 259: *Sketch for the Risen Christ* 38
 XI, fol. 722 verso/B347/Corpus 584: *The Ground Plan of a House* 23
 XII, fol. 46/B360: *Bending Figure in Left Profile* (probably by Antonio Mini) 39
 XIII, fol. 127/B339/Corpus 539: *Template for the Frame of the Door between the Vestibule and the Reading-Room of the Laurentian Library* 48
 XIII, fol. 148/B367/Corpus 252: *Sketch for the Risen Christ* 38
 XIII, fol. 158-159/B336/Corpus 536: *Template for a Cornice* 48
 XIII, fol. 160/B350/Corpus 366: *Crowning Element for a Papal Tomb* 25

Casa Buonarroti

Painting

The Epifania (unfinished painting by Ascanio Condivi prepared in 1895-9-15-518*/W75/Corpus 389) 19

Sculpture

The Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs 4, 7
The Madonna of the Stairs 19, 36
 Inv. 191: *A Male Torso* (terracotta model, probably for a prigione) 41
 Inv. 192: *A Mature Man Overcoming a Young Man* (model in clay for a group on the Tomb of Julius II) 20, 41
 Inv. 195: *Model for a Crucifix* (model in carved wood) 57
 Inv. 521: *A Standing Male Nude* (wax model probably cast from a lost clay model by Michelangelo) 114

Disegni di architettura

- 2A recto/B24/Corpus 517: *Studies After Details of Roman Architecture* 39, 48
- 7A/B262/Corpus 530: *Sketches of Architectural Profiles for the Vestibule of the Laurentian Library* 47
- 9A recto/B62/Corpus 202: *Sketches for Pilaster Bases* 47
- 14A recto/B117/Corpus 577: *Plan for the Defences of the Porta al Prato* 41
- 14A verso/B117/Corpus 577: *Studies for figures in the Last Judgement* 41
- 17A recto/B113/Corpus 579: *Sketches for Bastions* 56
- 20A recto/B118/Corpus 578: *Fortifications for the Porta al Prato* 56
- 27A verso/B182: *The Ground-Plan of a Bastion (by Michelangelo); The Brazen Serpent; A Standing Prigione (variants on Michelangesque motives by Antonio Mini)* 24, 42, 78
- 31A/B152/Corpus 600: *Template for a Section of the Wooden Model for the Drum of St. Peter's* 48, 54, 55
- 33A verso/B4/Corpus 585: *The Ground Plan of a House* 23
- 36A recto/B161/Corpus 611: *Ground Plan for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini* 54
- 36A verso/B161/Corpus 611: *Sketch for an Interior Elevation of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini* 54
- 37A verso/B83/Corpus 226: *Studies for the Vestibule of the Laurentian Library; A Hand* 39
- 40A recto/B98/Corpus 177: *Sketch for a Ciborium?* 37
- 40A verso/B98/Corpus 177: *Two Men Wrestling [Hercules and Antaeus?]; A Male Profile (variations on Michelangesque motives by Antonio Mini)* 30, 76
- 42A recto/B78/Corpus 541: *Study for the Façade of an Early Project for the Laurentian Library* 39, 56
- 44A verso/B43/Corpus 498: *Sketches for the Façade of San Lorenzo and the Tomb of Julius II* 37
- 45A/B245/Corpus 497: *Modello for the Façade of San Lorenzo* 42, 52, **Introduction to** 9–16, 53
- 46A recto/B94/Corpus 277: *Sketch for a Papal Tomb in San Lorenzo* 39
- 49A recto/B59/Corpus 182: *Studies for Wall Tombs and for a Free-Standing Tomb* 38
- 49A verso/B59/Corpus 182: *Fragment of the Template of a Column for the Wooden Model for the Façade of San Lorenzo* 54
- 51A/B246/Corpus 504: *Section Diagram for the Wooden Model for the Façade of San Lorenzo* 47
- 52A/B256/Corpus 188: *Unfinished Modello for the Tomb of a Pope for One of the lavamani in the New Sacristy* 38, 46, 25
- 60A/B92/Corpus 537: *Template for a Cornice, Perhaps for the Vestibule of the Laurentian Library* 46
- 62A recto/B84/Corpus 532: *Profiles of Cornices* 38
- 64A/B46/Corpus 508: *Column Section for the Façade of San Lorenzo* 47
- 65A/B257/Corpus 548: *Sketch for a Window of Palazzo Farnese* 55
- 71A recto/B58/Corpus 153: *Sketches for a Free-Standing Tomb for the New Sacristy* 38
- 71A verso/B58/Corpus 153: *Fragment of the Template of a Column for the Wooden Model for the Façade of San Lorenzo* 54
- 72A recto/B63/Corpus 199: *Sketch for a Throne for the Attic of a Ducal Tomb* 37, 47, 52
- 73A verso/B97/Corpus 274: *Study for a Lavabo* 37, 47
- 73A bis verso/B164/Corpus 615: *Study for the Porta Pia* 56
- 78A/B86/Corpus 509: *Elevation and Plan for a Block for a Capital for the Façade of San Lorenzo* 47
- 79A recto/B87/Corpus 559: *Sketch Ground Plan of the Piccola Librereria Secreta of the Laurentian Library* 46, 56
- 80A/B88/Corpus 560: *Plan of the Piccola Librereria Secreta of the Laurentian Library* 46
- 84A recto/B166/Corpus 614: *Elevation for the Porta Pia; Fragments of Profiles for the Dome of St. Peter's* 38, 54
- 85A/B101/Corpus 620: *Sketch of a Window* 56
- 88A recto/B57/Corpus 181: *Sketches for Wall Tombs* 38
- 92A recto/B89/Corpus 525: *Studies of the Staircase of the Laurentian Library* 46, 55
- 92A verso/B89/Corpus 525: *Studies of the Staircase of the Laurentian Library* 46, 45, 55
- 96A recto/B79/Corpus 551: *Modello for a Door* 37
- 96A verso/B79/Corpus 551: *Studies for Doors, Windows, and Niches* 37, 52
- 97A recto/B167/Corpus 616: *Study for a Tabernacle in the Vestibule of the Palazzo dei Conservatori* 37, 55
- 97A verso/B167/Corpus 616: *Sketches for the Porta Pia* 37, 52, 55
- 98A/B255/Corpus 550: *Modello for the Exterior Door of the Reading Room of the Laurentian Library* 56
- 102A recto/B168/Corpus 618: *Study for the Porta Pia* 55
- 103A recto/B264/Corpus 613: *Studies for a Wall Tomb* 37, 44, 45
- 103A verso/B264/Corpus 613: *The Lower Section of a Template for a Model for an Interior Window for the Drum of St. Peter's* 48, 45, 54
- 104A/B162/Corpus 624: *Sketch for the Ground Plan of the Sforza Chapel* 53
- 106A verso/B169/Corpus 619: *Sketches for the Porta Pia and the Equestrian Monument to Henri II* 37, 55
- 112A verso/B100/Corpus 197: *Study for a Tabernacle Niche* 37
- 114A verso/B37/Corpus 176: *Sketches for Wall-Tombs* 38
- 116A/B251/Corpus 190: *Analysis of the Columnar Structure of a Papal Tomb in the Choir of San Lorenzo* 39
- 117A recto/B156/Corpus 587: *Ground Plan for a Hospice at Altopascio; Half of the Beginning of a Ground Plan for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini?* 54
- 117A verso/B156/Corpus 587: *Elevation of the Lantern of St. Peter's; Ground Plan for a Hospice at Altopascio; Half of the Beginning of a Ground Plan for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini?* 54
- 119A recto/B156/Corpus 588: *The Ground Plan of a House* 23
- 120A/B159/Corpus 610: *Ground Plan for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini* 54
- 121A/B156/Corpus 607: *Ground Plan for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini* 54
- 123A/B157/Corpus 608: *Ground Plan for the Sforza Chapel* 47, 53
- 124A recto/B160/Corpus 612: *Ground-Plan for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini* 55, 54, 105
- 124A verso/B160/Corpus 612: *The Upper Section of a Template for a Model for an Interior Window for the Drum of St. Peter's* 48, 45, 54
- 126A/B91/Corpus 542: *Design for the ceiling of the Reading Room of the Biblioteca Laurenziana* 39
- 127A/B259/Corpus 206: *Modello for the Decoration of the Cupola of the New Sacristy* 47
- 128A/B95/Corpus 279: *Half Elevation of a Papal Tomb in the Choir of San Lorenzo* 38, 46, 39

Disegni di Figura

- 1F/B8/Corpus 158: *Study for the head of the Virgin in the Doni Tondo* 38, 39, 51
- 2F recto/B133/Corpus 327: *Cleopatra* 17, 19
- 3F/B190/Corpus 309: *Head of a Old Woman in Left Profile* 30
- 5F/B180/Corpus 137: *Diagrammatic Head of Man* 74
- 7F recto/B122/Corpus 301: *Study for the Head of the Leda* 56
- 8F/B20/Corpus 122: *Study of a Right Arm* 40
- 9F/B5/Corpus 40: *Outline Study of the Torso of a Man Helping Another to Mount a Horse* 50, 7
- 10F/B71/Corpus 224: *Studies for the Body and Legs of a Seated Figure (for one of the Dukes in the New Sacristy)* 52, 76
- 11F/B73/Corpus 209: *Studies of Legs for a Figure in the New Sacristy* 22, 52
- 12F/B176/Corpus 159: *The Reading Man in the Haman Penditive and Hand and Arm Studies* 40
- 15F/B179/Corpus 326: *Studies for the Head of Victory* 74
- 16F/B69/Corpus 234: *Study after a Nude Torso of Venus* 41, 58
- 17F/B125/Corpus 79: *Three Figures in Violent Motion* 37

- 18F/B127/Corpus 82: *Three Figures in Violent Motion* 37
- 19F recto/B150/Corpus 318: *Studies for Daniele's Saint John in the Wilderness, the Staircase of the Laurentian Library, and a Wall Tomb* 38, 43, 44, 45
- 19F verso/B150/Corpus 318: *Studies for Daniele's Saint John in the Wilderness, the Staircase of the Laurentian Library, and a Wall Tomb* 38, 40, 44, 45
- 23F/B9/Corpus 29: *Study for the Leg of the Christ Child for the Doni Tondo* 39
- 24F/B242/Corpus 160: *Study for the Figure at the Left of the Naason Lunette?* 13, 17
- 28F/B213/Corpus 126: *Studies After a Nude Statue of Venus and a Male Head* (after a lost drawing by Michelangelo by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) 40, 58
- 32F/B139/Corpus 254: *A Reclining Guard in the Resurrection* (figure study for PW427 recto/Corpus 255) 38
- 34F/B171: *Figure Studies* (by Antonio Mini) 74
- 35F/B135/Corpus 90: *Christ in Limbo* 39
- 37F/B170: *Figure Studies; An Episode of the Brazen Serpents* (variant on Michelangelesque motives, by Antonio Mini) 34, 73, 74, 78
- 38F/B124/Corpus 83: *Three Figures in Violent Motion* 37
- 39F/B234/Corpus 303: *A Standing Female? Figure in Right Profile* 13
- 41F/B70/Corpus 231: *Study After a Nude Torso of Venus* 58
- 42F/B241/Corpus 59: *Sketches of a Roman Trophy* 18
- 43F recto/B239/Corpus 128: *A Shouting Man Wearing a Turban* (by an unidentified draughtsman) 41
- 46F recto/B149/Corpus 378: *A Torso, for the Dead Christ?* 49
- 47F/B22/Corpus 124: *A Male Head Looking Downwards* 38, 39
- 52F recto/B227/Corpus 142: *Sketches for Body Parts of Ignudi* 38, 40
- 53F recto/B174/Corpus 229bis: *A Standing Female Nude (Venus?); The Bed of Polycleitus, Hercules and Antaeus, and Other Sketches* 38, 39, 21, 30, 74
- 53F verso/B174/Corpus 229bis: *The Head of a Satyr, a Man Carrying a Child on His Shoulders* (partial copy after Uffizi 621E/B131/Corpus 70, by Antoni Mini) 66, 74
- 54F recto/B146/Corpus 284: *Kneeling Man Seen from Rear* 40
- 58F/B129/Corpus 78: *Christ Transfigured Between Moses and Elijah* 37
- 59F/B2/Corpus 32: *Head of a Man with an Elaborate Headdress* 2
- 61F recto/B137/Corpus 261: *Sketch for the Risen Christ* 41, 38
- 61F verso/B137/Corpus 261: *Sketch for the Risen Christ* 38
- 64F/B238/Corpus 132: *Sketches for the Expulsion from Paradise on the Sistine Ceiling* 39
- 65F recto/B142/Corpus 347: *Compositional study for the Last Judgement* 39, 42, 53, 41
- 65F verso/B142/Corpus 347: *Sketch for the Resurrection of Christ* 38
- 66F recto/B136/Corpus 262: *Sketch for the Risen Christ* 3, 9, 41, 38
- 67F/B128/Corpus 80: *Three Figures in Violent Motion* 37
- 68F/B130/Corpus 81: *Three Figures in Violent Motion* 37
- 69F recto/B143/Corpus 91: *Sketch for Sebastiano del Piombo's Ubeda Pietà* 38, 45
- 69F verso/B143/Corpus 91: *Studies for the Last Judgement* 39, 40
- 71F/B121/Corpus 239: *The Virgin and Child* 42
- 72F/B203: *Virgin and Child* (probably by Niccolò Tribolo) 42
- 73F/B6/Corpus 49: *Studies for the Battle of Cascina* 7
- 74F/B177: *Figure Studies* (by Antonio Mini) 74
- 75F/B15/Corpus 145: *Sketches for Sistine Ignudi* 3, 9, 41, 74
- Museo dell'Opera del Duomo**
- The Pietà with Four Figures* 48
- Gallerie degli Uffizi**
- Dipartimento della pittura*
- The Doni Tondo* 51, 1
- Gabinetto disegni e stampe**
- Disegni di Architettura*
- 3185A: *Ground Plan for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini* (fair copy by Tiberio Calacagni of a lost drawing by Michelangelo) 54, 105
- 3912A: *Details of the Modello for the Tomb of the Magnifici* (direct? copy after Inv. 837/J26/Corpus 194, by Raffaello da Montelupo [previously attributed to Aristotile da Sangallo]) 63
- 5348A, left side: *Copies After: CB96A verso/B79/Corpus 551; BM W37 recto/Corpus 554; Cat. 55* (by Francesco Buonarroti) 37
- 5348A, right side: *Copies After CB97A recto and verso/B167/Corpus 616; CB96A recto/B79/Corpus 551* (by Francesco Buonarroti) 37, 56
- 5350A, left side: *Copies After Cat. 55 recto; CB103A verso/B264/Corpus 613 and Lost Drawings?* (by Francesco Buonarroti) 37, 55
- 5350A, right side: *Copies After Lost Drawings by Michelangelo* (by Francesco Buonarroti) 37
- 5352A, left side: *Copy After a Version of Cat. 63* (by Francesco Buonarroti) 37
- 5352A, right side: *Copies After BMW26 recto/Corpus 180 and a Version of Cat. 63* (by Francesco Buonarroti) 37
- 5355A left side: *Copy After CB73Abis verso/B164/Corpus 615* (by Francesco Buonarroti) 37
- 5355A, right side: *Copy After the recto and verso of BM W26/Corpus 180* (by Francesco Buonarroti) 37
- 5358A left side: *Copy After a Lost Drawing Variouslly Interpreted as a Free-Standing Tomb or a Monumental Altar* (by Francesco Buonarroti) 37
- 5358A right side: *Copies After the Recto and Verso of CB 106A/B169 /Corpus 619* (by Francesco Buonarroti) 37
- 5390A left side: *Copy-Variant After CB73A/B97/Corpus 274* 37
- 5390A right side: *Copy After CB112A/B100/Corpus 197* 37
- 5394A left side: *Modified Copy After CB40A/B98/Corpus 177 and Copy After Cat. 25* (by Francesco Buonarroti) 37, 25
- 5394A right side: *Copy After CB72A/B63/Corpus 199 and Copy After a Complex Wall or Fountain Design, Perhaps by Michelangelo* (by Francesco Buonarroti) 37
- 5400A left side: *Copies After CB19F verso/B150/Corpus 368 and 62A recto/B84/Corpus 532* (by Francesco Buonarroti) 38
- 5400A right side: *Copies After CB114A/B37/Corpus 176 and CB19F verso/B150/Corpus 368* (by Francesco Buonarroti) 38
- 5403A left side: *Copies After BM W25/Corpus 184 and CB71A/B58/Corpus 183* (by Francesco Buonarroti) 38
- 5403A right side: *Copies After CB49A/B59/Corpus 182, 128A/B87/Corpus 279 and Lost or Unidentified Drawings* (by Francesco Buonarroti) 38
- 5406A left side: *Copies after CB84A recto/B166/Corpus 614, CB52A/B258/Corpus 188 and CB114A recto/B37/Corpus 176* (by Francesco Buonarroti) 38
- 5406A right side: *Copies and Adaptations After CB 114A recto/B37/Corpus 176; W38/Corpus 561 and Christ Church JBS 64 verso/Corpus 280* (by Francesco Buonarroti) 21, 38
- Disegni Esposti**
- 598E recto/B185/Corpus 307: *Zenobia* 36, 54, 31, 32
- 598E verso/B185/Corpus 307: *Sketches of a Skull and the Head of an Old Man in Left Profile* (partly by Michelangelo, partly by Antonio Mini) 30
- 599E recto/B186/Corpus 308: *Three Female Heads* 36, 54, 28, 31, 32, 67, 72
- 601E /B187/Corpus 306: *Il Dannato* 36, 54, 31
- 602E/B188: *Ideal Head (of a Woman?)* (Copy of Cat. 31, attributed to Bacchiacca) 31, 62
- 603E/B189: *Ideal Head of a Woman* 42, 32

605E recto/B269: *A Seated Sibyl* (by Francesco Salviati adapted from Michelangelo) **6**
 605E verso/B269: *A Prancing Horse* (by Francesco Salviati) **6**
 606E recto/Petrioli Tofani, pp. 269–70: *The Brazen Serpent, After the Lower Group on Cat. 34* (copy by Raffaello da Montelupo) **34**
 607E recto/Petrioli Tofani, p. 270: *Details of the Modello for the Tomb of the Magnifici* (direct? copy after Inv. 837/J26/Corpus 194, by Raffaello da Montelupo [previously attributed to Aristotile da Sangallo]) **34, 63**
 607E verso/Petrioli Tofani, p. 270: *A Study for an Early Version of the Magnifici Tomb* (copy of a lost drawing by Michelangelo, by Raffaello da Montelupo) **20**
 608E recto/Corpus 56: *Modello for the Tomb of Pope Julius II* **18, 35, 76**
 613E recto/B4/Corpus 45: *Compositional Sketch for the Battle of Cascina* **47, 51, 7**
 617E/B212/Corpus 127: *Studies of a Nude Statue of Venus and a Man Carrying Another on His Back* (after a lost drawing or drawings including one for the Sistine Flood by Michelangelo, by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) **40, 34, 58**
 618E/B145/Corpus 355: *Sketches of Two Nude Figures in Complex Poses* **34**
 619E recto/B204: *Various Sketches; An Infant Bacchanal* (by Raffaello da Montelupo) **66**
 619E verso/B204: *Figure Sketches* (by Raffaello da Montelupo) **66**
 621E recto/B131/Corpus 70: *An Elderly Man Carrying a Child; A Child Urinating into a Dish* **14, 66**
 622E/B205/Corpus 223: *The Legs of a Seated Figure: Study for One of the Dukes* (After a lost drawing by Michelangelo by Raffaello da Montelupo; sometimes attributed to Michelangelo himself) **34, 76, 78**

Disegni di Figura

229F/B197/Corpus 393: *The Annunciation, cartonetto for Marcello Venusti* **18, 36, 53, 54, 47**
 230F/B198/Corpus 409: *The Agony in the Garden, cartonetto for Marcello Venusti* **18, 36, 53, 54, 47**
 233F recto/B1/Corpus 37: *Various Sketches* **41, 42, 1, Introduction to 9–16**
 251F recto/B243: *A Standing Female Nude (Venus?)* **21, 30**
 251F verso/B243: *Various Sketches Including the Head of a Woman Wearing a Winged Headdress* (there are also sketches by Antonio Mini on this side of the sheet) **2, 30**
 257F/B210 recto: *Architectural Studies and Figures in the Last Judgement* (by Raffaello da Montelupo in part after lost drawings by Michelangelo) **47**
 257F/B210 verso: *Christ and Another Figure (Reversed) in the Last Judgement* (by Raffaello

da Montelupo after lost drawings by Michelangelo) **47**
 258F/Petrioli Tofani, p. 115: *The Magnifici Tomb* (indirect? copy after Michelangelo's modello, Paris, Louvre, Inv. 37/J26/Corpus 194; attributed to Aristotile da Sangallo, but reminiscent of both Gherardi and Naldini) **63**
 2318F/B268: *Copy after Michelangelo's Study for Libica in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 24.197/Corpus 156* (by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) **36, 18**
 6907F: *The Brazen Serpent* (after the upper episode on Cat. 34, probably indirect, from the circle of Guglielmo dell Porta?) **34**
 6960F: *The Bearded Slave* (after Michelangelo, by Baccio Bandinelli) **8**
 14412F/B147/Corpus 379: *A Male Head Perhaps for the Last Judgement and Other Sketches* **60**
 14673F: *Venus and Cupid* (after a lost drawing by Michelangelo, by Francesco Salviati) **42, 21, 30**
 14722F: *A Figure for the Magnifici Tomb from a Lost Early Study by Michelangelo* (indirect copy after 607E verso by Raffaello da Montelupo, by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman; formerly attributed to Antonio Domenico Gabbiani) **34**
 14723F: *Copies After Uffizi 618E/B145/Corpus 355 and Uffizi 617E/B212/Corpus 127* (probably indirect copies by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman; formerly attributed to Antonio Domenico Gabbiani) **34**
 14724F: *A Figure for the Magnifici Tomb from a Lost Early Study by Michelangelo* (indirect copy after 607E verso by Raffaello da Montelupo; by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman formerly attributed to Antonio Domenico Gabbiani) **34**
 14766F: *The Legs of a Seated Figure: Study for One of the Dukes* (copy of 622E recto/B205/Corpus 223 after Michelangelo by Raffaello da Montelupo, by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman; formerly attributed to Antonio Domenico Gabbiani) **34**
 14776F: *Copy after 607E recto/Petrioli Tofani, p. 270* (by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman formerly attributed to Antonio Domenico Gabbiani) **34**
 15092F: *Ionas* (after Michelangelo by a draughtsman in the circle of Daniele da Volterra; Giulio Clovio?) **89**
 16292F: *Two Seated Figures* (copy of 17379F and 17380F by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman; formerly attributed to Antonio Domenico Gabbiani) **34**
 17371F: *The Brazen Serpent* (copy after the upper episode on Cat. 34, probably indirect, by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman; formerly attributed to Antonio Domenico Gabbiani) **34**

17379F/B13/Corpus 151: *A Seated Figure, Study for a Sistine Prophet* **51, 18, 34**
 17380F/B14/Corpus 152: *A Seated Figure, Study for a Sistine Prophet* **51, 18, 34**
 17381F/B12/Corpus 123: *Concetti for the Deluge* **51**
 17425F: *Illustrated Letter of 1596 to Ludovico Buonarroti from Andrea Commodi* **20, 41**
 18427BisF: *Copy After a Lost Model by Michelangelo for a Crucified Thief* (by Andrea Commodi) **41**
 18519F: *Copy after Michelangelo's Model for a Slave? (CB Inv. 542)* (by Andrea Commodi) **41**
 18524F: *Copy After Michelangelo's Model for a Group of Victory (CB Inv. 192)* (by Andrea Commodi) **41**
 18528F: *Copy after CB1F/B8/Corpus 158* (by Andrea Commodi) **38**
 18535F: *Copies After CB52F recto/B227/Corpus 142* (by Andrea Commodi) **38**
 18538F: *Copy After Michelangelo's Model of a Torso (CB Inv. 191)* (by Andrea Commodi) **41**
 18599F recto: *Sketch Copies After CB19F recto/B150/Corpus 368; CB69F verso/B143/Corpus 91 and BM W83/Corpus 391* (by Andrea Commodi) **38**
 18599F verso: *Sketch Copies after BM W33 verso/Corpus 236 and BMW48 recto/Corpus 208 verso* (by Andrea Commodi) **38, 45**
 18600F: *Draught of a Letter to Ludovico Buonarroti* (by Andrea Commodi) **41**
 18603F: *Copy After CB53 recto/B174/Corpus 229 bis (detail)* (by Andrea Commodi) **38**
 18607F recto: *After an Unidentified Drawing by Michelangelo?* (by Andrea Commodi) **38**
 18607F verso: *Copies after CB47F/B22/Corpus 124 and CB66F/B136/Corpus 262* (by Andrea Commodi) **38**
 18608F recto: *Copies After Details on Cat. 30 recto; CB53F recto/B174/Corpus 229bis and Uffizi 18724F verso/B237/Corpus 317* (by Andrea Commodi) **39, 30**
 18608F verso: *Copies after Uffizi 18724 verso/B237/Corpus 317 and (indirectly) Windsor PW431/Corpus 338* **39**
 18609F recto: *Copies of parts of Cat. 30 verso, CB37A verso/B83/Corpus 226 and AB, XII, fol. 46/B360 [probably by Antonio Mini]* (by Andrea Commodi) **39, 30**
 18609F verso: *Copies of Parts of Cat. 30 recto* **39, 30**
 18610F recto: *Copies of Parts of CB42A recto/B78/Corpus 541, CB1F/B8/Corpus 158, CB35F/B135/Corpus 90 and Adapted from BL Add. Ms. 21907, fol. 1 recto/Corpus 217* (by Andrea Commodi) **39**
 18610F verso: *Copies? After Unidentified Models, Perhaps Including a Variant of the David by Antonio Mini* (by Andrea Commodi) **39**
 18611F recto: *Partial Sketch Copies of Cat. 73 verso by Andrea Mini; Add. Ms. 21907, fol. 1 recto/Corpus 217 (adapted); CB37A verso/B83/Corpus 226 and Windsor PW431/Corpus*

- 338, *probably indirect* (by Andrea Commodi) 39, 73
- 18611F verso: *Sketch Copies of Cat. 73 recto and BM W7 recto/Corpus 119* 39
- 18614F: *Copy After the Settignano Triton/Corpus 11 (after Michelangelo?)* (by Andrea Commodi) 39, 41, 2
- 18619F recto (left side): *Copies After Uffizi 18737 recto/B3/Corpus 44, CB 23F/B9/Corpus 29 and BM W74/Corpus 403* 39
- 18619F recto (right side): *Copies After Uffizi 18721F recto/B175/Corpus 149 [probably by Antonio Mini], CB2A recto/B24/Corpus 517 and Other Unidentified Models* (by Andrea Commodi) 39
- 18619F verso (left side): *Copies After CB75F/B15/Corpus 145* (by Andrea Commodi) 39
- 18619F verso (right side): *Copies After CB64F/B238/Corpus 132, CB7/B22/Corpus 1332, BM W8 verso/Corpus 139, Hamburg 21094 recto/Corpus 35 and of the Lost Original of E on Cat. 60* 39, 60
- 18620F recto (left side): *Sketch Copies After CB 69F verso/B147/Corpus 91 and Cat. 6* (by Andrea Commodi) 40, 6
- 18620F recto (right side): *Sketch Copies After CB 28F/B213/Corpus 126 (after Michelangelo) and Unidentified Models* (by Andrea Commodi) 40
- 18620F verso (left side): *Sketch Copies After BM W10 verso/Corpus 154, Besançon D317/Corpus 319 (or the original), Uffizi 617E/B212/Corpus 127, Uffizi 18721 verso/B175/Corpus 149 and Unidentified Models* (by Andrea Commodi) 40
- 18620F verso (right side): *Sketch Copies After CB54F recto/B146/Corpus 284, Cat. 6 recto and Unidentified Models* (by Andrea Commodi) 40, 6
- 18621F recto (left side): *Sketch Copies After CB52F/B227/Corpus 142; BM W8 verso/Corpus 139, Cat. 51? and Detroit 27.2/Corpus 120* (by Andrea Commodi) 40
- 18621F recto (right side): *Sketch Copies After CB 8F/B20/Corpus 122 and an Unidentified Source* (by Andrea Commodi) 40
- 18621F verso (left side): *Sketch Copies After Uffizi 18720F verso/B19/Corpus 141; CB12F/B176/Corpus 159; CB19F verso/B150/Corpus 368; BM W40 verso/Corpus 315* (by Antonio Mini) (by Andrea Commodi) 40
- 18621F verso (right side): *Sketch Copies After CB19F verso/B150/Corpus 368; CB 12F/B176/Corpus 159 and Unidentified Models* (by Andrea Commodi) 40
- 18622F recto (left side): *Copies After BM 1980-10-11-46 verso/Turner, 1999, no. 355/Corpus 359 and Adaptation of BM W12/Corpus 162* (by Andrea Commodi) 40
- 18622F recto (left side): *Copies After BM 1980-10-11-46 verso/Turner, 1999, no. 355/Corpus 359 and Adaptation of BM W12/Corpus 162* (by Andrea Commodi) 40
- 18622F verso (right side): *Copy of Part of Cat. 4 recto* 40, 4
- 18622F verso (left side): *Copies After Parts of BM W12/Corpus 162 and Cat. 4 recto* (by Andrea Commodi) 40, 4
- 18622F verso (right side): *Copies After Parts of Cat. 4 recto* 40, 4
- 18625F: *Copy After Uffizi 18729/B52/Corpus 294* (by Andrea Commodi)
- 18626F: *Copy After Uffizi 18729/B52/Corpus 294* (by Andrea Commodi) 41
- 18629F: *Copy After CB16F/B69/Corpus 234* (by Andrea Commodi) 41
- 18632F: *Copy After Louvre Inv. 860 recto/J19/Corpus 143* 21
- 18633F: *Copy After CB43F recto/B239/Corpus 128 [by an unidentified draughtsman]* (by Andrea Commodi) 41
- 18634F: *Copy After Parts of Uffizi 233F recto/B1/Corpus 37* (by Andrea Commodi) 41
- 18654F: *Copy After Figures on Cats. 9 verso, 13 recto and 14 verso* (by Andrea Commodi) 41, 9, 13, 14
- 18655F verso: *Copy After a Detail on Uffizi 233F recto/B1/Corpus 37* (by Andrea Commodi) 41
- 18659F recto (left side): *Copy After CB72F/B203 [probably by Niccolò Tribolo]* (by Andrea Commodi) 41
- 18659F recto (right side): *Copy After BM* (by Andrea Commodi.) 1980-10-11-46 recto/Turner 355/Corpus 359 41
- 18660F recto: *Adaptation of a Figure on Uffizi 18721F/B175/Corpus 133 and a Probable Copy After a Lost Drawing by Antonio Mini Similar to CB74F/B177* (by Andrea Commodi) 41
- 18661F recto: *Adaptations After CB61F verso/B137/Corpus 261 and Unidentified Models* (by Andrea Commodi) 41
- 18661F verso: *Adaptations After CB66F recto/B136/Corpus 262* (by Andrea Commodi) 41
- 18662F: *Copy of Uffizi 18729/B52/Corpus 294* (by Andrea Commodi) 41
- 18665F recto: *Copy After Michelangelo's Model for a Group of Victory (CB Inv. 192)* (by Andrea Commodi) 41
- 18666F: *Copy After Michelangelo's Model for a Group of Victory (CB Inv. 192)* (by Andrea Commodi) 41
- 18675F: *After a Lost Study by Michelangelo?* (by Andrea Commodi) 41
- 18719F recto and verso/B76/Corpus 210: *Studies for Night* 26, 27
- 18720F recto/B19/Corpus 141: *Sketches for Sistine Ignudi* 40, 51
- 18720F verso/B19/Corpus 141: *Sketches for the Feet and Legs of Sistine Ignudi* 40, 42, 51
- 18721F recto/B175/Corpus 149: *A Roundel of the Brazen Serpent? and a Standing Prigione* (by Antonio Mini after lost drawings by Michelangelo) 39, 41, 42, 34
- 18721F verso/B175/Corpus 149: *A Left Arm* (by Antonio Mini) 40, 42
- 18724F verso/B237/Corpus 317: *Male Profiles* (by Michelangelo and Antonio Mini) 39, 42
- 18729F/B52/Corpus 294: *Seated Man in an Energetic Pose (Vulcan?)* 40, 41, 42
- 18735F/B144/Corpus 354: *Figure Sketch for the Last Judgement* 53
- 18737F recto/B3/Corpus 44: *Leda and the Swan or Ganymede and the Eagle* 39, 42, 1
- Collezione Santarelli**
- 194S: *The Virgin Supporting Christ's Body* (after a lost drawing by Michelangelo, by an unidentified draughtsman) 48
- 1450S: *The Resurrection* (after a lost drawing by Michelangelo, by Alessandro Allori) 38
- Churches**
- San Lorenzo**
- New Sacristy (The Medici Chapel)*
- Night/Notte* 26, 27
- Day/Giorno* 26, 27
- Evening/Crepuscolo* 26
- Dawn/Aurora* 26
- Public Buildings**
- The Laurentian Library** (designed by Michelangelo)
- The Reading Room* 39
- The Vestibule* ("il ricetto") (designed by Michelangelo) 45
- Palazzo Vecchio**
- Victory* (Marble sculpture by Michelangelo) 18, 20, 27, 31, 74
- Private Collections**
- Frescobaldi Collection (Formerly?)**
- The Virgin? and Child with Singing Angels* (painted copy of Venice, Accademia Inv.199 recto/Valenti-Rodinò 1989 no. 2/Corpus 244, by an unidentified artist) 65
- FRANCE**
- Private Collection**
- Recto: Three Men Disputing* (after Cat. 33 recto, by Battista Franco) 33
- H. de Marignane Collection (Formerly?)**
- Figure Sketches* (by Antonio Mini) 73
- FRANKFURT**
- Staedelsches Kunstinstitut**
- Inv. 392/Corpus 322: *Grotesque Heads; A Teaching Drawing* 30, 56
- Inv. 393/Corpus 332: *A Reclining Man and Another Figure* (by an associate of Michelangelo?) 69
- Inv. 3976: *The Resurrection* (after BMW 54 recto/Corpus 263 by Michelangelo, by Alessandro Allori) 38

GENEVA

The Bodner Library (Formerly)

Christ and the Samaritan Woman 32

HAARLEM

Teyler Museum

A*11/VT78: *Two Standing Draped Figures* (copy of Cat. 24 verso by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) 24

A13/VT 76: *Three Female Heads* (after Uffizi 599E/B186/Corpus 308 by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) 67

A17 recto/VT52/Corpus 130: *A Woman Bending Forward in Left Profile* 43

A18 recto/VT46/Corpus 51: *Running Figure for the Battle of Cascina* 29, 31, 43, 51

A19 recto/VT47/Corpus 50: *A Man Helping Another to Don His Armour, for the Battle of Cascina* 29, 51

A20 recto and verso/VT48/Corpus 135: *Figure Studies for the Sistine Ceiling*

A22/VT 45/Corpus 10: *Figure Studies* 24, 33

A23 recto/VT64/Corpus 357: *Figure Study for the Last Judgement* 43

A24/VT 63/Corpus 238: *A Man Abducting a Woman* 30

A25 recto/VT60/Corpus 89: *The Deposition* 48, 74, 112

A27 recto and verso/VT49/Corpus 136: *Figure Studies for the Sistine Ceiling* 36

A28 verso/VT 31/Corpus 108: *Fighting Men and Men Being Tormented* 36, 6, 75

A29 recto/VT67/Corpus 596: *A Profile of the Dome of St. Peter's* 46, 52, 54

A29 verso/VT67/Corpus 596: *Standing Figures, Perhaps Apostles* 52

A30 recto/VT56/Corpus 216: *Studies for the Back and Left Arm of Day* 48, 26

A31/VT61/Corpus 341: *Study for the Fall of Phaeton* 37

A33a recto/VT58/Corpus 218: *Studies for the Left Leg of Day* 26, 27, 76

A33b recto/VT58/Corpus 219: *Studies for the Left Leg of Day* 26, 27

A34/VT60/Corpus 109: *The Deposition* 3

A35 verso/VT65/Corpus 434: *The Lamentation* (fragmentary) 40, 49, 51

A36 recto/VT57/Corpus 215: *Studies for the Back and Left Arm of Day* 48, 26

A39/VT53/Corpus 111: *Anatomical Studies* 47

N1*-N68*/VT71: *Sixty-Eight Figures from the Sistine Ceiling* (indirect copies after Michelangelo by a draughtsman in the circle of Adamo Scultori) 43, 86

HAMBURG

Kunsthalle

Inv. 21094/Corpus 35: *Profile of a Man Wearing a Helmet, Facial Features, and Other Sketches* 12, 21, 33, 50

HOLKHAM, NORFOLK, UK

Holkham Hall

Copy of the Battle of Cascina (painting by Aristotile da Sangallo after Michelangelo) 7

LILLE

Musée des Beaux-Arts**Cabinet des dessins**

Brejon de Lavergnée, 103 recto/Corpus 595: *Profile for the Dome of St. Peter's* 9, 54, 55

Brejon de Lavergnée 717-808: Sketchbook (by Raffaello da Montelupo containing a number of copies after drawings by Michelangelo) 9, 34, 66

Brejon de Lavergnée, 808 fol. 91 recto: *Hercules and Antaeus* (after a lost drawing by Michelangelo by Raffaello da Montelupo) 30, 34

Brejon de Lavergnée 832 recto: *Copy After the Putti in the Left-Hand Throne Arm of Libica* (drawing by Andrea del Sarto) 17

Brejon de Lavergnée 1098: *An Old Woman?* (copy of Cat. 23 by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman, perhaps Battista Franco) 23

LIVERPOOL

Walker Art Gallery**Paintings**

Inv. 2789: *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* (the lay-in for a painting after a lost drawing by Michelangelo by an unidentified sixteenth-century artist) 21

Drawings

WAG 1995.204/Brooke, 1998, p. 184: *The Asa-Iosaphat-Ioram Lunette* (after Michelangelo by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) 89

WAG 1995.249/Brooke, 1998, no. 28: *A Figure in a Resurrection?* (in part after a lost drawing by Michelangelo, by Battista Franco, perhaps indirect after a copy by Raffaello da Montelupo) 47

WAG 1993.307/Brooke, 1998, p.184: *Christ on the Cross with the Virgin and Saint John* (after the expanded version prepared by Michelangelo to be painted by Marcello Venusti for Urbino, by a sixteenth-century draughtsman, conceivably Marcello Venusti) 67

LOCKINGE

Loyd Collection, no. 105a: *Christ on the Cross* (after British Museum W67/Corpus 411, by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) 67

LONDON

British Library**Department of Manuscripts**

Add. Ms21907, fol. 1 recto/Corpus 217: *Study for the Left Leg of Day* 12, 26

Add. Ms21907, fol. 1 verso/Corpus 217: *A Figure Blowing a Trumpet* 12, 39

British Museum**Department of Prints and Drawings**

Ff.1-4: *An Old Woman? and Other Sketches* (Copy of Cat. 23 by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman, not far from Battista Franco) 23

Ff.1-5 recto/W89: *"Prudentia"?* (copy of a lost drawing by Michelangelo by Raffaello da Montelupo) 66, 81

Ff. 1-7/W93: *Christ on the Cross* (After British Museum W67/Corpus 411, by Bartolommeo Aretino?) 67

1856-5-10-1173/W80/Corpus 347: *A Right Arm, Crooked, Seen from the Front, probably for the Last Judgement* 41

1859-5-14-818 recto/W31/Corpus 240: *Studies for a Madonna* 48, 28

1859-5-14-822 recto/W26/Corpus 180: *Study for a Double Tomb* 37

1859-5-14-822 verso/W26/Corpus 180: *Studies for a Double and a Single Tomb* 37

1859-5-14-823 recto/W27/Corpus 185: *Study for a Ducal Tomb* 31, 36, 25, 57

1859-5-14-824 recto/W23/Corpus 57: *Diagram of the Lower Storey of the Julius Tomb and Block Sketches* 47

1859-5-14-825: *A Nude Man Holding a Jug* (attributed to Piero d'Argenta) 58

1859-6-25-543/W28/Corpus 189: *Studies for a Double Tomb* 36, 25, 39, 64

1859-6-25-544 recto/W35/Corpus 227: *Outline Study for a River God for the New Sacristy* 43

1859-6-25-544 verso/W35/Corpus 227: *Note of Rumour of Death of François Ier* 36

1859-6-25-545 recto/W25/Corpus 184: *Sketches for a Free-Standing Tomb for the New Sacristy* 38

1859-6-25-545 verso/W25/Corpus 184: *Fragment of the Template of a Column for the Wooden Model for the Façade of San Lorenzo* 54

1859-6-25-546/W24/Corpus 521: *Design for an Ambo* 19

1859-6-25-550 recto/W37/Corpus 554: *Study for the Exterior Door to the Laurentian Library Reading-Room* 37, 47

1859-6-25-550 verso/W37/Corpus 554: *Sketches of Doors for the Laurentian Library* 37, 47, 56

1859-6-25-551/W51/Corpus 252bis: *Three Figures in Violent Motion* 37

1859-6-25-554/W30/Corpus 198: *Sketches of Figures and a Vase* 47

1859-6-25-555/W12/Corpus 162: *Two Crucified Men* 40

1859-6-25-557 recto/W33/Corpus 236: *Hercules and Antaeus; Teaching Drawings and Other Sketches* 38, 33, 45

- 1859-6-25-557 verso/W33/Corpus 336: *Two Men with Spears Looking Upwards* 38, 33, 34
- 1859-6-25-558/W9/Corpus 138: *Sketch for a Sistine Ignudo?* 1
- 1859-6-25-560/W18/Corpus 516: *Copies After Details of Antique Architecture* 48, 52
- 1859-6-25-561 verso/W40/Corpus 315: *A Man's Face from the Front* (by Antonio Mini) 40, 28
- 1859-6-25-562/W83/Corpus 391: *The Standing Virgin with the Child* 38, 45
- 1859-6-25-564 recto/W5/Corpus 46: *A Group of Three Nude Men Etc.* 36, 34
- 1859-6-25-564 verso/W5/Corpus 46: *Various Studies* 50, 81
- 1859-6-25-565/Not in W: *A Male Head* (not by Michelangelo) 44
- 1859-6-25-566 verso/W46/Corpus 214: *Studies for the Back of Day* 26
- 1859-6-25-567 recto/W7/Corpus 119: *Sketch for the Layout of the Sistine Ceiling; Four Studies of Arms* 39
- 1859-6-25-567 verso/W7/Corpus 119: *A Seated Figure; Sketches of Drapery* 47
- 1859-6-25-568 verso/W8/Corpus 139: *Sketches for Ignudi* 39, 40
- 1859-6-25-569 recto/W48/Corpus 208 verso: *A Striding Man* 38
- 1859-6-25-569 verso/W48/Corpus 208 recto: *Studies for Night* 27
- 1859-6-25-570/W43/Corpus 232: *Study After a Nude Antique Torso of Venus Seen from the Front* 58
- 1859-6-25-571/W44/Corpus 233: *Study After a Nude Antique Torso of Venus Seen from the Back* 58
- 1860-6-16-2/1 recto/W77/Corpus 385: *Study for Marcello Venusti's Painting The Cleansing of the Temple* 8, 46
- 1860-6-16-2/1 verso/W77/Corpus 385: *Sketches for Marcello Venusti's Painting The Cleansing of the Temple* 8, 46
- 1860-6-16-2/2 recto/W76/Corpus 386: *Drawing for Marcello Venusti's Painting The Cleansing of the Temple* 8, 47, 46
- 1860-6-16-2/2 verso/W76/Corpus 386: *Study for Marcello Venusti's Painting The Cleansing of the Temple* 8, 46
- 1860-6-16-2/3 recto/W78/Corpus 387: *Cartonetto? for Marcello Venusti's Painting The Cleansing of the Temple* 8, 46
- 1860-6-16-2/3 verso/W78/Corpus 387: *Sketches for Marcello Venusti's Painting The Cleansing of the Temple* 8, 46
- 1860-6-16-3/W32/Corpus 87: *The Three Crosses* 3, 72
- 1860-6-16-5 recto/W61/Corpus 352: *Studies for Angels in the Last Judgement* 53, 41
- 1860-6-16-133/W52/Corpus 258: *The Resurrection* 38
- 1860-7-14-1/W17/Corpus 77: *Study for the Raising of Lazarus for Sebastiano* 35
- 1860-7-14-2/W16/Corpus 76: *Study for the Raising of Lazarus for Sebastiano del Piombo* 35
- 1885-5-9-1893/W73/Corpus 398: *Nude Man in Violent Motion* 33
- 1885-5-9-1894/W79/Corpus 405: *Sketch for a Sleeping Figure in the Agony in the Garden* 33, 47
- 1886-5-13-5 recto/W63/Corpus 460: *Study for a Man Rising from the Tomb, for the Last Judgement* 42
- 1887-5-2-115 recto/W29/Corpus 97: *A Prophet* 14, 16, 30, 22, 23
- 1887-5-2-116 verso/W6/Corpus 52: *Study for the Battle of Cascina* 51, 1, 7
- 1887-5-2-117 recto/W4/Corpus 45: *A Beckoning Figure* 7, 26, 48, 59
- 1887-5-2-117 verso/W4/Corpus 45: *Sketches of Putti* 59
- 1887-5-2-118 recto: *Study for the Drapery of Cumaea* 51
- 1887-5-2-118 verso/W10/Corpus 154: *Study for a Seated Figure; A Left Hand* 40, 47
- 1887-5-2-119/W53/Corpus 264: *The Resurrection* 38
- 1887-5-2-120/W91: *Cleopatra* (after CB 2F/B133/Corpus 327, by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) 35, 38
- 1895-9-15-492/W87: *The Count of Canossa* (copy after Michelangelo by an unidentified draughtsman) 6, 34, 46, 61
- 1895-9-15-493 recto/W42/Corpus 311: *Ideal Head of a Woman* 61
- 1895-9-15-493 verso/W42/Corpus 311: *Sketches of Heads and Figures* 32
- 1895-9-15-495/W2/Corpus 16: *Head of a Satyr*
- 1895-9-15-496 recto/W3/Corpus 36: *A Battle Scene Etc.* 34, 4, 5, 6, 7
- 1895-9-15-497 recto/W13/Corpus 163: *Study for Haman* 8, 36, 42, 42
- 1895-9-15-498 recto/W1/Corpus 6: *A Philosopher* 7, 34, 8
- 1895-9-15-500/W15/Corpus 73: *The Flagellation of Christ for Sebastiano del Piombo's mural in San Pietro in Montorio* 47, 52, 21, 72
- 1895-9-15-501 recto/W54/Corpus 263: *The Risen Christ* 54, 38
- 1895-9-15-501 verso/W54/Corpus 263: *A Fantastic Animal* 28
- 1895-9-15-502 recto/W70/Corpus 358: *A Kneeling Man for the Crucifixion of Saint Peter* 48, 55, 43
- 1895-9-15-503 recto/W34: *Two Men Wrestling* [Hercules and Antaeus?] (copy? after Michelangelo by Antonio Mini) 35, 30, 75
- 1895-9-15-504/W67/Corpus 411: *Christ on the Cross* (for Vittoria Colonna) 7, 54, 50, 67
- 1895-9-15-507 recto/W39/Corpus 192: *Sketch for a Papal Tomb in the Choir of San Lorenzo* 39
- 1895-9-15-508 recto/W36/Corpus 528: *Studies for the Laurentian Library Vestibule* 35
- 1895-9-15-508 verso/W36/Corpus 528: *Studies for the Laurentian Library Vestibule* 35
- 1895-9-15-509/W 81/Corpus 417: *Crucifixion with Two Figures* 55, 57
- 1895-9-15-510/W 82/Corpus 419: *Crucifixion with Two Figures* 57
- 1895-9-15-511 recto/W57/Corpus 220: *The Head of a Bearded Man* 33, 35, 78
- 1895-9-15-511 verso/W57/Corpus 220: *Studies of Arms and Legs* (by Michelangelo and Antonio Mini) 78
- 1895-9-15-512: *A Man Seen from the Back* (ascribed to Pierino da Vinci but probably by Michelangelo) 43
- 1895-9-15-513/W74/Corpus 403: *A Standing Man* 39
- 1895-9-15-514/W50/Corpus 305: *A Fantastic Animal* 12, 36, 61
- 1895-9-15-517/W55/Corpus 340: *The Fall of Phaeton* 54, 6, 72
- 1895-9-15-518 recto/W60/Corpus 350: *Studies for the Last Judgement* 16, 45
- 1895-9-15-518*/W75/Corpus 389: *The Epifania* 10, 16, 25, 36, 47, 53, 21, 44, 53, 67
- 1895-9-15-519/W59/Corpus 329: *Andrea Quaratesi*
- 1895-9-15-813/W15a-PG 276/Corpus 74: *Study for Christ at the Column in Sebastiano del Piombo's Flagellation in San Pietro in Montorio.*
- 1896-7-10-1 recto/W64/Corpus 270: *The Pietà* 40
- 1900-8-24-118/W102: *Michelangelo's Dawn* (drawing by Francesco Salviati) 84
- 1926-10-9-1 recto/W11/Corpus 134: *Study for Adam in the Creation of Adam* 6, 60
- 1926-10-9-1 verso/W11/Corpus 134: *Head of the ignudo left above Persica* 60
- 1946-7-13-33 recto/W38: *Outline Sketch for the Magnifici Tomb* 38, 39
- 1946-7-13-33a/W84: *Ground Plan for the Sforza Chapel* 52, 54, 105
- 1946-7-13-365/W90: *Samson and Delilah* (Copy of Cat. 35 by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) 35
- 1946-7-13-635: *Copies After Sketches by Michelangelo for the Battle of Cascina, for a Pietà and Other Schemes, Including Some After Haarlem A28 verso/ VT51/Corpus 108* (by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman, wrongly attributed to Raffaello da Montelupo) 6, 75, 77
- 1950-7-22-6/W86: *Two Legs and a Right Arm* (copy after Christ Church JBS 62 verso/Corpus 86 and Rotterdam I. 513 recto/Corpus 121, by an unidentified draughtsman, perhaps a Northerner, c. 1600) 36, 43
- 1980-10-11-46 recto/Turner, 1999, 355/Corpus 359: *Study for a Virtue Striking Downwards in the Last Judgement* 20, 40, 41

1980-10-11-46 verso/Turner, 1999,
355/Corpus 359: *Study for the Figure of Lust in
the Last Judgement* 20
1993-4-3-10/Turner, 1999, 353: *Fragment of
an Order Sheet for Marble Blocks* 23
1993-4-3-11/Turner, 1999, 354: *Fragment of
an Order Sheet for Marble Blocks* 23

The Courtauld Institute

Princes Gate Collection

Inv. 424/Corpus 333: *The Dream of Human
Life* 4, 5, 11, 14, 16, 19, 47, 63
Inv. no.423/Corpus 410: *Christ on the Cross* 5

The National Gallery

Inv. 809: *The Manchester Madonna* 21
Inv. 790: *The Entombment* 21, 31, 40, 48, 51

Inv. 1194: *The Cleansing of the Temple*
(painting by Marcello Venusti after a design
by Michelangelo) 8, 35, 46

The Royal Academy

The Taddei Tondo (marble sculpture by
Michelangelo) 8, 59
Leda and the Swan (cartoon after a lost work
by Michelangelo by an unidentified
sixteenth-century draughtsman) 8, 34

The Wellcome Institute

Library

Inv. 393461 recto: *A Skeleton* (drawing by
Raffaello da Montelupo) 76
Inv. 393461 verso: *Parts of a Skeleton; Copy
After the Prisoner Second from Left in
Michelangelo's Modelli for the Tomb of Julius II*
(Berlin 15305 recto/Corpus 55 and Uffizi
608E recto/B244/Corpus 56; Drawing by
Raffaello da Montelupo) 76

Private Collectors and Dealers

Jean-Luc Baroni, 2003

A Figure in the Battle of Cascina (after
Michelangelo by Francesco Salviati) 13

Hugh Blaker (Formerly)

The Brazen Serpent (copy after the lower
group on Cat. 34, attributed to Giulio
Clovio) 34

Sir Brinsley Ford (Formerly)

Corpus 94 recto: *Study for the Minerva
Christ* 34, 52
Corpus 94 verso: *Study for the Minerva
Christ* 34, 52

Sir Robert Mond Collection (Formerly)

Borenus and Wittkower, no. 156: *The
Annunciation* (after Morgan Library
IV,7/Corpus 399, by an unidentified
sixteenth-century draughtsman: Sold
Christie's, London, 18 April 1989, lot 7, as
attributed to Giulio Clovio) 43

Borenus and Wittkower no. 157: *Christ on
the Cross* (After British Museum W67/
Corpus 411, by an unidentified sixteenth-
century draughtsman; subsequently in the
Brackley Collection, Norfolk; sold at
Christie's, London, 12 April 1983, lot 209) 67

Armando Neerman (Formerly)

c. 1972, no. 2: *Figure Sketches* (after
Michelangelo by an unidentified
sixteenth-century draughtsman) 59

A. Wolmark (Formerly?)

The Head of a Young Man? (copy of Cat. 29 by
an unidentified draughtsman) 29

Sir E. J. Poynter (Formerly)

A Male Anatomy (after PW421 recto/Corpus
421, at Windsor Castle, by an unidentified
sixteenth-century draughtsman; in the Sir
Edward J. Poynter sale, Christie's London,
24 April 1918, lot 82) 67

Art Market, July 2001

*A Seated Nude, His Back Half-Turned, Among
the Group of the Saved at the Lower Left Corner
of the Last Judgement* (after Michelangelo by
an unidentified sixteenth-century
draughtsman from the circle of Federico
Zuccaro) 98

Auction Houses

Bonham's (Formerly)

8 July 2002, lot 69: *A Model or Drawing for the
Marble David* (after a lost model or drawing
by Michelangelo, by Antonio Mini) 39, 66

Christie's (Formerly)

26 November 1973, lot 339: *The Count of
Canossa* (after a lost drawing by
Michelangelo; by an unidentified sixteenth
century draughtsman) 61
9 December 1982, lot 144: *Sketches of Knees* 33
1 July 1986, lot 40: *Fragment of an Order Sheet
for Marble Blocks* 23
18 April 1989, lot 7: See Sir Robert Mond
Collection (Formerly)
2 July 1996, lot 88: *Bacchanal of Infants*
(after PW431/Corpus 338 at Windsor,
by an unidentified sixteenth-century
draughtsman) 66, 67

Phillipps, Son and Neale (Formerly)

6 December 1995, lot no. 179 (subsequently
R. S. Johnson, Chicago and a US private
collection): *The Magnifici Tomb* (direct? copy
after Michelangelo's *modello*, Paris, Louvre,
Inv. 837/J26 /Corpus 194; by an unidentified
associate? of Michelangelo) 63

Sotheby's (Formerly)

Paintings 14 December 2000, lot 186: *The
Agony in the Garden* (painting after a design by
Michelangelo by Marcello Venusti) 47, 48

9 July 1981, lot 11: *The Count of Canossa*
(after a lost drawing by Michelangelo;
attributed to Alessandro Allori) 61
29 January 1998, lot 102 recto: *Christ and the
Woman of Samaria*
18 February 1991, lot 159: *An Old Woman*
(copy of Cat. 23 by an unidentified
draughtsman) 23
2 July 1999, lot 121: *Golgotha* (After Louvre
Inv. 839/J79, probably by Giulio Clovio) 72
11 July 2001, lot 81: See Yorkshire, Castle
Howard (Formerly) 8
9 July 2003, lot 9: *Sketches of Knees* 33

LOPPEM

Château

The Stoning of Saint Stephen 28, 34

LOS ANGELES

J. Paul Getty Museum

93.GB.51 recto: *The Rest on the Flight into
Egypt* 3, 33

MADRID

Biblioteca Nacional

Album G. V. Casale, fols. 374-375: *The
Ground Plan of Michelangelo's Lost Model for
San Giovanni dei Fiorentini* (drawing by
Giovanni Vincenzo Casale) 105

MILAN

Castello Sforzesco

The Rondanini Pietà 48

MODENA

Biblioteca Estense

Mss. Campori App.1775, = a.Z.2.2, C.140
verso-141 recto: *Michelangelo's Lost Model? for
San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, in Section* (drawing
by Giovanni Antonio Dosio) 105

MONTPELLIER

Musée Atger

Inv. 375: *Copies After Lost and Surviving
Drawings by Michelangelo* (by an unidentified
sixteenth-century draughtsman) 59

Musée Fabre

Inv. 864-2-11: *Copies After Lost and Surviving
Drawings by Michelangelo* (by an unidentified
sixteenth-century draughtsman) 59

MUNICH

Graphische Sammlung

Inv. 2191/Corpus 4 recto: *Copy After Saint
Peter in Masaccio's Tribute Money* 47, 49
Inv. 4932: *The Magnifici Tomb* (indirect? copy
after Michelangelo's *modello*, Paris, Louvre,
Inv. 837/J26/Corpus 194; by an unidentified
sixteenth-century draughtsman) 63

NAPLES

Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte

Paintings

The Last Judgement (after Michelangelo by Marcello Venusti) 102

Drawings

Inv. 398/Corpus 384: *Fragment of the Cartoon for the Crucifixion of Saint Peter* 25, 47, 53, 55, 42

NEW YORK

Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institute

Inv. 1942-36-4: *Modello for a Candelabrum* 25, 42

Metropolitan Museum of Art

Department of Drawings

Inv. 24.197.2 recto/BT131/Corpus 156: *Study for Libica* 32, 36, 51, 18
 Inv. 24.197.2 verso/BT131/Corpus 156: *Sketch of an Ancestor* 9
 Inv. 87.12.69/BT211: *Copy by an Unidentified Draughtsman After a Lost Copy by Raphael After Albertina BK118 recto* 24, 42, 54
 Inv. 62931/BT132/Corpus 489: *Modello for a 1505 Project of the Tomb of Julius II* 52, 41, 63, 72, 110

The Morgan Library

IV,7/Corpus 399: *The Annunciation* 3, 33, 53, 54, 50
 132 a,b,c,d/Corpus 370-373: *David and Goliath* 33, 46

The Woodner Collections (Diane and Andrea Woodner)

The Fall of Phaeton (after Windsor PW430/Corpus 343, by Alessandro Allori) 36

Christie's (Formerly)

30 January 1997, lot 1: *The Torso of Christ* (after a lost drawing by Michelangelo for Sebastiano del Piombo's Ubeda Pietà, by Raffaello da Montelupo) 66
 25 January 2005, lot 26 recto and verso: See DONNINGTON PRIORY, unnumbered 51
 25 January 2005, lot 32: *Three Men Disputing* (Copy of Cat. 33 recto by Battista Franco) 33
 24 January 2006, lot 18: See DONNINGTON PRIORY, Corpus 382

Sotheby's (Formerly)

28 January 1998, lot 102: *Christ and the Samaritan Woman*, ex- GENEVA, Bodner Library 49

OXFORD

Christ Church

JBS 62 recto/Corpus 86: *The Holy Family?*

JBS 62 verso/Corpus 86: *Study of a Left Leg and Part of a Torso* 36, 43

JBS 63/Corpus 421: *Christ on the Cross* 72

JBS 64 recto/Corpus 280: *Modello for a Monumental Altar* 21, 33, **Introduction to 9-16**

JBS 64 verso/Corpus 280: *Sketches for a Monumental Altar* 38, 42, 52, **Introduction to 9-16**

JBS 65 Corpus 282: *Modello for a Double Tomb* 25

JBS 71: *The Magnifici Tomb* (direct? copy after Michelangelo's modello, Paris, Louvre, Inv. 837/J26/Corpus 194; by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) 63, 64

JBS 72: *The Magnifici Tomb* (direct? copy after Michelangelo's modello, Paris, Louvre, Inv. 837/J26/Corpus 194; by an unidentified assistant of Michelangelo) 63

JBS 77: *A Dragon Biting a Serpent?* (copy after a lost drawing by Michelangelo by an unidentified draughtsman) 28

JBS 704 recto: *Sketches of Lions* (attributed to Piero d'Argenta) 58

JBS 704 verso: *A Section of a Pietà* (attributed to Piero d'Argenta) 58

JBS 705 recto: *Sketches of Lions* (attributed to Piero d'Argenta) 58

JBS 705 verso: *A Section of a Pietà* (attributed to Piero d'Argenta) 58

(JBS 704 and 705 were originally one sheet, now divided into two)

JBS S1519: *Part of the Crucifixion of Saint Peter* (indirectly after Michelangelo, after Cat. 104, by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) 104

JBS S1528: *Samson and Delilah* (Variant of Cat. 35 by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman in the circle of Baccio Bandinelli) 35

OXFORDSHIRE

Private Collection

Ideal Head (of a Woman?) (Copy of Cat. 31, by Battista Franco) 31, 62

PARIS

Ecole Nationale des Beaux-Arts

Inv. Armand-Valton 197A recto/Corpus 62: *Study for a Prigione* 42, 52, 20

Musée du Louvre

Département des Sculptures

"*The Dying Slave*" 2, 18
 "*The Rebellious Slave*" 18

Département des Arts Graphiques

Inv. 684 recto/J29/Corpus 95: *Head of a Satyr* 22, 24, 71, 107

Inv. 685 recto/J16/Corpus 26: *The Virgin, Child, and Saint Anne* 1, 2, 8, 22, 24

Inv. 686 recto/J24/Corpus 193: *Study for a Prigione* 20

Inv. 686 verso/J24/Corpus 193: *Sketch for the Tomb of the Magnifici* (preparing Inv. 837/J26/Corpus 194) 25, 63, 64

Inv. 687/J44/Corpus 12: *Hercules and the Nemean Lion* (attributed to Piero d'Argenta) 8, 58

Inv. 688 verso/J13/Corpus 20: *Various Studies* 2, 18

Inv. 691bis/J37/Corpus 253: *The Resurrection* (compositional study for PW427 recto/Corpus 255) 38

Inv. 693/J103: *A Dragon* (copy after Cat. 28 by an unidentified draughtsman) 43, 28

Inv. 694 recto/J49: *Standing Nude Man, Perhaps a Victory* (drawing after a lost model by Michelangelo, perhaps by Pietro Urbano) 47, 81

Inv. 694 verso/J49: *Standing Nude Man, Perhaps a Victory* (drawing after a lost model by Michelangelo, perhaps by Pietro Urbano) 47, 81

Inv. 695/J109: *The Virgin? and Child with Singing Angels* (after Venice Inv. 199 recto/Valenti Rodinò, 1989, no. 2/Corpus 244, by an unidentified sixteenth-century? draughtsman) 65

Inv. 696 verso/J51: *Various Studies in Part after Michelangelo* (by Antonio Mini) 28

Inv. 697/J21/Corpus 69: *Dancing Faun* 74

Inv. 698/J40/Corpus 412: *Saint John at the Foot of the Cross* 50, 57, 67

Inv. 699/J48: *A Prigione* (a copy of a lost study by Michelangelo after one of his own plastic models?) 47

Inv. 700/J42/Corpus 414: *The Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saint John?* 57

Inv. 701 recto/J46: *A Bound Satyr* (after Michelangelo? attributed to Piero d'Argenta) 58

Inv. 701 verso/J46: *A Female Nude Seen from the Rear* (after Michelangelo? attributed to Piero d'Argenta) 58

Inv. 702/J47: *An Apostle* (after Michelangelo, by Pietro Urbano?) 3, 81

Inv. 704 recto/J36/Corpus 243: *A Seated Woman (The Virgin?)* 63

Inv. 704 verso/J36/Corpus 243: *The Transport of Christ's? Body* 40

Inv. 706 recto/J1/Corpus 3: *Copy After Two Figures from Giotto's Ascension of Saint John in the Peruzzi Chapel of Santa Croce* 47, 49, 7

Inv. 708/J25/Corpus 228: *Sketch for the Figure Seated at the Left* in Inv. 837/J26/Corpus 194 63

Inv. 709 recto/J30/Corpus 267: *Two Men Wrestling* 30

Inv. 710 recto/J22/Corpus 235: *Woman Walking Forward Holding the Hands of Two Children*, larger fragment 21

Inv. 710 verso/J22/Corpus 235: *An Old Woman Standing in Left Profile, Holding a viol da braccia* 23

- Inv. 712/J7/Corpus 42: *Study for the Battle of Cascina* 7
- Inv. 713 recto/J6/Corpus 54: *Nude Man Seen from the Rear for the Battle of Cascina* 51
- Inv. 714 recto/J4/Corpus 19: *Sketch for the Bronze David and Other Drawings* 33, 2, 18
- Inv. 715 recto: *Copy of Michelangelo's Medici Madonna* (drawing by Raffaello da Montelupo) 76, 109
- Inv. 715 verso: *Figure Studies* (variations on Michelangesque motives by Raffaello da Montelupo) 76
- Inv. 716/J38/Corpus 92: *Study for Sebastiano del Piombo's Ubeda Pietà* 8, 48
- Inv. 718 recto/J9/Corpus 47: *A Group of Three Nude Men* 2, 34
- Inv. 720 recto/J39/Corpus 412: *The Virgin at the Foot of the Cross* 50, 57, 67
- Inv. 722 recto/J14/Corpus 31: *A Seated Man* (sketch for Metropolitan Museum Inv. 62931/Corpus 489) 27
- Inv. 725 recto/J23/Corpus 230: *Woman Walking Forward Holding the Hands of Two Children* (smaller fragment) 21
- Inv. 725 verso/J23/Corpus 230: *Woman Seen from the Back; Adaptation of an Antique Torso of Venus* 23, 58
- Inv. 726 recto/J2/Corpus 31: *Nude Study for the Magdalen in the National Gallery Entombment* 50
- Inv. 726 verso/J2/Corpus 31: *Sketches for the Battle of Cascina* 58
- Inv. 727 recto/J10/Corpus 34: *A Nude Man Seen from Rear and Sketches of Helmets* 31, 43, 50
- Inv. 732/J121: *Christ on the Cross* (after British Museum W67/Corpus 411, by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) 67
- Inv. 741/J264: *Jonas* (after Michelangelo by a draughtsman in the circle of Daniele da Volterra) 89
- Inv. 754–762/J231 etc.: *Nine Prophets and Sibyls from the Sistine Ceiling* (indirect copies after Michelangelo by a draughtsman in the circle of Adamo Scultori) 86
- Inv. 769/J218: *Part of the Sistine Composition of the Brazen Serpent* (after Michelangelo by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) 90
- Inv. 789/J101: *Modello for the Tomb of the Magnifici* (direct copy after Paris, Louvre 837/J26/Corpus 194, by an unidentified associate of Michelangelo) 63
- Inv. 836/J110: *The Deposition* (part copy after Haarlem A25/VT60/Corpus 89 by an unidentified draughtsman) 48
- Inv. 837/J26/Corpus 194: *Modello for the Tomb of the Magnifici* 34, 63, 64
- Inv. 838/J27/Corpus 186: *Modello for the Tomb of Duke Giuliano* 21, 26, 30, 34
- Inv. 839/J79: *Golgotha* (pastiche of Michelangelo, probably by Giulio Clovio) 72
- Inv. 842 recto/J41/Corpus 422: *Christ on the Cross* 49
- Inv. 844 recto/J50: *Study for a Prigione* (Variant of E.B.A. Armand-Valton 197A recto, by an associate of Michelangelo) 42
- Inv. 846/J45: *Michelangelo's Casa Buonarroti Model* (copy, attributed to Piero d'Argenta) 58
- Inv. 858/J64: *An Apostle* (by Pietro Urbano? after Michelangelo) 3, 8
- Inv. 860 recto/J19/Corpus 143: *Study for the Head of the Ignudo Left Above*
- Esaias 21, 41, 42, 8
- Inv. 863/J68: *Hercules and Antaeus* (copies after lost sketches by Michelangelo by an unidentified draughtsman) 30
- Inv. 1505/J111: *The Resurrection* (after Windsor PW428/Corpus 265 by Michelangelo, by Alessandro Allori) 38
- Inv. 1724/J75: *A Dragon Biting a Serpent?* (copy after a lost drawing by Michelangelo by Andrea del Sarto) 28
- Inv. 8026 recto/J14: *A Man Moving Forward, Seen from the Rear* 27, 29
- Inv. 10978/J71: *The Count of Canossa* (fragmentary, after a lost drawing by Michelangelo, by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) 61
- Inv. 12299/J28/Corpus 321: *Ideal Head of a Woman* 54, 8
- Inv. 18359/J100: *Modello for the Tomb of the Magnifici* (direct? copy after Paris, Louvre 837/J26/Corpus 194 by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) 63, 64
- Inv. 35296/J53: *The Infant Hercules Strangling the Serpents* (drawing by Antonio Mini) 69, 80
- Inv. 35433/J105: *Samson and Delilah* (copy of Cat. 35 by Marco Marchetti da Faenza) 35
- RF1068 recto/J11/Corpus 21: *A Male Nude* 33, 49
- RF 4112 recto/J17/Corpus 25: *The Virgin, Child, and Saint John* 21, 30, 1, 58, 106
- RF 6917/J191 etc.: *Thirty-Six Figures and Details from the Sistine Ceiling* (indirect copies after Michelangelo by a draughtsman in the circle of Adamo Scultori) 86
- RF 28961 recto/J96: *Copy of BM W11/Corpus 134: Study for Adam . . .* (by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) 60
- Fondation Custodia**
- Inv. 5251: *Michelangelo's Night* (drawing by Sir Peter Paul Rubens) 83
- Inv. 5422: *The Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs* (after Michelangelo's relief in Casa Buonarroti, by Sir Peter Paul Rubens) 21, 42
- Pierre Crozat and Julien de Parme (Formerly; Present Whereabouts Unknown)**
- Hercules and Antaeus* 30
- PLYMOUTH**
- City Art Gallery and Museum**
- CD98: *Three Men Disputing* (after Cat. 33 recto by an unidentified draughtsman) 33
- PRINCETON**
- Art Museum**
- 1947–134/Gibbons 437: *Idealised and Grotesque Profiles* 33, 32, 60
- RENNES**
- Musée des Beaux-Arts**
- Inv. 794.2913 recto/Corpus 632: *Male Figure Seen from the Back with a Raised Arm* 2
- Inv. 794.2913 verso/Corpus 632: *The Haunches of a Nude Woman* 58
- Inv. 74.73.495: *The Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs* (after Michelangelo by Jean-Germain Drouais) 22, 42
- ROME**
- Churches**
- Santissimi Apostoli**
- Tomb of Cardinal Raffaello Riario* (perhaps designed by Michelangelo) 44
- San Giovanni dei Fiorentini**
- Preliminary Designs* 53
- Santa Maria degli Angeli**
- Converted from the Baths of Diocletian to Michelangelo's Design* 53
- Cevoli Chapel**
- A Sibyl* (fresco by Giacomo Rocca, based on Cat. 22 by Michelangelo) 29, 22
- Santa Maria in Aracoeli**
- The Tomb of Cecchino Bracci* (designed by Michelangelo) 44, 45
- Santa Maria Maggiore**
- The Sforza Chapel* (designed by Michelangelo) 53, 54
- Santa Maria della Pace**
- Cesi Chapel (Formerly)*
- The Annunciation* (painting to Michelangelo's design by Marcello Venusti) 50
- Miganelli Chapel (Formerly)*
- St. Jerome* (painting to Michelangelo's design by Marcello Venusti) 45
- Santa Maria sopra Minerva**
- The Risen Christ* 19

San Pietro in Montorio (Formerly)

The Stigmatisation of Saint Francis
(painting to Michelangelo's design by
Piero d'Argenta) 58

San Pietro in Montorio**Borgherini Chapel**

*Wall paintings of the Flagellation, the
Transfiguration, and Prophets by Sebastiano
del Piombo* (in part to Michelangelo's
design) 21, 37

Ricci Chapel

*Sculpture of the Tomb of Cardinal Ricci of
Montepulciano, Statues of Ss. Peter and Paul, and
an Altarpiece of the Baptism of Christ* (by
Daniele da Volterra and assistants, in part to
Michelangelo's design) 29, 52

Private Collections**Galleria Doria-Pamphili**

The Agony in the Garden (painting after
a design by Michelangelo by Marcello
Venusti) 47

Public Places**The Capitoline Hill**

Palazzo dei Conservatori (Michelangelo's
design) 53, 56

Palazzo dei Senatori (remodelled in part to
Michelangelo's design) 45

The Porta Pia

Executed in part to Michelangelo's design 53

Vatican City**The Pauline Chapel**

The Conversion of Saint Paul 43, 103
The Crucifixion of Saint Peter 43, 49, 104

The Sistine Chapel

The Last Judgement
41, 42,
70, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102

Villa Belvedere

The Staircase (re-designed by Michelangelo)
45

Library

Cod. Lat. Vat. 3211 fol. 81 verso/ Corpus
407: *Sketches for Marcello Venusti's Agony in
the Garden?* 47
Cod. Lat. Vat. 3211 fol. 82 verso/ Corpus
406: *Sketches for Marcello Venusti's Agony in
the Garden?* 47

ROTTERDAM**Boymans-Van Beuningen Museum**

I.20: *The Resurrection* (after a lost drawing by
Michelangelo, generally attributed to Giulio
Clovio but perhaps by Alessandro Allori) 38

DN 124/21: *St. Jerome* (after a lost drawing
by Michelangelo, perhaps by Marcello
Venusti) 45

I.174: *Andrea Quaratesi* (after BM
1895-9-15-519/W59/Corpus 329, by Carlo
Dolci) 12

I.513 recto/Corpus 121: *A Right Arm* 36

V.7: *The Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs*
(after Michelangelo's relief in Casa
Buonarroti, by Sir Peter Paul Rubens) 21, 42

RUGBY**Rugby School**

Bloxam Collection Inv. 19: *A Woman
Leading Two Children by the Hand* (perhaps
after Michelangelo, by an unidentified
draughtsman, possibly Ascanio Condivi) 21

SETTIGNANO**Villa Buonarroti**

Corpus 11: *A Triton?* (authorship
disputed) 20, 39, 1, 2

SIENA**Biblioteca Comunale**

S.IV.1, fol. 42 recto: *The Ground Plan of
Michelangelo's Lost Wooden Model for San
Giovanni dei Fiorentini* (drawing by Oreste
Vannocci Biringucci) 105

TURIN**Biblioteca Reale**

15627 recto/Corpus 155: *Study for the Head of
Cumaec* 17
15627 verso/Corpus 155: *Sketches for Seated
Ancestors* 17

UNITED KINGDOM**Duke of Portland Collection**

Corpus 388: *The Madonna del
Silenzio* 19, 54, 40

VENICE**Galleria dell'Accademia**

Gabinetto dei Disegni
Inv. 78/Valenti-Rodinò 1989, no. 3: *A
Combat Between a Cavalryman and Six
Infantrymen* (after Cat. 5 by an unidentified
draughtsman) 5
Inv. 177 recto/Valenti-Rodinò, 1989, no. 1/
Corpus 342: *The Fall of Phaeton* 25, 54
Inv. 199 recto/Valenti-Rodinò, 1989, no. 2/
Corpus 244: *The Virgin and Child? with
Singing Angels* 31, 65

VICENZA**Centro Internazionale di Studi di
Architettura Andrea Palladio**

Unnumbered Recto: *Design for a Temporary
Gate for a Triumphal Entry?* 42, 53
Unnumbered Verso: *The Upper Part of a
Ceremonial Gate* (pen-work by Jacone over
red chalk underdrawing by Michelangelo) 42

VIENNA**Albertina**

BK102/Corpus 264: *The Lamentation with
Eight Figures* 34, 40
BK103/Corpus 432: *The Pietà with Two
Figures* 34, 43, 40, 48
BK112: *Modello for the Tomb of the Magnifici*
(direct copy after Paris, Louvre 837/J26/
Corpus 194 by an unidentified associate of
Michelangelo) 63
BK116 recto/Corpus 5: *Partial Copy of
Masaccio's Sagra* 34, 47, 49
BK116 verso/Corpus 5: *Partial Copy of
Masaccio's Sagra* 34, 47
BK118 recto/Corpus 22: *Male Figure Seen
from the Back with a Raised
Arm* 26, 28, 34, 49, 52, 2
BK120 recto/Corpus 144: *Study for the
Ignudo Left Above Persica* 34
BK120 recto/Corpus 144: *Study for the Arms
of the Virgin in Sebastiano del Piombo's Viterbo
Pietà* 34, 51
BK123 recto/Corpus 53: *Studies for the Battle
of Cascina* 34, 51, 7, 81
BK123 verso/Corpus 53: *Study for the Battle
Cascina* 34, 51, 81
BK132/Corpus 14: *Studies of Arms* 34, 2
BK133/Corpus 13: *Lions and Other Sketches*
(by Piero D'Argenta?) 34, 58
BK4868/Corpus 408: *Figure
Studies* 23, 34, 47

Hofbibliothek

Modello for the Tomb of the Magnifici (indirect
copy after Paris, Louvre, 837/J26/Corpus 194
by an unidentified sixteenth-century
draughtsman) 63

WASHINGTON**National Gallery of Art**

Department of Prints and Drawings
1991.150.3: *Hercules and Antaeus* 30
1991-217.2a-3b/Corpus 429: *Figure Study for
an Entombment?* 48, 51

See also NEW YORK, the Woodner
Collections

WEIMAR**Schlossmuseum**

KK8797 recto: *A Lamentation* (after a lost
drawing by Michelangelo, by Antonio Mini)
40
KK8797 verso: *Copies After Sketches by
Michelangelo for a Pietà and Other Schemes,
Including Some After Haarlem A28 verso/
VT51/Corpus 108* (by Antonio Mini) 40, 75

WINDSOR CASTLE**The Royal Library**

PW263: *A Draped Female Figure Standing in
Right Profile* (copy after a lost drawing by
Michelangelo of c. 1525; attributed by Wilde

- to Daniele da Volterra but perhaps by Francesco Salviati) 23
- PW421 recto/Corpus 61: *Figure Study with Proportions Indicated* 67
- PW421 verso/Corpus 61: *Figure Study* 18
- PW423/Corpus 335: *Three Labours of Hercules* 29
- PW424/Corpus 336: *The Archers* 47
- PW425 verso/Corpus 236bis: *Samson and Delilah* (truncated copy of Cat. 35 by Antonio Mini) 35
- PW427 recto/Corpus 255: *The Resurrection* 38
- PW428 recto/Corpus 265: *The Risen Christ* 54, 38
- PW429 recto/Corpus 345: *Tityus* 30, 38
- PW429 verso/Corpus 345: *Sketch for the Risen Christ* 38
- PW430/Corpus 343: *The Fall of Phaeton* 25, 66
- PW431/Corpus 338: *The Infant Bacchanal* 39, 54, 14, 66, 67
- PW432 recto/Corpus 351: *Concetti for Figures in the Lower Part of the Last Judgement* 53
- PW 434 recto/Corpus 325: *The Head of a Young Woman* 44
- PW436/Corpus 418: *The Crucifixion with Two Figures* 55, 57
- PW437/Corpus 416: *The Crucifixion with Two Figures* 57
- PW439/Corpus 112: *Anatomical Studies* 47
- PW 449: *Figure Studies for the Sistine Ceiling* (copies after Michelangelo's drawings Haarlem A29 and A27/VT 48 and 49/Corpus 136 and 136 by an unidentified draughtsman, perhaps a Northerner, c. 1600) 36
- PW 450: *Study for Haman* (copy after Michelangelo's drawing in the British Museum W13/Corpus 163 by an unidentified draughtsman, perhaps a Northerner, c. 1600) 36
- PW 451: *The Flagellation* (copy after a lost modello by Michelangelo for Sebastiano del Piombo's *Flagellation* in San Pietro in Montorio, by Giulio Clovio) 47, 54
- PW456: *The Archers* (after PW424/Corpus 336 by Bernardino Cesari) 25
- PW465–468: *The Sistine Ceiling in Four Sections* (indirect copy after Michelangelo by a draughtsman in the circle of Adamo Scultori) 86
- PW469–480: *Twelve Ignudi from the Sistine Ceiling* (indirect copies after Michelangelo by a draughtsman in the circle of Adamo Scultori) 86
- PW481–482: *Two Sections of the Flood* (indirect copies after Michelangelo by a draughtsman in the circle of Adamo Scultori) 86
- PW504: *Fragmentary Copy of the Conversion of Saul* (after Michelangelo by an unidentified draughtsman from the circle of Taddeo Zuccaro) 103
- PW505: *Fragmentary Copy of the Conversion of Saul* (after Michelangelo by an unidentified draughtsman from the circle of Taddeo Zuccaro) 103
- PW785 verso: *A Putto Accompanying Libica* (partial copy after Cat. 18 recto, by Biagio Pupini) 18
- PW787: *The Fall of Phaeton* (after PW430/Corpus 343 by Raffaello da Montelupo) 66
- WURZBURG University Library**
- The Battle of the Centaurs* (copy of a drawing by Sir Peter Paul Rubens after Michelangelo probably by Jacob Jordaens) 42
- YORKSHIRE Castle Howard (Formerly)**
- Standing Draped Woman* 6, 8

INDEX 2

✂ WORKS BY ARTISTS OTHER THAN MICHELANGELO AND WORKS THAT ARE NOT DIRECTLY RELATED TO HIM (EXCLUDING APPENDICES)

BOLOGNA

Piazza Nettuno

Neptune (bronze fountain statue by Giambologna) 25

BRESCIA

Ss. Nazaro e Celso

The Averoldi Polyptych (painting by Titian) 24

BUDAPEST

Szépművészeti Múzeum

Inv. 1775: *Shouting Head for the Battle of Anghiari* (drawing by Leonardo da Vinci) 32

Inv. 1907 recto: *Standing Man Seen from the Back* (drawing by Bartolommeo Passerotti) 114

Inv. 1907 verso: *Standing Man Seen from the Back* (drawing by Bartolommeo Passerotti) 114

CALIFORNIA

C. Wright Collection (Formerly?)

Study for Christ in the Wedding Feast at Cana (drawing by Ludovico Cigoli) 84

CHATSWORTH, DERBYSHIRE

The Devonshire Collection

Inv. 712/Jaffé, *Tuscan and Umbrian Schools*, no. 58: *An Old Woman* (drawing by Rosso Fiorentino) 62

Inv. 717/Jaffé, *Venetian and North Italian Schools*, no. 88o: *Leda* (drawing by Leonardo da Vinci) 1

CHICAGO

Art Institute

Inv. 1928.296/McCullagh and Giles no. 350: *Figure Studies* (drawing by Taddeo Zuccaro) 4, 33

CORAL GABLES, FLORIDA

The Joe and Emily Lowe Art Gallery

Kress Collection K308: *Ghismonda with the Heart of Guiscardo* (painting by Francesco Bacchiacca) 23

THE ESCORIAL

Cloister

Christ Appearing to His Mother on the Morning of the Resurrection (fresco by Pellegrino Tibaldi) 50

DUSSELDORF

Museum Kunst Palast

FP 17: *Study of a Young Man* (drawing by Baccio Bandinelli) 107

FP 9445: *Studies of a Hand* (drawing by Bartolommeo Passerotti) 114

FLORENCE

Churches

The Baptistery

St. John Baptising Christ (marble sculpture by Andrea Sansovino) 3

Orsanmichele

The Virgin, Child, and Saint Anne (marble sculpture by Francesco da Sangallo) 1

Santa Croce

Peruzzi Chapel

The Assumption of St. John the Evangelist (fresco by Giotto) 47, 49, 7

Santa Maria del Carmine

The Brancacci Chapel

The Baptism of the Neophytes (fresco by Masaccio) 63

The Tribute Money (fresco by Masaccio) 47, 49

Cloister (Formerly)

The Consecration of Santa Maria del Carmine, the "Sagra" (lost fresco by Masaccio) 37, 47, 49

Santa Maria Novella

The Martyrdom of Saint Catherine (painting by Giulio Bugiardini) 37, 43

The Tomb of Antonio Strozzi (marble monument by Silvio Cosini) 25

Santissima Annunziata

The Montauto Chapel (by Alessandro Allori) 25, 42, 101

Museums

Museo Nazionale del Bargello

St. George (marble sculpture by Donatello) 2

Apollo and Hyacinth of 1546–7 (stone sculpture by Benevenuto Cellini) 108

Casa Buonarroti

Painting

Inv. 1896.314: *Self Portrait* (by Andrea Comodi) 20

Museo del Opera del Duomo

Choir Gallery (marble sculpture by Luca della Robbia) 19

Isaiah (marble statue by Nanni di Banco) 63

Museo Horne

Inv. 5749: *Head of a Man* (drawing by Battista Franco) 62

Gallerie degli Uffizi

Dipartimento della Pittura

Inv. 1890–1464: *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (painting by Alessandro Allori after a drawing by Baccio Bandinelli) 8

Inv. 1890–1429: *The Massacre of the Innocents* (painting by Daniele da Volterra) 46

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe

Disegni esposti

654E: *A Child's Head; Study for the San Michele Visdomini Altarpiece* (drawing by Jacopo Pontormo) 8

Disegni di figura

1496F: *David and Goliath* (drawing by Daniele da Volterra) 46

12900F: *The Deposition* (by Girolamo Muziano) 112

Disegni di architettura

2636A: *The Façade of St. Peter's* (drawing by Ludovico Cigoli) 84

Collezione Santarelli

198S: *The Deposition* (drawing by Girolamo Muziano) 112

203S: *Study for the Assumption of the Virgin for the Della Rovere Chapel in Trinità dei Monti* (drawing by Daniele da Volterra?) 89

Palazzo Pitti

The Battle of Montemurlo (by Battista Franco) 33

Public Places**Piazza dell Signoria**

Hercules and Cacus (marble sculpture by Baccio Bandinelli) 30

FONTAINEBLEAU**Château****Salle de Bal**

Bacchanal (fresco by Niccolò dell'Abbate to Francesco Primaticcio's design) 59

Concert (fresco by Niccolò dell'Abbate to Francesco Primaticcio's design) 59

Galerie d'Ulysse (Formerly)

Ulysses Meeting Hercules in Hades (fresco by Francesco Primaticcio) 59

Musée du Château

David and Goliath (double-sided painting by Daniele da Volterra) 22, 25, 46

FRANCE**Private Collection**

Verso: *Copy After a Dionysiac Sarcophagus* (drawing by Battista Franco) 33

HAARLEM**Teyler Museum**

A6/VT142: *Portrait of Michelangelo* (drawing for the *Assumption of the Virgin* in the della Rovere chapel of the Trinità dei Monti, by Daniele da Volterra) 7, 107

A13 recto/VT 362: *Four Studies of Hands* (drawing by Bartolommeo Passerotti) 114

HAMBURG**Thomas le Claire, 1990**

Portrait Head of Michelangelo (drawing by Bartolommeo Passerotti) 107

LILLE**Musée des Beaux-Arts****Cabinet des Dessins**

Brejon de Lavergnée, 4: *Study for the Cleansing of the Temple in the Montaudo Chapel of Santissima Annunziata, Florence* (drawing by Alessandro Allori) 25, 42, 101

Brejon de Lavergnée, 5: *Study for the Cleansing of the Temple in the Montaudo Chapel of Santissima Annunziata, Florence* (drawing by Alessandro Allori) 25, 42, 101

Brejon de Lavergnée, nos. 246–260: *Drawings by Antonio Maria Gabbiani* 35

Brejon de Lavergnée 717–808: *Sketchbook* (By Raffaello da Montelupo, formerly attributed to Michelangelo) 66

LIVERPOOL**The Walker Art Gallery**

2783: *The Life of Saint John the Baptist* (painting from the circle of Francesco Granacci) 45

LONDON**The British Museum****Department of Prints and Drawings**

1854–6–28–1: *Seated Nude Man* (by Baccio Bandinelli) 113

1860–6–16–93/Popham and Pouncey, 1950, no. 237: *Three Armed Horsemen* (drawing by Luca Signorelli) 36

1874–8–8–91/PG1962, no. 182: *A Lunette in the Golden House of Nero?* 83

1885–5–9–35 recto: *Standing Woman* (by Baccio Bandinelli) 107

1895–9–15–548: *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (by Baccio Bandinelli) 8

1895–9–15–1025: *Portrait Head of Michelangelo* (by Bartolommeo Passerotti) 107

1946–7–13–36: *Figure Studies* (related to Cat. 76 recto, B); *Architectural Elements* (related to Cat. 79) (by Raffaello da Montelupo) 76, 79

1946–7–13–268 recto: *Study of a Nude Man* (by Baccio Bandinelli) 11, 107

1946–7–13–374: *Figure Studies* (by Raffaello da Montelupo?) 62

1946–7–13–495/GP 230 as Prospero Orsi: *Goliath* (drawing after Daniele da Volterra) 46

1946–7–13–653/GP 95: *Allegory* (Dosio; formerly attributed to Michelangelo) 34

1956–10–13–14/GP 90: *David and Goliath* (drawing by Daniele da Volterra) 46

The National Gallery

Inv. 6337: *The Virgin, Child, Saint Anne and Saint John the Baptist* (cartoon by Leonardo da Vinci) I

Inv. 1: *The Raising of Lazarus* (painting by Sebastiano del Piombo) 11

The Victoria and Albert Museum**Department of Sculpture**

Pope-Hennessy no. 461: *A Right Hand* 114

Department of Prints and Drawings

Dyce 159: *Studies of a Hand* (drawing by Bartolommeo Passerotti) 114

Christie's

1 July 1969, lot 119: *Annunciatory Angel* (drawing after Leonardo by Baccio Bandinelli) 8, 107

11 July 2002, lot 6: *Studies of a Standing Figure* (Drawing by Bartolommeo Passerotti) 114

Crispian Riley-Smith, 1998

Recto: *Copy After Fra Bartolommeo* (drawing by Baccio Bandinelli) 8

Verso: *A Figure in a Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (offset of a drawing by Baccio Bandinelli) 8, 107

Pouncey Collection (Formerly)

The Baptist Filling His Bowl (painting by Giovanni Francesco Penni) 59

LYON**Musée des Beaux-Arts**

1971–115: *Moses and the Brazen Serpent* (drawing attributed to Giulio Clovio) 34

MADRID**Accademia de Bellas Artes di San Fernando**

Inv. 163: *Modello for a Double Tomb for Popes Leo X and Clement VII* (drawing by Baccio Bandinelli) 8

Museo del Prado

The Ubeda Pietà (painting by Sebastiano del Piombo) 48, 49, 166

MELBOURNE**National Gallery of Victoria**

351/4: *Study for Saint John Baptising the Multitude* (by Andrea del Sarto) 42

MILAN**Biblioteca Ambrosiana**

F265,INF. 67: *Studies of a Hand* (drawing by Bartolommeo Passerotti) 114

MINNEAPOLIS**The Minneapolis Institute of Arts**

Inv. 24.1: *The Cleansing of the Temple* (painting by El Greco) 466

MODENA**Biblioteca Estense**

YZ.22: Album of drawings, including record copies after his earlier copies by Raffaello da Montelupo (formerly attributed to Giovanni Antonio Dosio but re-attributed to Raffaello da Montelupo by Nesselrath, 1986) 34, 63

MUNICH**Bayerisches Nationalmuseum**

Inv. 64/24: *A Reclining Nude Woman (Dido)* (bronze statuette by Daniele da Volterra) 46

Alte Pinakothek

Inv. 38: *John the Baptist in the Wilderness* (painting by or after Daniele da Volterra) 45

Graphische Sammlung

Inv. 2569: *The Deposition* (drawing by Girolamo Muziano) 112

Inv. 13731: *Studies of a Hand* (drawing by Bartolommeo Passerotti) 114

Art Market**Arnoldi-Livie, 2005**

Profile Portrait of Baccio Bandinelli (drawing by Bartolommeo Passerotti) 107

NEW YORK**The Metropolitan Museum of Art****Department of Paintings**

1970–134–1: *The Birth of Saint John the Baptist* (painting by Francesco Granacci) 45

1970–134–2: *The Preaching of Saint John the Baptist* (painting by an associate of Francesco Granacci) 45

OSLO

Nasjonalgalleriet

Inv. B15252: *Studies for a Fireplace* (drawing by Raffaello da Montelupo) 79

OTTAWA

National Gallery of Canada

41370 recto: *A Reclining Male Nude* (drawing by Jacopo Pontormo) 6, 34

OXFORD

Ashmolean Museum

Department of Western Art

Prints and Drawings

P. II, 236: *An Old Woman* (drawing by Battista Franco after Rosso's drawing at Chatsworth, Inv. 712) 62

P. II, 453: *Studies of Hands* (drawing by Bartolommeo Passerotti) 16

P. II, 557: *A Tempest* (drawing by a member of Raphael's school probably after a lost composition by Raphael) 33

P. II, 593: *Head of a Young Man in Left Profile* (drawing variously attributed) 58

P. II, no. 622: *Copy of an Antique Torso* (drawing attributed to the School of Raphael) 2

P. II, 625: *Copies After the Antique* (drawing by Bartolommeo Passerotti) 99

P. II, 627: *Copies After the Antique* (drawing by Bartolommeo Passerotti) 99

PARIS

Musée Jacquemart-André

Inv. 1773: *Spiritelli* (bronze sculptures by Donatello) 19

Musée du Louvre

Département des Peintures

Inv. 1939–28: *The Massacres of the Triumvirate* (painting by Antoine Caron) 59

Inv. 874: *Portrait of Michelangelo* (painting by Baccio Bandinelli) 107

RF 1225: *Portrait of an Artist* (painting from the circle of Géricault) 114

Département des Arts Graphiques

Inv. 19: *Head of a Woman, Related to Michelangelo's Dawn* (drawing by Rosso Fiorentino?) 60

Inv. 19 bis: *Head of a Woman, Related to Michelangelo's Dawn* (drawing by Rosso Fiorentino?) 60

Inv. 81: *Portrait of a Young Woman (Jacopa Doni?)* (drawing by Baccio Bandinelli) 8

Inv. 717/J R2/Corpus 93: *A Left Hand* (drawing by Bartolommeo Passerotti) 28, 114

Inv. 1512: *David and Goliath* (drawing by Daniele da Volterra) 46

Inv. 1513: *David and Goliath* (drawing by Daniele da Volterra) 46

Inv. 1525: *An Unidentified King* (drawing by Daniele da Volterra) 22

Inv. 1704: *An Ideal Head of a Woman* (drawing by Jacomo Ligozzi) 30

Inv. 2715/J R27: *Portrait of Michelangelo* (drawing by Baccio Bandinelli) 107

Inv. 4973: *A Child Strangling a Goose, After the Antique* (drawing by Battista Franco) 69

Inv. 5074: *The Wedding at Cana* (drawing by Bartolommeo Passerotti) 107

Inv. 6093: *Samson and Delilah* (drawing by Polidoro da Caravaggio) 35

Inv. 8472: *Michelangelo's Anatomy Lesson* (drawing by Bartolommeo Passerotti) 107

Inv. 8485: *Portrait Head of Michelangelo* (drawing by Bartolommeo Passerotti) 107

Inv. 29.795.5: *La natation* (by an unidentified draughtsman in the circle of Antoine Caron) 26

RF 460: *The Virgin, Child and St Anne* (drawing by Leonardo da Vinci) 1

RF 53029: *Atlante* (derivation from H on Cat. 18 recto) (drawing by Francesco Primaticcio) 26, 18

ROME

Churches

San Agostino

The Virgin, Child and Saint Anne (marble sculpture by Andrea Sansovino) 1

Oratorio di San Giovanni Decollato

The Capture of the Baptist (fresco by Battista Franco) 110

Palazzi

Palazzo Sacchetti

Galleria

Prophets and Sibyls and Old Testament subjects (frescoes by Giacomo Rocca and assistants) 29, 22, 34

Salone

The Defeat of Saul (fresco by Francesco Salviati) 29

Palazzo dei Conservatori

Corner Room

A Roman Triumph (fresco by Michele degli Alberti and Giacomo Rocca) 29

The Farnesina

Loggia di Psiche

Jupiter and Cupid (fresco by Raphael and his school) 109

Museums and Galleries

Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica

FC. 125514: *The Martyrdom of Saint Catherine* (drawing by Alesandro Allori) 43

Museo Capitolino

Inv. 360: *Saint John the Baptist in the Wilderness* (painting by or after Daniele da Volterra) 45

ROME, VATICAN CITY

Pinacoteca

The Transfiguration (painting by Raphael) 37, 187

Museo

The Torso Belvedere 2, 70

Bibliotheca

Inv. Vat. Lat. 13619, fol. 2: *David and Goliath* (copy of a lost drawing by Daniele da Volterra by an unidentified sixteenth-century draughtsman) 46

Private Collections

Volpi Collection (Formerly)

A Standing Horse (wax model variously attributed to Leonardo and Michelangelo) 4

ROTTERDAM

Boymans-Van Beuningen Museum

Inv. 1392: *Portrait of Valerio Belli* (drawing by Parmigianino in a frame by Vasari) 2

STOCKHOLM

Nationalmuseum

Bjurstrom et al., 1110: *Figure Studies* (attributed to a follower of Bandinelli) 43

Bjurstrom et al., 1201: *Figure studies* (attributed to Domenico Beccafumi) 43

Private Collection (formerly)

Aeneas Commanded by Mercury to Relinquish Dido (painting by or after Daniele da Volterra) 30, 45

TURIN

Bibliotheca Reale

Inv. 15716/6 DC: *The Head of a Woman, Related to Michelangelo's Dawn* (drawing by Rosso Fiorentino?) 60

UNITED KINGDOM

Private Collection

Mrs William Young Ottley (painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence) 34

VENICE

Churches

San Rocco

Saint Sebastian (marble sculpture by Bartolommeo Bergamasco) 24

Accademia

Inv. 214: *Sketches for the Battle of Anghiari* (drawing by Leonardo da Vinci) 5

Inv. 230: *The Virgin, Child, and Saint Anne* (drawing by Leonardo da Vinci) 1

VIENNA

Kunsthistorisches Museum

Inv. 1554: *The Rape of Dinah* (painting by Giuliano Bugiardini) 30

Graphische Sammlung Albertina

BK 125: *A Standing Female Figure* (after
Cat. 77 verso by Raffaello da Montelupo, by
Battista Franco) 77
BK2029: *Studies of Hands* (drawing by
Bartolommeo Passerotti) 114

WASHINGTON**National Gallery of Art**

Inv. 1957.14.4 (1482): *The Cleansing of the
Temple* (painting by El Greco) 46

WINDSOR CASTLE**Royal Library**

PW75: *Figure Studies* (drawing by Baccio
Bandinelli) 81
PW241: *The Adoration of the Magi* (drawing
by Giulio Clovio) 72

PW786 recto: *Ideal Head of a
Woman* (drawing by Raffaello da
Montelupo) 77
PW789: *Leda and the Swan* (after a lost
painting by Leonardo da Vinci by
Raphael) 32
8360: *Copy After a Drawn Copy by Battista
Franco of a Dionysiac Sarcophagus* (by an
unidentified draughtsman, perhaps Girolamo
da Carpi) 33
9567: *Lunette 36 in the Golden House of Nero*
(by an unidentified draughtsman) 83
12340: *Cavalrymen in Action* (drawing by
Leonardo da Vinci) 5
12377: *A Cataclysm* (drawing by Leonardo da
Vinci) 32
12378: *A Cataclysm* (drawing by Leonardo da
Vinci) 32

12379: *A Cataclysm* (drawing by Leonardo
da Vinci) 32
12380: *A Cataclysm* (drawing by Leonardo
da Vinci) 32
12381: *A Cataclysm* (drawing by Leonardo
da Vinci) 32
12382: *A Cataclysm* (drawing by Leonardo
da Vinci) 32
12383: *A Cataclysm* (drawing by Leonardo
da Vinci) 32
12384: *A Cataclysm* (drawing by Leonardo
da Vinci) 32
12495: *Caesar and the Conspirators?* (drawing
by Leonardo da Vinci) 32
12593: *Study of a Male Nude* (drawing by
Leonardo da Vinci) 1
12596: *Study of a Male Nude* (drawing by
Leonardo da Vinci) 1